The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries by Richard Hakluyt

Produced by Karl Hagen, Juliet Sutherland, and the Online Distributed Proofreading Team.

** Transcriber’s Notes **

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

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

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

** End Transcriber's Notes **

THE PRINCIPAL
Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries
OF THE ENGLISH NATION.

Collected by
RICHARD HAKLUYT, PREACHER

AND
Edited by
EDMUND GOLDSMIDT, F.R.H.S.

NORTHERN EUROPE

VOL. I.

EDITORS PREFACE
"This elaborate and excellent Collection, which redounds as much to the glory of the English Nation as any book that ever was published, has already had sufficient complaints made in its behalf against our suffering it to become so scarce and obscure, by neglecting to _republish_ it in a fair impression, with proper illustrations and especially an _Index_. But there may still be room left for a favourable construction of such neglect, and the hope that nothing but the casual scarcity of a work so long since out of print may have prevented its falling into those able hands that might, by such an edition, have rewarded the eminent _Examples_ preserved therein, the _Collector_ thereof and _themselves_ according to their deserts."

Thus wrote Oldys (The British Librarian, No III, March, 1737, page 137), nearly 150. years ago, and what has been done to remove this, reproach? The work has become so rare that even a reckless expenditure of money cannot procure a copy [Footnote: Mr. Quantch, the eminent Bibliopole, is now

It has indeed long been felt that a handy edition of the celebrated "Collection of the Early Voyages, Travels and Discoveries of the English Nation," published by Richard Hakluyt 1598, 1599, 1600, was one of the greatest desiderata of all interested in History, Travel, or Adventure. The labour and cost involved have however hitherto deterred publishers from attempting to meet the want except in the case of the very limited reprint of 1809-12. [Footnote: Of this edition 250 copies were printed on royal paper, and 75 copies on imperial paper.] As regards the labour involved,
the following brief summary of the contents of the Second Edition will give
the reader some idea of its extent. I refer those who desire a complete
analysis to Oldys.

Volume I. (1598) deals with Voyages to the North and North East, and
contains _One hundred and nine_ separate narratives, from Arthur's
Expedition to Norway in 517 to the celebrated Expedition to Cadiz, in the
reign of good Queen Bess. Amongst the chief voyages may be mentioned:

Edgar's voyage round Britain in 973; an account of the Knights of
Jerusalem; Cabot's voyages; Chancellor's voyages to Russia; Elizabeth's
Embassies, to Russia, Persia, &c.; the Destruction of the Armada; &c., &c.

Volume II. (1599) treats of Voyages to the South and South East, beginning
with that of the Empress Helena to Jerusalem in 337. The chief narratives
are those of Edward the Confessor's Embassy to Constantinople; The History
of the English Guard in that City; Richard Coeur de Lion's travels; Anthony
Beck's voyage to Tartary in 1330; The English in Algiers and Tunis (1400);
Solyman's Conquest of Rhodes; Foxe's narrative of his captivity; Voyages to
India, China, Guinea, the Canaries; the account of the Levant Company; and
the travels of Raleigh, Frobisher, Grenville, &c. It contains _One hundred
and sixty-five_ separate pieces.

Volume III. (1600) has _Two hundred and forty-three different narratives_,
commencing with the fabulous Discovery of the West Indies in 1170, by
Madoc, Prince of Wales. It contains the voyages of Columbus; of Cabot and
his Sons; of Davis, Smith, Frobisher, Drake, Hawkins; the Discoveries of
Newfoundland, Virginia, Florida, the Antilles, &c.; Raleigh's voyages to
Guiana; Drake's great Voyage; travels in South America, China, Japan, and
all countries in the West; an account of the Empire of El Dorado, &c.

The three volumes of the Second Edition therefore together contain _Five
hundred and seventeen_ separate narratives. When to this we add those
narratives included in the First Edition, but omitted in the Second, all
the voyages printed by Hakluyt or at his suggestion, such as "Divers
Voyages touching the Discoverie of America," "The Conquest of Terra
Florida," "The Historie of the West Indies," &c., &c., and many of the
publications of the Hakluyt Society, some idea may be formed of the
magnitude of the undertaking. I trust the notes and illustrations I have
appended may prove useful to students and ordinary readers; I can assure
any who may be disposed to cavil at their brevity that many a _line_ has
cost me hours of research. In conclusion, a short account of the previous
editions of Hakluyt's Voyages may be found useful.

The _First_ Edition (London: G. Bishop and R. Newberie) 1589, was in one
volume folio. It contains, besides the Dedication to Sir Francis Walsingham
(see page 3), a preface (see page 9), tables and index, 825 pages of
matter. The map referred to in the preface was one which Hakluyt
substituted for the one engraved by Molyneux, which was not ready in time
and which was used for the Second Edition.

The _Second_ Edition (London, G. Bishop, R. Newberie, and R, Barker), 1598,
1599, 1600, folio, 3 vols. in 2, is the basis of our present edition. The
celebrated voyage to Cadiz (pages 607-19 of first volume) is wanting in many copies. It was suppressed by order of Elizabeth, on the disgrace of the Earl of Essex. The first volume sometimes bears the date of 1598. Prefixed is an Epistle Dedicatorie, a preface, complimentary verses, &c. (twelve leaves). It contains 619 pages. Volume II. has eight leaves of prefatory matter, 312 pages for Part I., and 204 pages for Part II. For Volume III. there are also eight leaves for title, dedication, &c., and 868 pages.

The Third Edition (London, printed by G. Woodfall), 1809-12, royal 410, 5 vols., is an excellent reprint of the two early editions. It is very no reprint of the Collection.

I have taken upon myself to alter the order of the different voyages. I have grouped together those voyages which relate to the same parts of the globe, instead of adopting the somewhat haphazard arrangement of the original edition. This, and the indices I have added to each volume, will, I hope, greatly assist the student. The maps, with the exception of the facsimile ones, are modern; on them I have traced the presumed course of the journey or journeys they refer to. The illustrations I have taken from a variety of sources, which are always indicated.

EDMUND GOLDSMID.

EDINBURGH, August 23rd, 1884.
THE PRINCIPAL

NAVIGATIONS, VOYAGES, TRAFFIQUES, AND DISCOVERIES

OF

THE ENGLISH NATION,

MADE BY SEA OR OUER-LAND TO

THE REMOTE AND FARTHEST DISTANT QUARTERS OF THE EARTH,

AT ANY TIME WITHIN THE COMPASSE OF THESE 1600 YERES:

DIVIDED INTO THREE SEUERALL VOLUMES, ACCORDING TO THE POSITIONS OF THE REGIONS WHEREUNTO THEY WERE DIRECTED.

THE FIRST VOLUME CONTAINETH

The Worthy Discoveries, &c. of the English toward the North and Northeast by Sea,
AS OF

LAPLAND, SCRIFINIA, CORELIA, THE BAIE OF S. NICOLAS, THE ISLES OF
COLGOEVE, VAIGATZ, AND NOUA ZEMBLE, TOWARD THE GREAT RIVER OB, THE MIGHTY
EMPIRE OF RUSSIA, THE CASPIAN SEA, GEORGIA, ARMENIA, MEDIA, PERSIA, BOGHAR
IN BACTRIA, AND DIUERS KINGDOMES OF TARTARIA:

TOGETHER WITH MANY

NOTABLE MONUMENTS AND TESTIMONIES OF THE ANCIENT FORREN TRADES, AND OF THE
WARRELIKE AND OTHER SHIPPING OF THIS REALME OF ENGLAND IN FORMER AGES,

WHEREUNTO IS ANNEXED

A Briefe Commentary of the True State of Island and of the Northern Seas
and Lands Situate that Way:

AS ALSO

The Memorable Defeat of the Spanish Huge Armada, Anno 1588.

THE SECOND VOLUME COMPREHENDETH
The Principall Nauigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the
English Nation made by Sea or Ouer-land,

TO

THE SOUTH AND SOUTH-EAST PARTS OF THE WORLD, AS WELL WITHIN AS WITHOUT THE
STREIGHT OF GIBRALTAR AT ANY TIME WITHIN THE COMPASSE OF THESE 1600 YERES:

DIVIDED INTO TWO SEUERAL PARTS, &c.

By Richard Hakluyt PREACHER,

AND SOMETIME STUDENT OF CHRIST-CHVRCH IN OXFORD

IMPRINTED AT LONDON BY GEORGE BISHOP, RALPH

NEWBERIE, AND ROBERT BARKER.

ANNO 1599.

DEDICATION TO THE FIRST EDITION

TO THE
SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM KNIGHT, [Footnote: Born at Chislehurst, Kent, in 1536 He was educated at King's College Cambridge, where he specialty devoted himself to the study of languages in which he became proficient. Appointed Ambassador to Paris in 1570, he distinguished himself by the extensive system of "secret police," or spies which he established. He was present at the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, which did not excite in his cold diplomatic mind the horror it created in England. On his return in 1573 he became Secretary of State. Ten years later he was Ambassador to James VI of Scotland and in 1586 he sat as one of the commissioners on the trial of Mary, Queen of Scots. In the matter of the Rabbington Conspiracy, he is said to have "outdone the Jesuits in their own Low, and overreached them in their equivocation." He died in 1590, in comparative disgrace with his mistress.]

PRINCIPALL SECRETARIE TO HER MAIESTIE, CHANCELLOR OF THE DUCHIE OF LANCASTER, AND ONE OF HER MAIESTIES MOST HONOURABLE PRIUIE COUNCELL.

Right Honorable, I do remember that being a youth, and one of her Maiesties scholars at Westminster [Footnote: We know little of Richard Hakluyt beyond what we can gather from his writings. He was born at Eyton, in Herefordshire in 1553; was educated, as we here learn, at Westminster School and afterward, at Christ Church, Oxford, where geography was his favourite study; in 1584 he went to Paris as Chaplain to the English Embassy and, during his absence, was made Prebendary of Bristol. On his

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return he published several works, Leo's "Geographical History of Africa,"
translated from the Spanish, and Peter Martyr's "History of the West
Indies" In 1605 he became Prebendary of Westminster, and Rector of
Wetherogset in Suffolk. He died in 1616. In compiling the present work,
Hakluyt had the assistance of Sir Walter Raleigh.] that fruitfull nurserie,
it was my happe to visit the chamber of M. Richard Hakluyt, my cosin, a
Gentleman of the Middle Temple, well knowne vnto you, at a time when I
found lying open vpon his boord certeine bookes of Cosmographie, with an
vniuersall Mappe: he seeing me somewhat curious in the view therof, began
to instruct my ignorance, by shewing me the diuision of the earth into
three parts after the olde account, and then according to the latter, &
better distribution, into more: he pointed with his wand to all the knowen
Seas, Gulfs, Bayes, Straights, Capes, Riuers, Empires, Kingdomes,
Dukedomes, and Territories of ech part, with declaration also of their
speciall commodities, & particular wants, which by the benefit of traffike,
& entercourse of merchants, are plentifully supplied. From the Mappe he
brought me to the Bible, and turning to the 107. Psalme, directed mee to
the 23 & 24 verses, where I read, that they which go downe to the sea in
ships, and occupy by the great waters, they see the works of the Lord, and
his woonders in the deepe, &c. Which words of the Prophet together with my
cousins discourse (things of high and rare delight to my yong nature) tooke
in me so deepe an impression, that I constantly resolued, if euer I were
preferred to the Vniuersity, where better time, and more conuenient place
might be ministred for these studies, I would by Gods assistance prosecute
that knowledge and kinde of literature, the doores whereof (after a sort)
were so happily opened before me.
According to which my resolution, when, not long after, I was remoued to
Christ-church in Oxford, my exercises of duety first performed, I fell to
my intended course, and by degrees read ouer whatsoeuer printed or written
discoueries and voyages I found extant either in the Greeke, Latine,
Italian, Spanish, Portugall, French, or English languages, and, in my
publike lectures was the first, that produced and shewed both the olde
imperfectly composed, and the new lately reformed Mappes, Globes, Spheares,
[Footnote: "Ortelius, in his 'Theatrum Orbis Terrarum,' the first edition
of which was in 1570, gives a list of about 150 geographical
instruments of this Art for demonstration in the common schooles, to the
singular pleasure, and generall contentment of my auditory. In continuance
of time, and by reason principally of my insight in this study, I grew
familiarly acquainted with the chiefest Captaines at sea, the greatest
Merchants, and the best Manners of our nation: by which meanes hauing
gotten somewhat more then common knowledge, I passed at length the narrow
seas into France with sir Edward Stafford, her Maiesties carefull and
discreet Ligier, where during my fiue yeeres abroad with him in his
dangerous and chargeable residencie in her Highnes seruice, I both heard in
speech, and read in books other nations miraculously extolled for their
discoueries and notable enterprises by sea, but the English of all others
for their sluggish security, and continuall neglect of the like attempts
especially in so long and happy a time of peace, either ignominiously
reported, or exceedingly condemned: which singular opportunity, if some
other people our neighbors had beeene blessed with, their protestations are
often and vehement, they would farre otherwise haue vsed. And that the
trueness and evidence heerof may better appeare, these are the very words of
Popiliniere in his booke called L'Admiral de France, and printed at Paris.
Fol. 73. pag 1, 2. The occasion of his speech is the commendation of the Rhodnais, who being (as we are) Islanders, were excellent in nauigation, whereupon he woondereth much that the English should not surpasse in that qualitie, in this sort: Ce qui m'a fait autrefois rechercher les occasions, qui empeschent, que les Anglois, qui ont d'esprit, de moyens & valeur assez, pour s'aquerir vn grand honueur parmi tous les Chrestiens, ne se font plus valoir sur l'element qui leur est, & doit estre plus naturel & police de nauires: comme i' ay veu en plusieurs endroits parmi eux.

[Footnote: _Translation_ "This made me inquire into the reasons which prevent the English, who have sufficient intelligence, means, and courage to acquire great honour amongst all Christians, from shining more on the element which is and ought to be more natural to them than to other nations, who must needs yield to them in the building, fitting out, and management of ships, as I have my self often witnessed when amongst them."

Thus both hearing, and reading the obloquie of our nation, and finding few or none of our owne men able to replie heerin: and further, not seeing any man to haue care to recommend to the world, the industrious labors, and painefull trauels of our countrey men: for stopping the mouthes of the reprochers, my selfe being the last winter returned from France with the honorable the Lady Sheffield, for her passing good behauior highly esteemed in all the French court, determined notwithstanding all difficulties, to vndertake the burden of that worke wherin all others pretended either ignorance, or lacke of leasure, or want of sufficient argument, whereas (to speake truely) the huge toile, and the small profit to insue, were the chiefe causes of the refusall. I call the worke a burden, in consideration that these voyages lay so dispersed, scattered, and hidden in seuerall hucksters hands, that I now woonder at my selfe, to see how I was able to
endure the delayes, curiosity, and backwardnesse of many from whom I was to receiue my originals: so that I haue iust cause to make that complaint of the maliciousnes of diuers in our time, which Plinie \[Footnote: Plinius. alienis bonis, &c.\]

To harpe no longer vpon this string, & to speake a word of that iust commendation which our nation doe indeed deserue: it can not be denied, but as in all former ages, they haue bene men full of actiuity, stirrers abroad, and searchers of the remote parts of the world, so in this most famous and peerlesse gouernement of her most excellent Maiesty, her subiects through the speciall assistance, and blessing of God, in searching the most opposite corners and quarters of the world, and to speake plainly, in compassing the vaste globe of the earth more then once, haue excelled all the nations and people of the earth. For, which of the kings of this land before her Maiesty, had theyr banners euer beene in the Caspian sea? which of them hath euer dealt with the Emperor of Persia, as her Maiesty hath done, and obteined for her merchants large & louing; priuileges? who euer saw before this regiment, an English Ligier in the stately porch of the Grand Signor at Constantinople? who euer found English Consuls & Agents at Tripolis in Syria, at Aleppo, at Babylon, at Balsara, and which is more, who euer heard of Englishman at Goa before now? what English shippes did heeretofore euer anker in the mighty riuier of Plate? passe and repasse the vnpassable (in former opinion) straight of Magellan, range along the coast of Chili, Peru, and all the backside of Noua Hispania, further then any Christian euer passed, trauers the mighty bredth of the South sea, land vpon the Luzones in despight of the enemy, enter into alliance, amity, and
traffike with the princes of the Moluccaes, & the Isle of Iaua, double the
famous Cape of Bona Speranza, arriue at the Isle of Santa Helena, & last of
al ruturne home most richly laden with the commodities of China, as the
subiects of this now florishing monarchy haue done?

Lucius Florus in the very end of his historie de gestis Romanorum recordeth
as a wonderfull miracle, that the Seres, (which I take to be the people of
Cathay, or China) sent ambassadors to Rome, to intreate friedship, as moued
with the fame of the maiesty of the Romane Empire. And haue not we as good
desired the fauour of her maiestie, and the commerce & traffike of her
people? Is it not as strange that the borne naturalles of Iapan, and the
language, and informing vs of the state of their Easterne habitations? For
mine owne part, I take it as a pledge of Gods further fauour both vnlo vs
and them: to them especially, vnlo whose doors I doubt not in time shall be
by vs caried the incomparable treasure of the truth of Christianity, and of
the Gospell, while we vse and exercise common trade with their marchants. I
must confesse to haue read in the excellent history intituled Origines of
ioannes Goropius, a testimonie of king Henrie the viij, a prince of noble
memory, whose intention was once, if death had not preuented him, to haue
done some singular thing in this case: whose words speaking of his dealing
to that end with himselfe, he being a stranger, & his history rare, I
thought good in this place verbatim to record: Ante viginti & plus eo annos
ab Henrico Kneuettio Equite Anglo nomine Regis Henrici arram accepi, qua
conuenerat, Regio sumptu me totam Asiam, quoad Turcorum & Persarum Regum
commendationes, & legationes admitteretur, peragraturum. Ab his enim
mihi per ipsorum fines liceret ire, sed vt commendatione etiam ipsorum ad
confinia quoque daretur penetrare. Sumptus quidem non exiguus erat futurus, 
sed tanta erat principi cognoscendi auiditas, vt nullis pecunij a huc 
iter necessarijs se diceret parsurum. O Dignum Regia Maiestate animum, O me 
ab hac peregrinatione fuissem, &c. [Footnote: Ioannis Goropij Becari 
originum lib. 5 pag 494. _Translation_: "More than twenty years before I 
received from Henry Knevett, an English knight, in the name of King Henry, 
a retaining fee, it being agreed that I should travel at the king's expense 
throughout Asia, so far as the letters of introduction or embassies of the 
Turkish and Persian monarchs would enable me. For he (the king) hoped 
easily to obtain from these two Asiatic monarchs not only permission for me 
to travel through their territories, but also, by their influence, through 
the frontier states of their kingdoms. The cost was not to be light, but 
such was that prince's eagerness, after knowledge that he declared he would 
spare no expense for this journey. O mind worthy of regal dignity! O happy 
me if God had not called away both Knevett and the king before I had 
returned from that journey!"] But as the purpose of David the king to 
builde a house and temple to God was accepted, although Salomon performed 
it; so I make no question, but that the zeale in this matter of the 
aforesaid most renowned prince may seeme no lesse worthy (in his kinde) of 
acceptation, although reserued for the person of our Salomon her gratious 
Maiesty, whome I feare not to pronounce to haue receiued the same Heroicall 
spirit, and most honorable disposition, as an inheritance from her famous 
father.

Now wheras I haue alwayes noted your wisdome to haue had a speciall care of 
the honor of her Maiesty, the good reputation of our country, & the 
advancing of navigation, the very walles of this our Island, as the oracle
is reported to have spoken of the sea forces of Athens: [Footnote: Plutarch in the life of Themistocles.] and whereas I acknowledge in all dutifull sort how honorably both by your letter and speech I have beene animated in this and other my travels, I see my selfe bound to make presentment of this worke to your selfe, as the fruits of your owne incouragements, & the manifestation both of my vnfained seruice to my prince and country, and of my particular duty to your honour: which I have done with the lesse suspition either of not satisfying the world, or of not answering your owne expectation, in that according to your order, it hath passed the sight, and partly also the censure of the learned phisitian M. Doctor Iames, a man many wayes very notably qualified.

And thus beseeching God, the giuer of all true honor & wisdome to increase both these blessings in you, with continuance of health, strength, happinesse, and whatsoever good thing els your selfe can wish, I humbly take my leaue.

London the 17. of Nouember.

Your honors most humble alwayes to be commanded

RICHARD HAKLUYT.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION
I haue thought it very requisite for thy further instruction and direction
in this historie (Good Reader) to acquaint thee brieflie with the Methode
and order which I haue vsed in the whole course thereof: and by the way
also to let thee vnderstand by whose friendly aide in this my trauell I
haue bene furthered: acknowledging that ancient speach to be no lesse true
then inenious, that the offence is great, Non agnoscere per quos
profeceris, not to speake of them by whom a man in his indeuours is
assisted.

Concerning my proceeding therefore in this present worke, it hath bene
this. Whatsoeuer testimonie I haue found in any author of authoritie
appertaining to my argument, either stranger or naturall, I haue recorded
the same word for word, with his particular name and page of booke where it
is extant. If the same were not reduced into our common language, I haue
first expressed it in the same termes wherein it is originally written
whether it were a Latine, Italian, Spanish or Portugall discourse, or
whatsoeuer els, and thereunto in the next roome haue annexed the
signification and translation of the wordes in English. And to the ende
that those men which were the paynefull and personall trauellers might
reape that good opinion, and iust commendation which they haue deserued,
and further that euery man might answere for himselfe, iustifie his
reports, and stand accountable for his owne doings, I haue referred euery
voyage to his Author, which both in person hath performed, and in writing
hath left the same: for I am not ignorant of Ptolomies assertion, that
Peregrinationis historia, and not those weariest volumes bearing the titles
of vniuersall Cosmographie which some men that I could name have published
as their owne, beyng in deed most vntruly and vnprofitable ramassed and
hurled together, is that which must bring vs to the certayne and full
discouerie of the world.

Moreouer, I meddle in this worke with the Nauigations onely of our owne
nation: And albeit I allege in a few places (as the matter and occasion
required) some strangers as witnesses of the things done yet are they none
but such as either faithfully remember, or sufficiently confirme the
trauels of our owne people: of whom (to speake trueth) I haue receiued more
light in some respects then all our owne Historians could affoord me in
this case, Bale, Foxe, and Eden onely excepted.

And it is a thing withall principally to be considered that I stand not
vpon any action perfourmed neere home, nor in any part of Europe commonly
frequented by our shipping, as for example: Not vpon that victorious
exploit not long since atchieued in our narow Seas agaynst that monstrous
Spanish army vnder the valiant and prouident conduct of the right
honourable the lord Charles Howard high Admirall of England: Not vpon the
good seruices of our two woorthie Generals in their late Portugall
expedition: Not vpon the two most fortunate attempts of our famous
Chieftaine Sir Frauncis Drake, the one in the Baie of Cales vpon a great
part of the enimies chiepest shippes the other neere the Islands vpon the
great Carrack of the East India, the first (though peraduenture not the
last) of that employment, that euer discharged Molucca spices in English
portes: these (albeit singular and happy voyages of our renowned
countrymen) I omit, as things distinct and without the compass of my prescribed limites, beyng neither of remote length and spaciousnesse, neither of search and discouerie of strange coasts, the chiefe subiect of this my labour. [Footnote: Halkuyt afterwards, in his second edition, did not omit these remarkable adventures.]

Thus much in breuitie shall serue thee for the generall order. Particularhe I haue disposed and digested the whole worke into 3. partes, or as it were Classes, not without my reasons. In the first I haue martialled all our voyages of any moment that haue bene performed to the South and Southeast parts of the world, by which I chiefly meane that part of Asia which is neerest, and of the rest hithermost towards vs: For I find that the oldest trauels as well of the ancient Britains, as of the English, were ordinarie to Iudea which is in Asia, termed by them the Holy land, principally for deuotions sake according to the time, although I read in Ioseph Bengorion a very authentickall Hebrew author, a testimonie of the passing of 20000. Britains valiant soulidiours, to the siege and fearefull sacking of Ierusalem vnder the conduct of Vespasian and Titus the Romane Emperour, a thing in deed of all the rest most ancient. But of latter dayes I see our men haue pierced further into the East, haue passed downe the mightie riuer Euphrates, haue sayled from Balsara through the Persian gulfe to the Citie of Ormuz, and from thence to Chaul and Goa in the East India, which passages written by the parties themselues are herein to be read. To these I haue added the Nauigations of the English made for the parts of Africa, and either within or without the streights of Gibraltar: within to Constantinople in Romania, to Alexandria, and Cayro in Egypt, to Tunez, to Goletta, to Malta, to Algier, and to Tripolis in Barbary: without, to Santa
Cruz, to Asafi, to the Citie of Marocco, to the riever of Senega, to the
Isles of Cape Verde, to Guynue, to Benyn, and round about the dreadfull
Cape of Bona Speranza, as farre as Goa.

The north, and Northeasterne voyages of our nation I haue produced in the
second place, because our accesce to those quarters of the world is later
and not so auncient as the former: and yet some of our trauailes that way
be of more antiquitie by many hundred yeeres, then those that haue bene
made to the westerne coastes of America. Vnder this title thou shalt first
finde the old northerne Nauigations of our Brittish Kings as of Arthur, of
Malgo, of Edgar Pacificus the Saxon Monarch, with that also of Nicholaus de
Linna vnder the North pole: next to them in consequence, the discovereries of
the bay of Saint Nicholas, of Colgoieue, of Pechora, of the Isles of
Vaigats, of Noua Zembla, and of the Sea eastwards towards the riever of Ob:
after this, the opening by sea of the great Dukedome and Empire of Russia,
with the notable and strange iourney of Master Jenkinson to Boghar in
Bactria. Whereunto thou maist adde sixe of our voyages eleuen hundred
verstes vp against the streame of Dwina to the towne of Vologhda thence one
hundred and fourescore verstes by land to Yeraslaue standing vpon the
mighty riever of Volga: there hence aboue two thousand and fiue hundred
versts downe the streame to the ancient marte Towne of Astracan, and so to
the manifolde mouthes of Volga, and from thence also by ship ouer the
Caspian sea into Media, and further then that also with Camels vnto
Georgia, Armenia, Hycrania, Gillan, and the cheefest Cities of the Empire
of Persia: wherein the Companie of Moscouie Marchants to the perpetual
honor of their Citie, and societie, haue performed more then any one, yea
then all the nations of Europe besides: which thing is also acknowledged by
the most learned Cosmographers and Historiographers of Christendome, with
whose honorable testimonies of the action not many for number, but
sufficient for authoritie I haue concluded this second part.

Touching the westerne Nauigations, and trauailes of ours, they succeede
naturallie in the third and last roome, for asmuch as in order and course
those coastes, and quarters came last of all to our knowledge and
experience. Herein thou shall reade the attempt by Sea of the sonne of one
of the Princes of Northwales in sayling and searching towards the west more
then 400. yeeres since: the offer made by Christopher Columbus that
renowned Genouoys to the most sage Prince of noble memoire King Henrie the
7. with his prompt and cheerefull acception thereof, and the occasion
whereupon it became fruitlesse, and at that time of no great effect to this
kingdome: then followe the letters Patentes of the foresaid noble Prince
giuen to Iohn Cabot a Venetian and his 3. sonnes, to discouer & conquer in
his name, and vnder his Banners vnknownen Regions who with that royall
encouragement & contribution of the king himselfe, and some assistance in
sailles from the Port of Bristoll accompanied with 300. Englishmen, and
first of any Christians found out that mightie and large tract of lande and
Sea, from the circle Arcticke as farre as Florida, as appeareth in the
discourse thereof. The triumphant reigne of King Henry the 8. yielded some
prosecution of this discouerie for the 3. voyages performed, and the 4.
intended for all Asia by his Maiesties selfe, do approoue and confirme the
same. Then in processe of yeeres ariseth the first English trade to
Brasill, the first passing of some of our nation in the ordinarie Spanish
fleetes to the west Indies, and the huge Citie of Mexico in Noua Hispania.
Then immediately ensue 3. voyages made by M. Iohn Hawkins now Knight, then
Esquire, to Hispaniola, and the gulfe of Mexico: vpon which depende sixe
verie excellent discourses of our men, whereof some for 15. or 16. whole
yeeres inhabited in New Spaine, and ranged the whole Countrie, wherein are
disclosed the cheefest secretes of the west India, which may in time turne
to our no smal aduantage. The next leaues thou turnest, do yeelde thee the
first valiant enterprise of Sir Francis Drake vpon Nombre de Dios, the
mules laden with treasure which he surprised, and the house called the
Cruzes, which his fire consumed: and therewith is ioyned an action more
venterous then happie of Iohn Oxnam of Plimmouth written, and confessed by
a Spaniard, which with his companie passed ouer the streight Istme of
Darien, and building certaine pinnesses on the west shoare, was the first
Englishman that entered the South sea. To passe ouer Master Frobisher, and
his actions which I haue also newly though briefly printed, and as it were
reuuued, whatsoeuer Master Iohn Dauis hath performed in continuing that
discovery, which Master Frobisher began for the northwest passage, I haue
faithfully at large communicated it with thee, that so the great good hope,
& singular probabilities & almost certaintie therof, which by his industry
haue risen, may be known generally of all men, that some may yet still
proscute so noble an action. Sir Humfrey Gilbert, that couragious Knight,
and very expert in the mysteries of Nauigation amongst the rest is not
forgotten: his learned reasons & arguments for the proofe of the passage
before named, together with his last more commendable resolution then
fortunate successe, are here both to be read. The continuance of the
historie, produceth the beginnings, and proceedings of the two English
Colonies planted in Virginia at the charges of sir Walter Raleigh, whose
entrance vpon those newe inhabitations had bene happie, if it had ben as
seriously followed, as it was cheerefuly vndertaken. I could not omit in
this parte the two voyages made not long since to the Southwest, whereof I thinke the Spanyard hath had some knowledge, and felt some blowes: the one of Master Edward Fenton, and his consort Master Luke Warde: the other of Master Robert Withrington, and his hardie consort Master Christopher Lister as farre as 44. degrees of southerly latitude, set out at the direction and charge of the right honorable the Earle of Cumberland, both which in diuers respectes may yelde both profite and pleasure to the reader, being carefully perused.

For the conclusion of all, the memorable voyage of Master Thomas Candish into the South sea, and from thence about the globe of the earth doth satisfie mee, and I doubt not but will fully content thee: which as in time it is later then that of Sir Francis Drake, so in relation of the and exact: and therfore the want of the first made by Sir Franuncis Drake will be the lesse: wherein I must confesse to haue taken more then ordinarie paines, meaning to haue inserted it in this worke but being of late (contrary to my expectation) seriously delt withall, not to anticipate or preuent another mans paines and charge in drawing all the seruices of that worthie Knight into one volume, I haue yeelded vnto those my freindes which pressed me in the matter, referring the further knowledge of his proceedings to those intended discourses. [Footnote: This, however, he printed privately.]

Now for the other part of my promise, I must craue thy further patience friendly reader, and some longer suspence from the worke it selfe, in acquainting thee with those vertuous gentlemen and others which partly for
their priuate affection to my selfe, but chiefly for their deuotion to the
furtherance of this my travaile, haue yelded me their seuerall good
assistances: for I accompt him vnworthy of future fauours, that is not
thankfull for former benefites. In respect of a generall incouragement in
this laborious travaile, it were grosse ingratitude in me to forget and
wilfull maliciousnes not to confess that man, whose onely name doth carrie
with it sufficient estimation and loue, and that is Master Edward Dier, of
whom I will speake thus much in few wordes, that both my selfe and my
intentions herein by his friendly meanes haue bene made knowne to those,
who in sundrie particulars haue much steeded me. More specially in my first
part, Master Richard Staper Marchant of London, hath furnished me with
diuers thinges touching the trade of Turkie, and other places in the East.
Master William Burrowgh, Clarke of her Maiesties nauie and Master Anthonie
Ienkinson, both gentlemen of great experience, and obseruations in the
north Regions, haue much pleased me in the second part. In the third and
last besides myne owne extreme travaile in the histories of the Spanyards,
my cheefest light hath bene receiued from Sir Iohn Hawkins, Sir Walter
Raleigh, and my kinseman Master Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple.

And whereas in the course of this history often mention is made of many
beastes, birds, fishes, serpents, plants, fruits, hearbes, rootes,
apparell, armour, boates, and such other rare and strange curiosities,
which wise men take great pleasure to reade of, but much more contentment
to see: herein I my selfe to my singular delight haue bene as it were
rauished in beholding all the premisses gathered together with no small
cost, and preserued with no litle diligence, in the excellent Cabinets of
my very worshipfull and learned friends M. Richard Garthe, one of the
Clearkes of the pettie Bags, and M. William Cope Gentleman Vssier to the right Honourable and most prudent Counseller (the Seneca of our common wealth,) the Lord Burleigh, high Treasourer of England.

Nowe, because peraduenture it would bee expected as necessarie, that the descriptions of so many parts of the world would farre more easily be conceiued of the Readers, by adding Geographicall, and Hydrographical tables thereuuto, thou art by the way to be admonished that I haue contented my selfe with inserting into the worke one of the best generall mappes of the world onely, vntill the comming out of a very large and most exact terrestrial Globe, collected and reformed according to the newest, secretest, and latest discoveries, both Spanish Portugall, and English, composed by M. Emmerie Mollineux of Lambeth, a rare Gentleman in his profession, being therein for diuers yeeres, greatly supported by the purse and liberalitie of the worshipfull marchant M. William Sanderson.

[Footnote: This map it has been found impossible to reproduce in facsimile, though every effort has been made, a facsimile of Ziegler's Map of 1532 has been substituted as a Frontispiece to this Volume.]

This being the summe of those things which I thought good to admonish thee of (good Reader) it remaineth that thou take the profite and pleasure of the worke: which I wish to bee as great to thee, as my paines and labour haue bene in bringing these rawe fruits vnto this ripenesse, and in reducing these loose papers into this order. Farewell.

DEDICATION TO THE SECOND EDITION,
TO THE

RIGHT HONORABLE MY SINGULAR GOOD LORD

THE LORD CHARLES HOWARD,

[Footnote: He was the grandson of Thomas, second Duke of Norfolk and was
born in 1536. He entered the army early, and distinguished himself in
suppressing the rebellion of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland in
1568 (for full particulars of which see Froude, "History of England," vol
IX, p 96). He became Lord High Admiral in 1585, and rendered great service
in 1588 against the Invincible Armada. In 1596 he was created Earl of
Nottingham for his Expedition against Cadiz in conjunction with the Earl of
Essex. In 1601 he suppressed the revolt of the latter and made him
prisoner. He was present at Elizabeth's death in 1603, and the following
year went as ambassador to Spain. He died in 1624, never having forfeited
in any way the confidence of his sovereign or the esteem of his
countrymen.]

EARLE OF NOTTINGHAM, BARON OF EFFINGHAM, KNIGHT OF THE NOBLE ORDER OF THE
GARTER, LORD HIGH ADMIRALL OF ENGLAND, IRELAND, AND WALES, &c, ONE OF HER
MAIESTIES MOST HONOURABLE PRIVIE COUNSELL.

Right Honourable and my very good Lord, after I had long since published in
Print many Navigations and Discoveries of strangers in divers languages, as
well here at London, as in the citie of Paris, during my fiue yeeres abode
in France, with the woorthie Knight Sir Edward Stafford your brother in
lawe, her maiesties most prudent and carefull Ambassador ligier with the
French King: and had waded on still farther and farther in the sweet studie
of the historie of Cosmographie, I began at length to conceiue, that with
diligent obseruation, some thing might be gathered which might commend our
nation for their high courage and singular actiuitie in the Search and
Discoverie of the most vnknowen quarters of the world. Howbeit, seeing no
man to step forth to vndertake the recording of so many memorable actions,
but evry man to folow his priuate affaires: the ardent loue of my countrey
deuoured all difficulties, and as it were with a sharpe goad prouoked me
and thrust me forward into this most troublesome and painfull action. And
after great charges and infinite cares after many watchings, toiles, and
trauels, and wearing out of my weake body: at length I haue collected three
seuerall Volumes of the English Navigations Traffiques, and Discoveries, to
strange, remote, and farre distant countreys. Which worke of mine I haue
not included within the compasse of things onely done in these latter
dayes, as though litle, or nothing woorthie of memorie had bene performed
in former ages: but mounting aloft by the space of many hundred yeares,
haue brought to light many very rare and worthy monuments, which long haue
ben miserably scattered in mystic corners, & retchlesly hidden in mistie
darkenesse, and were very like for the greatest part to haue bene buried in
perpetual obliuion. The first Volume of this worke I haue thus for the
present brought to light, reseruing the other two vntill the next Spring,
when by Gods grace they shall come to the Presse. In the meane season
bethinking my selfe of some munificent and bountifull Patrone, I called to
mind your honourable Lordship, who both in regard of my particular
obligation, and also in respect of the subiect and matter, might iustly
challenged the Patronage thereof. For first I remembered how much I was
bound, and how deeply indebted for my youngest brother Edmund Hackluyt, to
whom for the space of four whole years your Lordship committed the
government and instruction of that honorable young noble man, your son and
heir apparent, the lord William Howard, of whose high spirit and wonderful
towardliness full many a time he boasted unto me. Secondly, the
bounden duty which I owe to your most dear sister the lady Sheffield, my
singular good lady and honorable, mistress, admonished me to be mindful of
the renowned family of the Howards. Thirdly, when I found in the first
Patent granted by Queen Marie to the Moscouie company, that your lord your
father being then lord high Admiral of England was one of the first
favourers and furtherers, with his purse and countenance, of the strange
and wonderful Discoverie of Russia, the chief contents of this present
Volume, then I remembered the sage saying of sweet Isocrates, That sonnes
ought not only to be inheritors of their fathers substance but also of
their commendable virtues and honours. But what speak I of your ancestors
honors (which to say the truth are very great, and such as our Chronicles
have notably blazoned) when as your own Heroicall actions from time to
time have shewed themselves so admirable, as no antiquity hath afforded
greater, and the future times will not in haste (I think) perform the
like. To come to some particulars when the Emperors sister the spouse of
Spaine, with a Fleet of an 130. sailes, stoutly and proudly passed the
narrow Seas, your Lordship accompanied with ten ships only of her Maisties
Name Roiall, environed their Fleet in most strange and warlike sort,
enforced them to stoop gallant, and to vaile their bonets for the Queene
of England, and made them perfectly to understand that old speech of the
prince of Poets:
Yet after they had acknowledged their dutie, your lordship on her Maiesties behalfe conducted her safely through our English chanell, and performed all good offices of honor and humanitie to that forren Princesse. At that time all England beholding your most honorable cariage of your selfe in that so weightie seruice, began to cast an extraordinarie eie vpon your lordship, and deeply to conceiue that singular hope which since by your most worthie & wonderfull seruice, your L. hath more then fully satisfied. I meane (among others) that glorious triumphant, and thrise-happy victory atchieued against that huge and haultie Spanish Armada (which is notably described in the ende of this volume) wherein being chiefe and sole Commander vnder her sacred and roiall Maiestie, your noble gouernment and worthy behauior, your high wisedom, discretion and happinesse, accompanied with the heauenly blessing of the Almighty, are shewed most evidently to haue bene such as all posteritie and succeeding ages shall neuer cease to sing and resound your infinite prayse and eternall commendations. As for the late renoumed expedition and honorable voyage vnto Cadiz, the vanquishing of part of the king of Spaines Armada, the destruction of the rich West Indian Fleeete, the chasing of so many braue and gallant Gallics, the miraculous winning, sacking, and burning of that almost impregnable citie of Cadiz, the surprising of the towne of Faraon vpon the coast of Portugal, and other rare appendances of that enterprise, because they be hereafter so
iudicially set downe, by a very graue and learned Gentleman, which was an
eye witnesse in all that action, I referre your good L. to his faithfull
report, wherein I trust (as much as in him lay) he hath wittingly deprivued
no man of his right. Vpon these and other the like considerations, I
thought it fit and very conuenient to commend with all humilitie and
reuerence this first part of our English Voiages & Discoueries vnto your
Honors fauourable censure and patronage.

And here by the way most humbly crauing pardon, and alwayes submitting my
poore opinion to your Lordships most deep and percing insight, especially
in this matter, as being the father and principall fauourer of the English
Nauigation, I trust it shall not be impertinent in passing by, to point at
the meanes of breeding vp of skilfull Sea-men and Mariners in this Realms.
Sithence your Lordship is not ignorant, that ships are to litle purpose
without skilfull Sea-men; and since Sea-men are not bred vp to perfection
of skill in much lesse time (as it is said) then in the time of two
prentiships; and since no kinde of men of any profession in the common
wealth passe their yerres in so great and continuall hazard of life; and
since of so many, so few grow to gray heires: how needfull it is, that by
way of Lectures and such like instructions, these ought to haue a better
education, then hitherto they haue had; all wise men may easily iudge. When
I call to minde, how many noble ships haue been lost, how many worthy
persons haue bene drenched in the sea, and how greatly this Realme hath
bene impouerished by losse of great Ordinance and other rich commodities
through the ignorance of our Sea-men, I haue greatly wished there were a
Lecture of Nauigation read in this Citie, for the banishing of our former
grosse ignorance in Marine causes, and for the increase and generall
multiplying of the sea-knowledge in this age, wherein God hath raised so
generall a desire in the youth of this Realme to discouer all parts of the
face of the earth, to this Realme in former ages not knowen. And, that it
may appeare that this is no vaine fancie nor deuise of mine, it may please
your Lordship to vnderstand, that the late Emperour Charles the fift,
considering the rawnesse of his Sea-men, and the manifolde shipwracks which
they susteyned in passing and repassing betweene Spaine and the West
Indies, with an high reach and great foresight, established not onely a
Pilote Maior, for the examination of such as sought to take charge of ships
in that voyage, but also founded a notable Lecture of the Art of
Nauigation, which is read to this day in the Contractation house at Siuil.
The readers of which Lecture haue not only carefully taught and instructed
the Spanish Mariners by word of mouth, but also haue published sundry exact
and worthy treatises concerning Marine causes, for the direction and
incouragement of posteritie. The learned works of three of which readers,
namely of Alonso de Chauez, of Hieronymo de Chauez, and of Roderigo
Zamorano came long ago very happily to my hands, together with the straight
and seuere examining of all such Masters as desire to take charge for the
West Indies. Which when I first read and duely considered, it seemed to mee
so excellent and so exact a course as I greatly wished, that I might be so
happy as to see the like order established here with vs. This matter, as it
seemeth, tooke no light impression in the royall brest of that most
renowned and victorious prince King Henry the eight of famous memory, who
for the increase of knowledge in his Seamen, with princely liberalitie
erected three seuerall Guilds or brotherhods, the one at Deptford here
vpon the Thames, the other at Kingston vpon Hull, and the third at
Newcastle vpon Tine: which last was established in the 28. yeere of his
reigne. The chiefe motiuces which induced his princely wisedome hereunto
himselfe expresseth in maner following: Vt magistri, marinarij, gubernatores, & alij officiarij nauium, iuuentutem suam in exercitatione gubernationis nauium transigentes, mutilati aut aliquo alio casu in paupertatem collapsi, aliquod releuamen ad eorum sustentationem habeant, instigentur ad eandem arterm exercendam, ratione cuius, doctiores & aptiores postulet, etc. [Footnote: _Translation_ "That masters, mariners pilots, and other officers of ships, who have passed their youth in the profession of navigating vessels, being mutilated, or reduced to poverty through any other cause, might have some means of subsistence, by which not only they may be made comfortable but by which other youths may be induced and led to the exercise of the same profession, through which they may become more apt to and skilful in the pilotage and management at sea of ships and vessels in times of peace or war, as is neccessary," etc.] To descend a little lower, king Edward the sixth, that prince of peerlesse hope, with the aduice of his sage and prudent Counsaile, before he entered into the Northeasterne discouery, aduanced the worthy and excellent Sebastian Cabota to be grand Pilot of England, allowing him a most bountifull pension of 166. li. vj. s. viij. d. by the yeere during his life as appeareth in his Letters Patents which are to be seene in the third part of my worke. And if God had granted him longer life, I doubt not but as he dealt most royally in establishing that office of Pilote Maior (which not long after to the great hinderance of this Common wealth was miserably turned to other priuate vses) so his princely Maiestie would haue shewed himselfe no nigard in erecting, in imitation of Spaine, the like profitable Lecture of the Art of Nauigation. And surely when I considered of late the memorable bountie of sir Thomas Gresham, [Footnote: He was the son of Sir Richard Gresham,
merchant and Lord Mayor of London, and was born in 1519. Educated at Cambridge, he was placed under his uncle, Sir John Gresham, and enrolled a member of the Mercers Company. His father had been the king's agent at Antwerp, and the person who succeeded him, having mismanaged the royal affairs, Sir Thomas was sent over in 1552. to retrieve them. This he was most successful in doing. Elizabeth removed him from his office, but soon restored and knighted him. He planned and erected the Royal Exchange in London, in imitation of that of Antwerp, and the queen opened it in person in 1570. Having built a mansion in Bishopsgate Street, he directed by his will that it should be converted into habitations and lecture rooms for seven professors or lecturers on the seven liberal sciences, and their salaries to be paid out of the revenues of the Royal Exchange. These and other benefactions procured for him the name of the "Royal Merchant." He died in 1579. Gresham College has since been converted into the General Excise Office, and the lectures have been given in a room over the Exchange.] who being but a Merchant hath founded so many chargeable Lectures, and some of them also which are Mathematicall, tending to the aduancement of Marine causes; I nothing doubted of your Lordships forwardnes in settling and establishing of this Lecture: but rather when your Lordship shall see the noble and rare effects thereof, you will be heartily sory that all this while it hath not bene erected. As therefore our skill in Naviagation hath hitherto bene very much bettered and increased vnder the Admiraltie of your Lordship; so if this one thing be added thereunto, together with seuere and straight discipline, I doubt not but with Gods good blessing it will shortly grow to the hiest pitch and top of all perfection: which whensoever it shall come to passe, I assure my selfe it will turne to the infinite wealth and honour of our Countrey, to the prosperous and speedy discoverie of many rich lands and territories of
heathens and gentiles as yet vnknowen, to the honest employment of many thousands of our idle people, to the great comfort and reioycing of our friends, to the terror, daunting and confusion of our foes. To ende this matter, let me now I beseech you speake vnto your Lordship, as in times Africane, alacrior ad tutandam Rempublicam, sic habeto: Omnibus, qui patriam conservauerint, adiuuerint, auxerint, certum esse in coelo, ac that as your Lordship from time to time vnder her most gracious and excellent Maiestie, haue shewed your selfe a valiant protectour, a carefull conseruer, and an happy enlarger of the honour and reputation of your Countrey; so at length you may enioy those celestial blessings, which are prepared to such as tread your steps, and seeke to aspire to such diuine and heroical vertues. And euen here I surcease, wishing all temporal and spirituall blessings of the life present and that which is to come to be powred out in most ample measure, not onely vpon your honourable Lordship, the noble and vertuous Lady your bedfellow, and those two rare iweels, your generous off-springs, but also vpon all the rest wheresoeuer of that your noble and renownmed family. From London the 7. day of this present October 1598.

Your honours most humble alwayes to be commanded:

Richard Hakluyt Preacher.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION
A preface to the Reader as touching the principall Voyages
and discourses in this first part.

Hauing for the benefit and honour of my Countrey zealously bestowed so many
yeres, so much trauaile and cost, to bring Antiquities smothered and buried
in darke silence, to light, and to preserue certaine memorable exploits of
late yeres by our English nation atchieued, from the greedy and deuouring
lawes of obliuion: to gather likewise, and as it were to incorporate into
one body the torne and scattered limmes of our ancient and late Nauigations
by Sea, our voyages by land, and traffiques of merchandise by both: and
hauing (so much as in me lieth) restored ech particular member, being
before displaced, to their true ioynts and ligaments; I meane, by the helpe
of Geographie and Chronologie (which I may call the Sunne and the Moone,
the right eye and the left of all history) referred ech particular relation
to the due time and place: I do this second time (friendly Reader, if not
to satisfie, yet at least for the present to allay and hold in suspense
thine expectation) presume to offer vnto thy view this first part of my
threelfold discourse. For the bringing of which into this homely and
rough-hewen shape, which here thou seest; what restlesse nights, what
painfull dayes, what heat, what cold I haue indured; how many long &
chargeable iourneys I haue trauailed; how many famous libraries I haue
searched into; what varietie of ancient and moderne writers I haue
redeemed from obscuritie and perishing; into how manifold acquaintance I
haue entered; what expenses I haue not spared; and yet what faire
opportunities of príuate game, preferment, and ease I haue neglected;
albeit thyselfe canst hardly imagine, yet I by daily experience do finde &
feele, and some of my entier friends can sufficiently testifie. Howbeit (as I
told thee at the first) the honour and benefit of this common weale
wherein I liue and breathe, hath made all difficulties seeme easie, all
paines and industrie pleasant and all expenses of light value and moment
unto me.

For (to conteine myselfe onely within the bounds of this present discourse
and in the midst thereof to begin) wil it not in all posteritie be as great
a renownme unto our English nation to haue bene the first discouerers of a
Sea beyond the North cape (neuer certainly knownen before) and of a
conuenient passage into the huge Empire of Russia by the bay of S. Nicholas
and the riuer of Duina; as for the Portugales to haue found a Sea beyond
the Cape of Buona Esperanza, and so consequently a passage by Sea into the
East Indies; or for the Italians and Spaniards to haue discouered vnknownen
landes so many hundred leagues Westward and Southwestward of the streits of
Gibraltar, & of the pillers of Hercules? Be it granted that the renownmed
Portugale Vasques de Gama trauersed the maine Ocean Southward of Africke:
Did not Richard Chanceler and his mates performe the like Northward of
Europe? Suppose that Columbus that noble and high-spinted Genuois escried
vnknownen landes to the Westward of Europe and Africke: Did not the valiant
English knight sir Hugh Willoughby; did not the famous Pilots Stephen
Burrough, Arthur Pet, and Charles lackman accoast Noua Zembia, Colgoieue,
and Vaigatz to the North of Europe and Asia? Howbeit you will say perhaps,
not with the like golden successe, not with such deductions of Colonies,
nor attaining of conquests. True it is that our successe hath not bene
correspondent unto theirs: yet in this our attempt the vncertaintie of
finding was farre greater, and the difficultie and danger of searching was
no whit lesse. For hath not Herodotus (a man for his time, most skilfull and iudical in Cosmographie, who writ aboue 2000. yeeres ago) in his 4. booke called Melpomene, signified vnto the Portugales in plaine termes; that Africa, except the small Isthmus between the Arabian gulfe and the Mediterranean sea, was on all sides enuironed with the Ocean? And for the further confirmation thereof, doth he not make mention of one Neco an Red sea, who setting forth in Autumnne and sailing Southward till they had the Sunne at noonetide vpon their sterbourd (that is to say hauing crossed directed their course to the North and in the space of 3. years enuironed

And doth not [Footnote: Lib. 2. nat. hist. cap. 67.] Plinie tell them that noble Hanno in the flourishing time and estate of Carthage sailed from Gades in Spaine to the coast of Arabia foelix, and put down his whole iournall in writing? Doth he not make mention that in the time of Augustus Arabian gulfe? And, not to be ouer tedious in alleaging of testimonies, doth not Strabo in the 2. booke of his Geography, together with Cornelius Nepos and Plinie in the place beforenamed, agree all in one, that one Eudoxus fleeing from King Lathyrus, and sailing downe the Arabian bay, sailed along, doubled the Southern point of Africk, and at length arriued at Gades? And what should I speake of the Spaniards? Was not diuine described their West Indies vnder the name of Atlantis) was not he (I say) instead of a Cosmographer vnto them? Were not those Carthaginians mentioned by Aristotle lib. [Footnote: [Greek: peri thaumasion akousmaton]] de admirabil. auscult. their forerunners? And had they not Columbus to stirre them vp and pricke them forward vnto their Westerne discoueries; yea to be their chiefe loads man and Pilot? Sithens therefore these two worthy
Nations had those bright lampes of learning (I meane the most ancient and best Philosophers, Historiographers and Geographers) to shewe them light; and the load starre of experience (to wit those great exploits and voyages layed vp in store and recorded) whereby to shape their course: what great attempt might they not presume to vndertake? But alas our English nation, at the first setting foorth for their Northeasterne discouery, were either altogether destitute of such cleare lights and inducements or if they had any inkling at all it was as misty as they found the Northren seas, and so obscure and ambiguous, that it was meet rather to deterre them then to giue them encouragement.

But besides the foresaid vncertaintie into what dangers and difficulties they plunged themselues, Animus meminisse horret, I tremble to recount. For first they were to expose themselues vnthe rigour of the sterne and vncoth Northren seas, and to make triall of the swelling waues and boistrous winds which there commonly do surge and blow: then were they to saile by the ragged and perilous coast of Norway, to frequent the vnhaunted shoares of Finmark, to double the dreadfull and misty North cape, to beare with Willoughbres land, to run along within kenning of the Countreys of Lapland and Corelia, and as it were to open and vnlocke the seuen-fold mouth of Duina. Moreouer, in their Northeasterly Nauigations, vpon the seas and by the coasts of Condora, Colgoieue, Petzora, loughoria, Samoedia, Noua Zembla, &c. and their passing and returne through the streits of Vaigats, vn to what drifts of snow and mountaines of yce euen in lune, luly, and August, vn to what hideous ouerfals, vncertaine currents, darke mistes and fogs, and diuers other fearefull inconueniences they were subiect and in danger of, I wish you rather to learne out of the voyages of sir Hugh
Willoughbie, Stephen Burrough, Arthur Pet and the rest, then to expect in
this place an endless catalogue thereof. And here by the way I cannot but
highly commend the great industry and magnanimity of the Hollanders, who
within these few yeeres have discovered to 78. yea (as themselves affirm)
to 81. degrees of Northerly latitude [Footnote: This is wrong. The
proviso; that our English nation led them the dance, brake the ice before
them, and gave them good leave to light their candle at our torch
[Footnote: This refers to the expeditions of Willoughby (1553), Frobisher
(1576-7), Pett, Jackman (1580), and Davis (1585)]. But now it is high time
for us to weigh our anchor, to hoise up our sails, to get clear of these
boistrous, frosty, and misty seas, and with all speed to direct our course
for the mild, lightsome, temperate, and warm Atlantic Ocean, over which
the Spaniards and Portuguese have made so many pleasant prosperous and
golden voyages. And albeit I cannot deny, that both of them in their East
and West Indian Navigations have endured many tempests, dangers, and
shipwrecks: yet this dare I boldly affirm; first that a great number of
them have satisfied their fame-thirsty and gold-thirsty minds with that
reputation and wealth, which made all perils and misadventures seem tolerable unto them, and secondly, that their first attempts (which in this
comparison I do only stand upon) were no whit more difficult and
dangerous, then ours to the Northeast. For admit that the way was much
longer, yet was it never barred with ice, mist, or darkness, but was at all
seasons of the year open and navigable; yea and that for the most part
with fortunate and fit gales of wind. Moreover they had no foreign prince
to intercept or molest them, but their own towns, islands and main lands
to succour them. The Spaniards had the Canary Isles: and so had the
Portuguese the Isles of the Acores of Porto santo, of Madera, of Cape verd,
the castle of Mina, the fruitfull and profitable Isle of S. Thomas, being all of them conueniently situated, and well fraught with commodities. And had they not continuall and yerely trade in some one part or other of Africa, for getting of slaues, for sugar, for Elephants teeth, graines, siluer, gold and other precious wares, which serued as allurements to draw them on by little and little, and as proppes to stay them from giuing ouer their attempts? But nowe let vs leaue them and returne home vnto ourselues.

In this first volume (Friendly Reader) besides our Northeerne Discoueries by sea, and the memorable voyage of M. Christopher Hodson, and M. William Burrough, Anno 1570. to the Narue, wherein with merchants ships onely, they tooke fiue strong and warrelike ships of the Freebooters, which lay within the sound of Denmark of purpose to intercept our English Fleete: besides 1 all these (I say) thou maiest find here recorded, to the lasting honor of our nation, all their long and dangerous voyages for the aduauncing of traffique by rier and by land to all parts of the huge and wide Empire of Russia: as namely Richard Chanceler his first fortunate arriuall at Newnox, his passing vp the rier of Dwina to the citie of Vologda for the space of 1100. versts, and from thence to Yaruslaue, Rostoue, Peraslaue, and so to the famous citie of Mosco, being 1500. versts trauell in all. Moreouer, here thou hast his voiage penned by himselfe (which I hold to be very authentical, & for the which I do acknowledge my selfe beholding vnto the excellent Librarie of the right honorable my lord Lumley) wherein he describeth in part the state of Russia, the maners of the people and their religion, the magnificence of the Court, the maiestie, power, and riches of the Emperour, and the gracious entertainment of himselfe. But if he being the first man, and not hauing so perfect
intelligence as they that came after him, doeth not fullie satisfie your
expectation in describing the foresayd countrey and people; I then referre
you to Clement Adams his relation next following, to M. Ienkinsons
discourse as touching that argument to the smooth verses of M. George
Turberuile, and to a learned and excellent discourse set downe pag. 536. of
this volume, [Footnote: Refers to _original_ edition.] and the pages
following. Unto all which (if you please) you may add Richard Iohnsons
strange report of the Samoeds pag. 316. But to returne to our voyages
performed within the bounds of Russia, I suppose (among the rest) that
difficult iourney of Southam and Sparke, from Colmogro and S. Nicholas
Baie, vp the great riuer of Onega, and so by other riuers and lakes to the
citie of Nouogrod velica vpon the West frontier of Russia, to be right
woorthy of obseruation; as likewise that of Thomas Alcock from Mosco to
Smolensko, and thence to Tirwill in Polonia, pag. 339. & that also of M.
Hierome Horsey from Mosco to Vobsko, and so through Liefland to Riga,
thence by the chiefe townes of Prussia and Pomerland to Rostok, and so to
Hamburg, Breme, Emden, &c. Neither hath our nation bene contented onely
thoroughly to search into all parts of the Inland, and view the Northren,
Southerne, and Westerne frontiers, but also by the rulers of Moscua, Occa
and Volga, to visite Cazan and Astracan, the farthest Easterne and
Southeasterne bounds of that huge Empire. And yet not containing themselues
within all that maine circumference they haue aduentured their persons,
shippes, and goods, homewards and outwards, foureteene times ouer the
vnknownen and dangerous Caspian sea; that valiant, wise, and personable
gentleman M. Anthonie Ienkinson being their first ring-leader: who in Anno
1558. sailing from Astracan towards the East shore of the Caspian sea, and
there arriuing at the port of Mangusla, trauelled thence by Vrgence and
Shelisur, and by the riuers of Oxus and Ardok, 40. dayes iourney ouer
desert and wast countrieys, to Boghar a principall citie of Bactria, being there & by the way friendly entertained, dismissed, and safely conducted by certaine Tartarian kings and Murses. Then haue you a second Navigation of his performance to the South shore of the foresayd Caspian sea, together with his landing at Derbent, his arriuall at Shabran, his proceeding unto Shamaky, the great curtesie vouchsafed on him by Obdolowcan king of Hircan, his journey after of 30. dayes Southward, by Yauate, Ardouil, and other townes and cities to Casben, being as then the seate imperiall of Shaugh Thamas the great Sophy of Persia, with diuers other notable accidents in his going forth, in his abode there, and in his returne home. Immediately after you haue set downe in fiue seuerall voiages the successe of M. Jenkinsons laudable and well-begun enterprise, vnder the foresayd Shaugh Thamas, vnder Shally Murzey the new king of Hircan, and lastly our traffique with Osman Basha the great Turkes lieutenant at Derbent. Moreover, as in M. Jenkinsons trauel to Boghar the Tartars, with their territories, habitations, maner of liuing, apparell, food, armour, &c. are most liuely represented vnto you: so likewise in the sixe Persian journals you may here and there obserue the state of that countrey, of the great Shaugh and of his subiects, together with their religion, lawes, customes, & maner of gouernment, their coines, weights and measures, the distances of places, the temperature of the climate and region, and the natural commodities and discommodities of the same.

Furthermore in this first Volume, all the Ambassages and Negociations from her Maiestie to the Russian Emperor, or from him vnto her Maiestie, seemed by good right to chalenge their due places of Record. As namely, first that of M. Randolph, 1568. then the emploiment of M. Jenkinson 1571. thirdly,
Sir Ierome Bowes his honorable commission and ambassage 1582. and last of
all the Ambassage of M. Doct. Fletcher 1588. Neither do we forget the
Emperours first Ambassador Osep Napea, his arriuall in Scotland, his most
honourable entertainment and abode in England, and his dismission into
Russeland. In the second place we doe make mention of Stephen Tuerdico, and
Pheodata Pogorella; thirdly, of Andrea Sauin; and lastly, of Pheodor
Andrewich Phisemski. And to be briefe, I haue not omitted the Commissions,
Letters, Priuileges, Instructions, Obseruations, or any other Particulars
which might serue both in this age, and with all posteritie, either for
presidents in such like princely and weightie actions to bee imitated, or
as woorthy monuments in no wise to bee buried in silence. Finally that
nothing should be wanting which might adde any grace or shew of perfection
vnto this discourse of Russia; I haue prefixed before the beginning
thereof, the petigree and genealogie of the Russian Emperors and Dukes,
gathered out of their owne Chronicles by a Polonian, containing in briefe
many notable antiquities and much knowledge of those partes as likewise
about the conclusion, I haue signified in the branch of a letter the last
Emperour Pheodor Iuanowich his death, and the inauguration of Boris
Pheodorowich vnto the Empire.

But that no man should imagine that our forren trades of merchandise haue
bene comprised within some few yeeres or at least wise haue not bene of any
long continuance, let vs now withdraw our selues from our affaires in
Russia, and ascending somewhat higher, let vs take a sleight survey of our
traffiques and negotiations in former ages. First therefore the reader may
haue recourse vnto the 137 page [Footnote: This refers to the original
edition] of this Volume & there with great delight and admiration, consider
out of the judicious Historiographer Cornelius Tacitus, that the Citie of
London fifteene hundred yeeres agoe in the time of Nero the Emperour was
most famous for multitude of merchants and concourse of people. In the
pages folowing he may learne out of Venerable Beda, that almost 900. yeeres
past, in the time of the Saxons, the said citie of London was multorum
emporium populorum, a Mart towne for many nations. There he may behold, out
of William of Malmesburie, a league concluded between the most renowned
and victorious Germane Emperour Carolus Magnus, and the Saxon king Offa,
together with the sayd Charles his patronage and protection granted vnto
all English merchants which in those dayes frequented his dominions. There
may hee plainly see in an auncient testimonie translated out of the Saxon
tongue, how our merchants were often woont for traffiques sake, so many
hundred yeeres since, to crosse the wide Seas and how their industry in so
doing was recompensed. Yea, there mayest thou obserue (friendly Reader)
what priuileges the Danish king Canutus obtained at Rome of Pope Iohn of
Conradus the Emperour, and of king Rudolphus for our English merchants
Adventurers of those times. Then if you shall thinke good to descend vnto
the times and ages succeeding the conquest, there may you partly see what
our state of merchandise was in the time of king Stephen and of his
predecessor, and how the Citie of Bristol (which may seeme somewhat
strange) was then greatly resorted vnto with ships from Norway and from
Ireland. There may you see the friendly league betweene king Henry the
second, and the famous Germane Emperour Friderick Barbarossa, and the
gracious authorizing of both their merchats to traffique in either of their
dominions. And what need I to put you in mind of king Iohn his fauourable
safe conduct, whereby all forren merchants were to haue the same priuileges
here in England, which our English merchants enioied abroad in their
seueral countreys. Or what should I signifie vnto you the entercourse of
league and of other curtesies betwenee king Henry the third, and Haquinus
king of Norway; and likewise of the free trade of merchandise between their
subiects: or tell you what fauours the citizens of Colen, of Lubek, and of
all the Hansetownes obtained of king Edward the first; or to what high
endes and purposes the generall, large, and stately Charter concerning all
outlandish merchants whatsoeuer was by the same prince most graciously
published? You are of your owne industry sufficiently able to conceiue of
the letters & negotiatios which passed between K. Edward the 2. & Haquinus
the Noruagian king; of our English merchants and their goods detained vpon
arrest at Bergen in Norway; and also of the first ordination of a Staple,
or of one onely setled Mart towne for the vttering of English woolls &
woollen fells instituted by the sayd K. Edward last before named. All which
(Reader) being throughly considered, I referre you then to the Ambassages,
Letters, Traffiques, and prohibition of Traffiques, concluding and
repealing of leagues, damages, reprisals, arrests, complaints,
supplications, compositions and restitutions which happened in the time of
king Richard the 2. and king Henry the 4. between the said kings and their
subiects on the one partie; and Conradus de Zolner, Conradus de Iungingen,
and Viricus de Iungingen, three of the great masters of Prussia, and their
subiects, with the common societie of the Hans-townes on the other partie.
In all which discourse you may note very many memorable things; as namely
first the wise, discreet, and cautelous dealing of the Ambassadors and
Commissioners of both parts, then the wealth of the foresaid nations, and
their manifold and most usuall kinds of wares vttered in those dayes, as
likewise the qualitie, burthen, and strength of their shipping, the number
of their Mariners, the maner of their combates at sea, the number and names
of the English townes which traded that way, with the particular places as
well vpon the coast of Norway, as euery where within the sound of Denmark
which they frequented; together with the inueterate malice and craftie
crueltie of the Hanse. And because the name, office, and dignitie of the
masters generall or great Masters of Prussia would otherwise haue been
vtterly darke and vnknowne to the greater part of Readers, I haue set downe
immediatly before the first Prussian ambasasage, pagina 158 [Footnote: This
means, of course, page 158 of _original_ edition.] a briefe and orderly
Catalogue of them all, containing the first originall and institution of
themselves and of their whole knightly order and brotherhood, with the
increase of reuenues and wealth which befell them afterward in Italy and
Germany and the great conquests which they atchieued vpon the infidels of
Prussia, Samogitia, Curland, Liefland, Lituania, &c. also their decay and
finall ouerthrow, partly by the reuolt of diuers Townes and Castles vnder
their iurisdiction, and partly by the meanes of their next mightie
neighbour the King of Poland.

After all these, out of 2. branches of 2. ancient statutes, is partly
shewed our trade and the sucesse thereof with diuers forren Nations in the
time of K. Henry the sixth.

Then followeth the true processe of English policie, I meane that excellent
and pithy treatise de politia conservatia maris: which I cannot to any
thing more fitly compare, then to the Emperour of Russia his palace called
the golden Castle, and described by Richard Chancellor page 264. [Footnote:
_Ibidem_.] of this volume: whereof albeit the outward apparance was
but homely and no whit correspondent to the name, yet was it within so
beautified and adorned with the Emperour his maiestical presence, with the
honourable and great assembly of his rich-attired Peers and Senatours, with
an invaluablc and huge masse of gold and siluer plate, & with other
princely magnificence; that well might the eyes of the beholders be
dazeled, and their cogitations astonished thereat. For indeed the exteriour
habit of this our English politician, to wit, the harsh and vnaffected
stile of his substantiall verses and the olde dialect of his wordes is
such; as the first may seeme to haue bene whistled of Pans oaten pipe, and
the second to haue proceeded from the mother of Euander; but take you off
his vtmost weed, and beholde the comelinesse, beautie, and riches which lie
hid within his inward sense and sentence, and you shall finde (I wisse) so
much true and sound policy, so much delightfull and pertinent history, so
many liuely descriptions of the shipping and wares in his time of all the
nations almost in Christendome, and such a subtile discouery of outlandish
merchants fraud, and of the sophistication of their wares, that needes you
must acknowledge, that more matter and substance could in no wise be
compried in so little a roome. [Footnote: The poem here alluded to was
written between 1416 and 1438, as appears from the lines:

"For Sigismond, the great Emperour
Wich yet reigneth, when he was in this land
With King Henryy the fifth" etc.

Sigismund died in 1438, and visited England in 1416.] And notwithstanding
(as I said) his stile be vnpolished, and his phrases somewhat out of vse,
yet, so neere as the written copies would giue me leaue, I haue most
religinously without alteration obserued the same, thinking it farre more
conuenient that himselfe should speake, then that I should bee his
spokesman, and that the Readers should enjoy his true verses, then mine or
any other man's fained prose.

Next after the conclusion of the last mentioned discourse, the Reader may in some sort take a view of our state of merchandise under K. Edward the fourth, as likewise of the establishing of an English company in the Netherlands, and of all the discreet provisoes, just ordinations, & gracious privileges contained in the large Charter which was granted for the same purpose.

Now besides our voyages and trades of late years to the North and Northeast regions of the world, and our ancient traffique also to those parts; I have not been unmindefull (so farre as the histories of England and of other Countreys would give me direction) to place in the fore-front of this booke those forren conquests, exploits, and travels of our English nation, which have bene atchieued of old. Where in the first place (as I am credibly informed out of Galfridas Monumetensis, and out of M. Lambert his [Greek: Archaionomia]) I have published vnto the world the noble actes of Arthur and Malgo two British Kings. Then followeth in the Saxons time K. Edwin his conquest of Man and Anglesey, and the expedition of Bertus into Ireland. Next succeedeth Ochter making relation of his doings, and describing the North Countreys, vnto his soueraigne Lord K. Ecfrid. After whom Wolstans Navigation within the Sound of Denmark is mentioned, the voyage of the yong Princes Edmund and Edward into Sweden and Hungarie is recorded, as likewise the mariage of Harald his daughter vnto the Russian duke Ieruslaus. Neither is that Englishman forgotten, who was forced to trauelle with the cruel Tartars into their Countrey, and from thence to beare them company into Hungary and Poland. And because those Northeasterne
Regions beyond Volga, by reason of the huge deserts, the colde climate, and
the barbarous incivilitie of the people there inhabiting, were neuer yet
throughly trauelled by any of our Nation, nor sufficiently knowne vnto vs:
I haue here annexed vnto the said Englishmans trauieile, the rare &
memorable iournals of 2. Friers, who were some of the first Christians that
trawailed farthest that way, and brought home most particular intelligence
& knowledge of all things which they had seene. These Friers were sent as
Ambassadours vnto the sauage Tartars (who had as then wasted and ouerrunne
a great part of Asia, and had pierced farre into Europe with fire and
sword) to mitigate their fury, and to offer the glad tidings of the Gospel
vnto them. The former, namely Iohannes de Plano Carpini (whose iourney,
because he road sixe moneths poste directly beyond Boristhenes, did, I
thinke, both for length and difficultie farre surpasse that of Alexander
the great, vnto the rier of Indus) was in the yeere 1246. sent with the
authoritie and commission of a Legate from Pope Innocentius the fourth: who
passed through more garisons of the Tartars, and wandered ouer more vast,
barren, and cold deserts, then (I suppose) an army of an hundred thousand
good souldiers could haue done. The other, to wit, William de Rubricis, was
1253. by the way of Constantinople, of the Euxin sea, and of Taurica
Chersonesus imployed in an ambassage from Lewis the French King (waging
warre as then against the Saracens in the Holy land) vnto one Sartach a
great duke of the Tartars, which Sartach sent him forthwith vnto his father
Baatu, and from Baatu he was conducted ouer many large territories vnto the
Court of Mangu-Can their Emperour. Both of them haue so well played their
parts, in declaring what befell them before they came at the Tartars, what
a terrible and vnmanerly welcomming they had at their first arriuall, what
cold intertainment they felt in trauelling towards the great Can, and what
slender cheere they found at his Court, that they seeme no lesse worthy of
praise then of pitie. But in describing of the Tartars Countrey, and of the
Regions adiacent, in setting downe the base and sillie beginnings of that
huge and ouerspreading Empire, in registring their manifolde warres and
bloody conquests, in making relation of their herds and mooueable Townes,
as likewise of their food, apparell and armour, and in setting downe their
vnmercifull lawes, their fond superstitions, their bestiall liues their
vicious maners, their slauish subiection to their owne superiours, and
their disdainfull and brutish inhumanitie vnto strangers, they deserue most
exceeding and high commendation. Howbeit if any man shall obiect that they
haue certaine incredible relations; I answere, first that many true things
may to the ignorant seeme incredible. But suppose there be some particulars
which hardly will be credited; yet thus much I will boldly say for the
Friers, that those particulars are but few, and that they doe not auouch
them vnder their owne names, but from the report of others. Yet farther
imagine that they did auouch them, were they not to be pardoned as well as
Herodotus, Strabo, Plutarch, Plinie, Solinus, yea & a great many of our new
principall writers, whose names you may see about the end of this Preface;
every one of which hath reported more strange things then the Friers
between the both? Nay, there is not any history in the world (the most Holy
writ excepted) whereof we are precisely bound to beleeeue ech word and
syllable. Moreouer sithens these two iournals are so rare, that Mercator
and Ortelius (as their letters vnto me do testifie) were many yeeres very
inquisitiue, and could not for all that attaine vnto them; and sithens they
haue bene of so great accompt with those two famous Cosmographers, that
according to some fragments of them they haue described in their Mappes a
great part of those Northeastern Regions; sith also that these two
relations containe in some respect more exact history of those vknownen
parts, then all the ancient and newe writers that euer I could set mine
eyes on; I thought it good if the translation should chance to swerue in
ought from the originals (both for the preseruation of the originals
themselves, and the satisfying of the Reader) to put them downe word for
word in that homely stile wherein they were first penned. And for these two
rare iewels, as likewise for many other extraordinary courtesies, I must
here acknowledge my selfe most deepely bounded vnto the right reuerend,
graue and learned Prelate, my very good lord the Bishop of Chichester, and
L. high Almner vnto her Maiestie; by whose friendship and meanes I had free
accesse vnto the right honor my L. Lumley his stately library, and was
permitted to copy out of ancient manuscripts, these two iournals and some
others also.

After these Friers (thought not in the next place) foloweth a testimonie of
Gerardus Mercator, and another of M. Dee, concerning one Nicholas de Linna
an English Franciscan Frier.

Then succeedeth the long iourney of Henry Earle of Derbie, and afterward
king of England into Prussia & Lithuania, with a briefe remembrance of his
valiant exploits against the Infidels there; as namely, that with the help
of certaine his Associates, he vanquished the king of Letto his armie, put
the sayd king to flight, tooke and slew diuers of his captains, advanced
his English colours vpon the wall of Vilna, & made the citie it selfe to
yeeld. Then mention is made also of Tho. of Woodstock his trauel into
Pruis, and of his returne home. And lastly, our old English father Ennius,
I meane, the learned, wittie, and profound Geoffrey Chaucer, vnder the
person of his knight, doeth full iudicially and like a cunning
Cosmogropher, make report of the long voiages and woorthy exploits of our
English Nobles, Knights, & Gentlemen, to the Northren, and to other partes of the world in his dayes.

Neither haue we comprehended in this Volume, onely our Trades and Voiages both new and old; but also haue scattered here and there (as the circumstance of times would giue vs leaue) certayne fragments concerning the beginnings, antiquities, and grouth of the classical and warrelike shipping of this Island: as namely, first of the great nauie of that victorious Saxon prince king Edgar, mentioned by Florentius Wigorniensis, Roger Houeden, Rainulph of Chester, Matthew of Westminster, Flores historiarum, & in the libel of English policie, pag. 224. and 225. of this present volume. [Footnote: _Original_ edition.] Of which Authors some affirme the sayd fleet to haue consisted of 4800. others of 4000. some others of 3600. ships: howbeit (if I may presume to gloze vpon the text) I verily thinke that they were not comparable, either for burthen, strength, building, or nimble stirrage vnto the ships of later times, and specially of this age. But howsoever it be, they all agree in this, that by meanes of the sayd huge Fleet he was a most puissant prince; yea, and some of them affirme together with William of Malmesbury, that he was not onely soueraigne lord of all the British seas, and of the whole Ile of Britanne it selfe, but also that he brought vnder his yoke of subiection, most of the Isles and some of the maine lands adiacent. And for that most of our Navigators at this time bee (for want of trade and practise that way) either vtterly ignorant or but meanely skilfull, in the true state of the Seas, Shoulds and Islands, lying between the North part of Ireland and of Scotland, I haue for their better encouragement (if any weightie action shall hereafter chance to drawe them into those quarters) translated into
English a briefe treatise called A Chronicle of the Kings of Man. Wherein they may behold as well the tragical and dolefull historie of those parts for the space almost of 300. yeeres, as also the most ordinarie and accustomed nauigations through those very seas, and amidst those Northwesterne Isles called the Hebrides, so many hundred yeeres agoe. For they shall there read, that euen then (when men were but rude in sea causes in regard of the great knowledge which we now haue) first Godredus Crouan with a whole Fleet of ships throughly haunted some places in that sea; secondly, that one Ingemundus setting saile out of Norway, arriued vpon the Isle of Lewis; then, that Magnus the king of Norwau came into the same seas with 160. sailes, and hauing subdued the Orkney Isles in his way, passed on in like conquering maner, directing his course (as it should seeme) euen through the very midst, and on all sides of the Hebrides, who sailing thence to Man, conquered it also, proceeding afterward as farre as Anglesey; and lastly crossing ouer from the Isle of Man to the East part of Ireland. Yea, there they shall read of Godredus the sonne of Olauus his voyiage to the king of Norway, of his expedition with 80. ships against Sumerledus, of Sumerled his expedition with 53. ships against him; of Godred his flight and second iourney into Norway, of Sumerled his second arriuall with 160. shippes at Rhinfrin vpon the coast of Man, and of many other such combates, assaults, & voyages which were performed onely vpon those seas & Islands. And for the bringing of this woorthy monument to light, we doe owe great thanks vnto the iudiciall and famous Antiquarie M Camden. But sithens we are entred into a discourse of the ancient warrehke shipping of this land the reader shall giue me leaue to borow one principall note out of this litle historie, before I quite take my leaue thereof, and that is in few words, that K. Iohn passed into Ireland with a Fleet of 500. sailes; so great were our sea-forces euen in his time.
Neither did our shipping for the warres first begin to flourish with king
Iohn, but long before his dayes in the reign of K. Edward the Confessor, of
William the Conquerour, of William Rufus and the rest, there were diuers
men of warre which did valiant seruice at sea, and for their paines were
roiially rewarded. All this and more then this you may see recorded, pag.
19. [Footnote: Of original edition.] out of the learned Gentleman M.
Lambert his Perambulation of Kent; namely, the antiquitie of the Kentish
Cinque ports, which of the sea-townes they were, how they were
infranchised, what gracious priviileges and high prerogatiues were by diuers
kings vouchsafed vpon them, and what seruices they were tied vnto in regard
thereof; to wit, how many ships, how many souldiers mariners, Garsons, and
for how many dayes each of them, and all of them were to furnish for the
kings vse; and lastly what great exploits they performed vnder the conduct
of Hubert of Burrough, as likewise against the Welshmen, vpon 200. French
ships, and vnder the commaund of captaine Henry Pay. Then haue you, pag.
130, [Footnote: Of original edition.] the franke and bountifull Charter
granted by king Edward the first, vpon the foresayd Cinque portes: & next
thereunto a Roll of the mightie fleet of seuen hundred ships which K.
Edward the third had with him vnto the siege of Caleis: out of which Roll
(before I proceed any further) let me giue you a double obseruation. First
that these ships, according to the number of the mariners which were in all
14151. persons, seeme to haue bene of great burthen; and secondly, that
Yarmouth an hauen towne in Northfolke (which I much wonder at) set foorth
almost twice as many ships and mariners, as either the king did at his owne
costs and charges, or as any one citie or towne in England besides. Howbeit
Tho. Walsingham maketh plaine and euident mention of a farre greater Fleete
of the same king; namely, of 1100. shippes lying before Sandwich, being all
of them sufficiently well furnished. Moreouer the Reader may behold, pag.
205, [Footnote: Of original edition.] a notable testimonie of the mightie
ships of that valiant prince king Henry the 5. who (when after his great
victory at Agincourt the Frenchmen to recouer Harflew had hired certain
Spanish and Italian ships and forces, & had vnited their owne strength vnto
them) sent his brother Iohn Duke of Bedford to encounter them, who bidding
them battell got the victory, taking some of their ships and, sinking
others, and putting the residue to dishonorable flight. Likewise comming
the next yeere with stronger powers, and being then also ouercome, they
were glad to conclude a perpetuall league with K. Henry: & propter eorum
naues (saieth mine Author) that is for the resistance of their ships, the
sayd king caused such huge ships to be built, quales non erant in mundo, as
the like were not to be found in the whole world besides.

But to leaue our ancient shipping, and descend vnto later times, I thinke
that neuer was any nation blessed of IEHOVAH, with a more glorious and
wonderfull victory vpon the Seas, then our vanquishing of the dreadfull
Spanish Armada, 1588. But why should I presume to call it our vanquishing;
when as the greatest part of them escaped vs, and were onely by Gods
out-stretched arme ouerwhelmed in the Seas, dashed in pieces against the
Rockes, and made fearefull spectacles and examples of his judgements vnto
all Christendome. An excellent discourse whereof, as likewise of the
honourable expedition vnder two of the most noble and valiant peeres of
this Realme, I meane the renoumed Erle of Essex, and the right honorable
the lord Charles Howard, lord high Admirall of England, made 1596. vnto the
strong citie of Cadiz, I haue set downe as a double epiphonema to conclude
this my first volume withall. Both of which, albeit they ought of right to
haue bene placed among the Southerne voyages of our nation, yet partly to
satisfie the importunitie of some of my special friends, and partly, not
longer to deprivie the diligent Reader of two such woorthy and long expected
discourses, I haue made bold to straine a little curtesie with that methode
which I first propounded vnto my selfe.

And here had I almost forgotten to put the Reader in mind of that learned
and Philosophical treatise of the true state of Iseland, and so
consequently of the Northren Seas & regions lying that way, wherein a great
number of none of the meanest Historiographers and Cosmographers of later
times, as namely, Munster, Gemma Frisius, Zieglerus, Krantzius, Saxo
Grammaticus, Olaus Magnus, Peucerus and others, are by euident arguments
 convinced of manifold errors, that is to say, as touching the true
situation and Northerly latitude of that Island, and of the distance
thereof from other places, touching the length of dayes in Sommer and of
nights in Winter, of the temperature of the land and sea, of the time and
maner of the congealing, continuance, and thawing of the Ice in those Seas,
of the first Discouerie and inhabiting of that Island, of the first
planting of Christianitie there, as likewise of the continuall flaming of
mountains, strange qualities of fountaines, of hel-mouth, and of purgatorie
which those authors haue fondly written and imagined to be there. All which
 treatise ought to be the more acceptable, first in that it hath brought
sound trueth with it, and secondly, in that it commeth from that farre
Northren climate which most men would suppose could not affoord any one so
learned a Patrone for it selfe.

And thus (friendly Reader) thou seest the briefe summe and scope of all my
labours for the common-wealths sake, and thy sake, bestowed vpon this first
Volume: which if thou shall as thankefully accept, as I haue willingly and
freely imparted with thee, I shall bee the better encouraged speedily to
acquaint thee with those rare, delightfull and profitable histories, which
I purpose (God willing) to publish concerning the Southerne and Westerne
parts of the World.

* * * * *

[Greek: EIS APODAEMIAS BRETTONON PONAEMA RIKARDOU TOU HAKLYITOU,

Hygon ho Brochthonos.

Ossoi gaian echousi Brotoi henos ekpephyasi
hos allaela horan ethnesi charma physei.
Hos de thaliplagktos metekiathen ethnea pleista,
hoikoi mimnazonous axiagastos ephy.
Exocha Brettanoi d', alloin schisthentes erantai,
idmenai allothroun phyla polysperea.
Indous hesperious kai eoous, Aithiopas te
kai Moschous, kai pant eschatounta genae.
Touton d' oia malista, klyta, klytos Haklyutos
graphen ariphradeos, mnaem aei essomenon.]

* * * * *
In nauales RICARDI HAKLUYTI Commentarios.

Anglia magnarum foecunda puerpera rerum,
siue solum spectes nobile, siue salum;

Insula materiem paruula laudis alit.

qua fidit ignotum peruia classis iter,

ostendisse suis ciuibus ausa mari

Oceani tristes spernere docta minas,

qua via per fluctus vila pattre potest,

Hoc opus Hakluyti; cui debet patria multum,

Quam prius obsessam tenebris sic liberat, vt nunc

RICH. MVLCASTER.

Eiusdem in eundem

Qui graui primus cecinit camoena

quos sibi adiunxit comites Ianson

Vectus in Argo
Tanta si merces calamum secuta

Quanta Rachardum manet Hakluytum

gloria? cuius

Penna descripsit freta mille, mille

omnia mundi

ibit in orbem:

Quam doces omni studio fouere

Hac luet quisquis violentus Anglo

vsserit hostis.

* * * * *

In eximium opus R. HAKLUYTI de Anglorum ad disiunctissimas regiones

nauigationibus GVLIELMI CAMDENI Hexastichon.

Angulus orbis erat, paruus & orbis erat.

Maximus orbis honos, Orbis & orbis erit.

Laus tua, crede mihi, non erit orbe minor.

* * * * *
Di Marc' Antonio Pigafeta Gentilhuomo Vicentino

Ignota mi starei, con poco honore
Sepolta nell' oscure, antiche carte,
S'alcun de figli miei con spesa & arte
Non hauesse hor scoperto il mio splendore

Ramusio pria pieno d' ardente amore
Manifesto le mie piu riche parte,

E doue il Negro allaga, e'l Gange scorre,
Hakluyto poi senza verun risguardo

Onde vedrassie dove bella sguardo,
E la Dwina agghiaccia, e l' Obi freme,
Et altri membri miei non ben palesi.

EXTRACT FROM OLDYS'S LIBRARIAN, 1738.
(Article Hakluyt's Voyages.) p. 137.

Oldys (having given a list of the contents of the three volumes of Hakluyt)
concludes,

This summary may sufficiently intimate what a treasury of maritime
knowledge it is, wherefore we shall here take our leave of it, with
referring only to a needful observation or two:

And first, As it has been so useful to many of our authors, not only in Cosmography, and Navigation, but in History, especially that of the glorious reign in which so many brave exploits were achievcd; As it has been such a LEADING STAR TO THE NAVAL HISTORIES since compiled; and saved from the wreck of oblivion many exemplary incidents in the lives of our most renowned navigators; it has therefore been unworthily omitted in the English historical library. And lastly, though the first volume of this collection, does frequently appear, by the date, in the title page, to be printed in 1599, the reader is not thence to conclude the said volume was then reprinted, but only the title page, as upon collating the books we have observed, and further, that in the said last printed title page, there is no mention made of the Cadiz Voyage; to omit which, might be one reason of reprinting that page; for it being one of the most prosperous and honourable enterprizes that ever the Earl of Essex was ingaged in, and he falling into the Queen's unpardonable displeasure at this time, our author, Mr. Hakluyt, might probably receive command or direction, even from one of the patrons to whom these Voyages are dedicated, who was of the contrary faction not only to suppress all memorial of that action in the front of this book, but even cancel the whole narrative thereof at the end of it, in all the copies (far the greatest part of the impression) which remained unpublished. And in that castrated manner the volume has descended to posterity; not but if the castration was intended to have been concealed from us, the last leaf of the preface would have been reprinted also, with the like omission of what is there mentioned concerning the insertion of this Voyage. But at last, about the middle of the late King's reign, an
uncastrated copy did arise, and the said Voyage was reprinted from it, whereby many imperfect books have been made complete.

EXTRACT FROM ZOUCH'S LIFE OF SIR PHILIP SIDNEY, page 317.

Every reader conversant in the annals of our Naval transactions will cheerfully acknowledge the merit of Richard Hakluyt, who devoted his studies to the investigation of those periods of the English history, which regard the improvement of navigation and commerce. He had the advantage of an academical education. He was elected Student of Christ-Church in Oxford in 1570, and was therefore contemporary with Sidney at the University. To him we are principally indebted for a clear and comprehensive description of those noble discoveries of the English nation made by sea or over land to the most distant quarter of the earth. His incomparable industry was remunerated with every possible encouragement by Sir Francis Walsingham and Sir Philip Sidney. To the latter, as to a most generous promoter of all ingenious and useful knowledge, he inscribed his first collection of voyages and discoveries, printed in 1582. Thus animated and encouraged, he was enabled to leave to posterity the fruits of his unwearied labours—an invaluable treasure of nautical information, preserved in volumes, which even at this day, affix to his name a brilliancy of reputation, which a series of ages can never efface or obscure.

CERTEINE TESTIMONIES CONCERNING K. ARTHUR AND HIS CONQUESTS OF THE NORTH REGIONS, TAKEN OUT OF
In the yere Of Christ, 517. king Arthur in the second yeere of his reign, hauing subdued all parts of Ireland, sailed with his fleet into Island, and brought it and the people thereof vnder his subiection. The rumour afterwards being spread thorowout all the other Islands, that no countrey was able to withstand him, Doldamus the king of Gotland, and Gunfacius the king of Orkney, came voluntarily vnto him, and yeelded him their obedience promising to pay him tribute. The Winter being spent, he returned into Britaine, and establishing his kingdome in perfect peace, he continued there for the space of twelue yeres.
After that king Arthur sending his messenger into divers kingdoms, he summoned such as were to come to his Court, as well out of France, as out of the adiacent Islands of the sea, &c. and a little after: From those adiacent Islands came Guillaumarius king of Ireland, Maluasius king of Island, Doldauius king of Gotland, Gunnasius king of Orkney, Lot the king of Norway, and Aschilius the king of Denmarke.

Lib 9. cap. 19.

pedites quot quisque debebat, promittunt, ita vt ex sex Insulis, videlicet,

viginti millia essent annumerata.

The same in English.

But the kings of the other Islands, because it was not their custome to breed vp horses, promised the king as many footmen, as euery man was bound to send: so that out of the six Islands, namely of Ireland, Island,
Gotland, Orkney, Norway, and Denmark, the king had sixe score thousand
souldiers sent him.

* * * * *

A testnnome of the right and appendances of the crowne of the kingdome of
Britaine, taken out of M. Lambard, his [Greek: Arkaionomia], fol 137.
pag. 2.

Arthurus qui fuit quondam inclytissimus Rex Britonum, vir magnus fuit &
aminosus, & miles illustris. Parum fuit ei regnum istud, non fuit animus

Hyberniam, & Gutlandiam, & Daciam, Semelandiam, Winlandiam, Curlandiam,
Roe, Femelandiam, Wirelandiam, Flandriam, Cherelam, Lappam, & omnes alias
terras & insulas, Orientalis Oceani vsque Russiam (in Lappa scilicet posuit

optimus fuit, & fecit eos baptizari, & vnum Deum per totam Norweiam
venerari, & vnum fidem Christi semper inuiolatam custodire, & suscipere.

tempore illo, vnde Norwegenienses dicunt se exissee de gente & sanguine regni

enim eorum arida est, & montuosa, & sterillis, & non sunt ibi segetes nisi

inter Anglos & Norwegenienses, & interfecti sunt innumerabiles. Occupauerunt
confederati sunt nobis fide, & sacramento, & per vxores suas, quas postea
ceperunt de sanguine nostro, & per affinitates, & coniugia. Ita demum
constituit, & eis concessit bonus rex Edouardus propinquus noster (qui fuit
optimus filius pacis) per commune consilium totius regni. Qua de causa
regno, sicut coniurati fratres nostri.

The same in English.

Arthur which was sometimes the most renowned king of the Britains, was a
mightie, and valiant man, and a famous warriour. This kingdome was too
little for him, & his minde was not contented with it. He therefore
valiantly subdued all Scantia, which is now called Norway, and all the
Islands beyond Norway, to wit, Island and Greenland, which are apperteining
to Norway, Sweueland, Ireland, Gotland, Denmarke, Someland, Windland,
Curland, Roe, Femeland, Wireland, Flanders, Cherilland, Lapland, and all
the other lands & Islands of the East sea, even unto Russia (in which
Lapland he placed the Easterly bounds of his Brittish Empire) and many
other Islands beyond Norway, even under the North pole, which are
appendances of Scantia, now called Norway. These people were wild and
sausage, and had not in them the loue of God nor of their neighbors, because
all euil commeth from the North, yet there were among them certeine
Christians liuing in secret. But king Arthur was an exceeding good
Christian, and caused them to be baptized, and thorowout all Norway to
worship one God, and to receiue and keepe inviolably for euer, faith in
Christ onely. At that time all the noble men of Norway tooke wiues of the
noble nation of the Britaines, whereupon the Norses say, that they are
descended of the race and blood of this kingdome. The aforesayd king Arthur
obtained also in those dayes of the Pope & court of Rome, that Norway
should be for euer annexed to the crowne of Britaine for the inlargement of
this kingdome, and he called it the chamber of Britaine. For this cause the
Norses say, that they ought to dwell with vs in this kingdome, to wit, that
they belong to the crowne of Britaine: for they had rather dwell here then
in their owne natie countrey, which is drie and full of mountaines, and
barren, and no graine growing there, but in certeine places. But this
countrey of Britaine is fruitfull, wherein corne and all other good things
do grow and increase, for which cause many cruell battels haue bene
oftentimes fought betwixt the Englishmen and the people of Norway, and
infinite numbers of people haue bene slaine, & the Norses haue possessed
many lands and Islands of this Empire, which vnto this day they doe
possesse, neither could they euer afterwards be fully expelled. But now at
length they are incorporated with vs by the receiuing of our religion and
sacraments, and by taking wiues of our nation, and by affinitie, and
marriages. For so the good king Edward (who was a notable mainteiner of
peace) ordained and granted vnto them by the generall consent of the whole
kingdome, so that the people may, and ought from hencefoorth dwell and
remaine in this kingdome with vs as our louing sworne brethren.

* * * * *

A testimonie out of the foresayd Galfridus Monumetensis concerning the
conquests, of Malgo, king of England. Lib. II. cap. 7.
Malgo succeeded Vortiponus which was the goodliest man in person of all Britaine, a prince that expulsed many tyrants. He was strong and valiant in warre, taller then most men that then liued, and exceeding famous for his vertues. This king also, obteined the gouernment of the whole Island of Britaine, and by most sharpe battailes he recouered to his Empire the sixe Islands of the Ocean sea, which before had bene made tributaries by king Arthur, namely Ireland, Island, Gotland, Orkney, Norway, and Denmarke.

* * * * *

The conquest of the Isles of Anglesey and Man by Edwin the Saxon king of Northumberland written in the second Booke and fift Chapter of Beda his Ecclesiasticall historie of the English nation.

fluminis plagam inhabitat, maiore potentia cunctis qui Britanniam incolunt,

sunt, Anglorum subiecit potestati.

The same in English.
Edwin king of the people Northumberland, that is to say of them which inhabit to the North of the river Humber, being of greater authontie then any other potentate in the whole Isle of Britaine, bare rule as well over the English as the British nation, except onely the people of Kent: who also brought in subiection under the English, the Isles of Man and Anglesey, and the other Northwesterne Isles of the Britons, which are situate betwene Britaine and Ireland.

Another testimonie alledged by Beda to the same purpose. Lib 2. cap 9.

Anno ab incarnacione Domini sexcentesimo vicesimo quarto, gens Menauias insulas (sicut & supra docuimus) imperio subiugavit Anglorum.

vberate foelcior, nongentarum sexaginta familiarum mensuram, iuxta

The Same in English.

In the yeere from the incarnation of our Lord, sixe hundreth twentie and foure, the people of Northumberland, to wit, those English people which inhabit on the North side of the river of Humber, together with their king Edwin, at the Christian preaching and perswasion of Paulinus aboue
mentioned, embraced the Gospel. Under which king, after he had once
accepted of the Christian faith, the power both of the heauenly & of his
earthly kingdome was enlarged; insomuch, that he (which no English king had
done before him) brought under his subjection all the provinces of
Britaine, which were inhabited either by the English men themselves, or by
the Britons. Moreover, he subdued unto the crowne of England (as we haue
above signified) the Hebrides, commonly called the Western Islands. The
principall wherof being more commodiously and pleasantly seated towards the
South, and more abounding with corne then the rest, containeth according to
the estimation of the English, roome enough for 960. families, and the
second for 300. and above.

* * * * *

The voyage of Bertus, generall of an armie sent into Ireland by Ecfridus
king of Northumberland, in the yere of our Lord 684, out of the 4. Booke
and 26. Chapter of Beda his Ecclesiasticall Hystorie.

gentem innoxiam, & nationi Anglorum semper amicissimam, ita vt nec
ecclesijs quidem aut monasterijs manus, parceret hostilis. At insulani &

Et quamuis maledici regnum Dei possidere non possint, creditum tamen est,

poenas sui reatus luerent.
The same in English.

In the yeere of our Lord 684, Ecfrid the king of Northumberland sent captaine Bert into Ireland with an armie, which Bert miserably wasted that innocent nation being alwayes most friendly vnto the people of England, insomuch that the fury of the enemy spared neither churches nor monasteries. Howbeit the Islanders to their power repelled armes with armes, and crauing Gods aid from heauen with continuall imprecations and curses, they pleaded for reuenge. And albeit cursed speakers can by no meanes inherit the kingdome of God, it was thought notwithstanding, that they which were accursed for their impiety did not long escape the vengeance of God imminent for their offences.

* * * * *

The voyage of Octher made to the Northeast parts beyond Norway, reported by himselfe vnto Alfred the famous king of England, about the yere 890.

Octher said, that the countrey wherein he dwelt was called Helgoland. Octher tolde his lord king Alfred that he dwelt furthest North of any other Norman. [Sidenote: Fynnes live by hunting and fishing.] He sayd that he dwelt towards the North part of the land toward the West coast: and affirmed that the land, notwithstanding it stretcheth marueilous farre towards the North, yet it is all desert and not inhabited, vnlesse it be very few places, here and there, where certeine Finnes dwell vpon the coast, who liue by hunting all the Winter, and by fishing in Summer. He
said that vpon a certeine time he fell into a fantasie and desire to prooue and know how farre that land stretched Northward, and whether there were any habitation of men North beyond the desert. Whereupon he tooke his voyage directly North along the coast, hauing vpon his steereboord alwayes the desert land, and vpon the leereboord the maine Ocean: and continued his course for the space of 3. dayes. [Sidenote: The Place wither the whale hunters trauel.] In which space he was come as far towards the North, as commonly the whale hunters use to trauell. Whence he proceeded in his course still towards the North so farre as he was able to saile in other 3. dayes. At the end whereof he perceiued that the coast turned towards the East, or els the sea opened with a maine gulfe into the land, he knew not how farre. Well he wist and remembred, that he was faine to stay till he had a Westerne winde, and somewhat Northerly: and thence he sailed plaine East along the coast still so far as he was able in the space of 4. dayes. At the end of which time he was compelled againe to stay till he had a full Northerly winde, forsomuch as the coast bowed thence directly towards the South, or at least wise the sea opened into the land he could not tell how farre: so that he sailed thence along the coast continually full South, so farre as he could trauaile in 5. dayes; and at the fifth dayes end he discouered a mightie riuer which opened very farre into the land. [Sidenote: The Riuer of Duina of likelihood.] At the entrie of which riuer he stayed his course, and conclusion turned back againe, for he durst not enter thereinto for feare of the inhabitants of the land; perceiuing that on the other side of the riuer the countrey was thorowly inhabited: which was the first peopled land that he had found since his departure from his owne dwelling: [Sidenote: A Desert countrey. Fynnes.] whereas continually thorowout all his voyage he had euermore on his steereboord, a wildernesse and desert countrey, except that in some places, he saw a few fishers,
fowlers, and hunters, which were all Fynnes: and all the way vpon his
leereboord was the maine ocean. [Sidenote: Biarmia.] The Biarmes had
inhabited and tilled their countrey indifferent well, notwithstanding he
was afrayed to go vpon shore. [Sidenote: Terfynnes.] But the countrey of
the Terfynnes lay all waste, and not inhabited, except it were, as we haue
sayd, whereas dwelled certeine hunters, fowlers, and fishers. The Biarmes
told him a number of stories both of their owne countrey, and of the
countrieys adjoynynge. Howbeit, he knew not, nor could affirme any thing for
certeine trueth; forsomuch as he was not vpon land, nor saw any himselfe.
[Sidenote: The Fynnes and Biarmes speak one language.] This onely he
judged, that the Fynnes and Biarmes speake but one language. [Sidenote:
Horsewhales teeth commended.] The principall purpose of his trauelie this
way, was to encrease the knowledge and discouerie of these coasts and
countrieyes, for the more commoditie of fishing of horsewhales, [Footnote:
Or morses.] which haue in their teeth bones of great price and excellencie:
whereof he brought some at his returne vnto the king. [Sidenote: Use of the
morses skins for cables.] Their skinnes are also very good to make cables
for shippes, and so vsed. This kinde of whale is much lesse in quantitie
then other kindes, hauing not in length or aboue seuen elles. And as for
the common kind of whales, the place of most and best hunting of them is in
his owne countrey: whereof some be 48. elles of length, and some 50. of
which sort he affirmed that he himselfe was one of the sixe, which in the
space of 3. dayes killed threescore. He was a man of exceeding wealth in
such riches, wherein the wealth of that countrey doth consist. [Sidenote:
Sixe hundreth raine Deere.] At the same time that he came to the king, he
had of his owne breed 600. tame Deere, of that kinde which they call Rane
Deere: of the which number 6, were stall Rane Deere, a beast of great
value, and maruellously esteemed among the Fynnes, for that with them they
catch the wilde Rane Deere. He was among the chiefe men of his countrey
one: and yet he, had but 20. kine, and 20. swine, and that little which he
tilled, he tilled it all with horses. [Sidenote: The Fynnes trubute.] Their
principall wealth consisteth in the tribute which the Fynnes pay them,
which is all in skinnes of wilde beasts, feathers of birds, whale bones,
and cables, and tacklings for shippes made of Whales or Seales skinnes.
[Sidenote: Note. Cables of Whales and Seales skins.] Every man payeth
according to his abilities. The richest pay ordinarily 15. cases of
Marterns, 5. Rane Deere skinnes, and one Beare, ten bushels of feathers, a
c coat of a Beares skinne, two cables threescore elles long a piece, the one
made of Whales skin, the other Seales.

He sayd, that the countrey of Norway was very long and small. So much of it
as either beareth any good pasture, or may be tilled, lieth vpon the Sea
coast, which notwithstanding in some places is very rockie and stonie:
[Sidenote: A description of Norway.] and all Eastward all along against the
inhabited land, lie wilde and huge hilles and mountaines, which are in some
places inhabited by the Fynnes. The inhabited land is broadest toward the
South & the further it stretcheth towards the North, it groweth euermore
smaller and smaller. Towards the South it is peraduenture threescore miles
in breth or broader in some places: about the middest, 30 miles or aboue,
and towards the North where it is smallest, he affirmeth that it proueth
not three miles from the Sea to the mountaines. [Sidenote: The breth of
the mountaines.] The mountaines be in breadth of such quantitie, as a man
is able to traueile ouer in a fortnight, and in some places no more then
may be trauailed in sixe dayes. [Sidenote: Swethland. Queeneland.] Right
ouer against this land in the other side of the mountaines, somewhat
towards the South lieth Swethland, and against the same towards the North, lieth Queeneland. The Quenes sometimes passing the mountaines, invade and spoile the Normans: and on the contrary part, the Normans likewise sometimes spoile their countrey. [Sidenote: Boats caried on mens backs.]

Among the mountaines be many and great lakes in sundry places of fresh water, into the which the Queenes vse to carie their boats vpon their backs ouer lande, and thereby invade and spoile the countrey of the Normans. These boats of theirs be very little and very light.

* * * * *

The voyage of Ochter out of his countrey of Halgoland into the sound of Denmarke vnto a port called Hetha, which seemeth to be Wismer or Rostorke.

Ochter sayd that the countrey wherein he dwelled, was called Halgoland: and affirmed that there was no man dwelling towards the North from him. From this countrey towards the South, there is a certeine port [Marginal note: Or streight.] [Footnote: It seemeth to be about Elsenborg—Original note_] called Scirings hall, whither, he sayth that a man was not able to saile in a moneths space, if he lay still by night, although he had euery day a full winde. [Sidenote: The description of the Sound of Denmarke.] And he shall saile all the way along the coast, hauing on his steereboord, first Iutland and the Islands which lie betwixt this countrey & Iutland, still along the coast of this countrey, till he came to Scirings hall hauing it on his larboord. At Scirings hall there entreth into the
land a maine gulfe of the Sea, which is so broad, that a man cannot see
ouer it: [Sidenote: Gotland.] and on the other side against the same, is
Gotland, and then Silland. This sea stretcheth many hundreth miles vp into
the land. [Sidenote: Vandals.] From Scirings hall he sayd that be sailed in
5. dayes to the port which is called Hetha, which lieth betwixt the
countries of Wendles, Saxons, and Angles, whereunto it is subiect. And as
he sailed thitherward from Scirings hall, he had vpon his steereboord
Denmarke, and on his leerboord the maine sea, for the space of 3. dayes:
[Sidenote: Hetha but two dayes sayling from Seland.] and 2. dayes before,
he arriued in Hetha, [Footnote: It seemeth to be Wismer or Rostocke--
_Original note_.] he had Gotland on leerboord, and Silland. with
diuers other Islands. In that countrey dwelt English men, before they came
into this land. And these 2. days he had vpon his leerboord the Islands
that are subiect to Denmarke.

* * * * *

Wolstans nauigation in the East sea, from Hetha to Trusco, which is about
Dantzig.

Wolstan sayd, that he departed from Hetha, and arriued at Trusco, in the
space of 7. dayes, and 7. nights: during which time, his shippe kept her
course continually vnder saile. All this voyage Wenedland [Footnote:
Prussia.] was still vpon his steerboord, and on his leerboord was Langland,
Layland, Falster, and Sconie: all which countreyes are subiect to Denmarke.
[Sidenote: Bargenland or Borholme.] Vpon his leerboord also, was
Bargenland, which hath a private king, to whom it is subject. Having left Bargenland, he passed by Blekingie, Meere, Eland and Gotland, having them on his leerboord: all which countreys are subject to Sweden: and Wenedland was all the way upon his steerboord, vntil he came to Wixel mouth.

[Sidenote: Wixel is the riuere that falleth into the sea by Dantzig.] Wixel is a very great riuere which runneth along betwixt Witland and Wenedland. Witland is appertaining to the Easterlings, and the riuere of Wixel runneth out of Wenedland into Eastmeere, which Eastmeere is at the least 15. miles in breadth. [Sidenote: Fusoo.] There runneth also another riuere called Ilsing from the East, and falleth into Eastmeere, out of another lake vpon the banke, whereupon is situated Fruso. So that Vsing commng out of Eastland, [Footnote: Lithuania.] and Wixel out of Wenedland, both fall together into Eastmeere, and there Wixel deprueth Ilsing of his name, and runneth thence West & North into the sea; whereof the place is called Wixelmouth.

[Sidenote: The description of Eastland.] Eastland is a very large land, and there be many cities and townes withn it, and in euery one of them is a king: whereby there is continually among them great strife and contention. There is great plentie of hony and fish.

[Sidenote: Mares milke a chiefe drinke.] The wealthiest men drinke commonly Mares milke, and the poore people and slaues meade. There is no ale brewed among the Easterlings, but of mead there is plentie.

* * * * *
I haue often times (sayd he) and many wayes looked into the state of
earthly kingdomes, generally the whole world ouer (as farre as it may be
yet knowne to Christian men commonly) being a studie of no great
difficultie, but rather a purpose somewhat answerable to a perfect
Cosmographer, to finde himselfe Cosmopolites, a citizen and member of the
whole and onely one mysticall citie vniuersall, and so consequently to
meditate of the Cosmopolitall gouernment thereof, vnder the King
almightie, passing on very swiftly toward the most dreadfull and most
comfortable terme prefixed.

And I finde (sayd he) that if this British Monarchie would heretofore haue
followed the advantages which they haue had onward, they might very well,
yer this, haue surpassed by iustice, and godly sort, any particular
Monarchie els, that euer was on earth since mans creation, and that to all
such purposes as to God are most acceptable, and to all perfect common
wealths, most honorable, profitable, and comfortable.

But yet (sayd he) there is a little locke of Lady Occasion flickering in
the aire, by our hands to catch hold on, whereby we may yet once more
(before all be vttterly past, and for euer) discreetly and valiantly recouer
and enjoie, if not all our ancient & due appurtenances to this Imperial
Brittish monarchie, yet at the least some such notable portion thereof, as
(all circumstances duey and justly appertaining to peace & amitie with
forrein princes being offred & vsed) this may become the most peaceable,
most rich, most puissant, & most florishing monarchie of all els (this day)
in chnstendome. Peaceable, I say, euen with the most part of the selfe same
respects that good king Edgar had (being but a Saxon) and by sundry such
meanes, as he chiefly in this Empire did put in provee and vse
triumphantlly, whereupon his sirname was Pacificus, most aptly and iustly.
This peaceable king Edgar had in his minde about six hundred yeeres past,
onely, & by no mans devise hath streamed downe into my imagination, being
as it becommeth a subiect carefull for the godly prosperitie of this
British Empire vnder our most peaceable Queene Elizabeth.

ducentas in Australi, mille ducentas in Septentrionali pelago constituit,
vt ad defensionem regni sui, contra exteras nationes, bellorum discrimina
sustinerent. [Footnote: _Translation_: "Edgar the Pacific, looking
forward to the benefit and peace of his kingdom, collected Four Thouand
Eight Hundred powerful ships, of which he stationed One Thousand Two
Hundred on the East Coast of England, One Thousand Two Hundred on the West
Coast, One Thousand Two Hundred on the South Coast, and One Thousand Two
Hundred on the Northern Coast, in order to be prepared for war in defence
of his kingdom against foreign nations.
"

O wisedome imperiall, most diligently to be imitated, _videlicet,
prospicere_, to foresee. O charitable kingly parent, that was touched
with ardent zeale, for procuring the publike profite of his kingdome, yea
and also the peaceable enjoying thereof. O, of an incredible masse of
treasure, a kingly portion, yet, in his coffers remayning: if then he had,
(or late) before any warres, seeing no notable taxe, or contribution publike
is historically mentioned to haue bene for the charges leuied: if in peace
he himselfe flourished so wealthily: O marueilous politicall, & princely
prudencie, in time of peace to foresee, and preuent, (and that most
puissantly, and inuincibly) all possible malice, fraude, force, and
mischeife forrain. O most discreet liberalitie to such excellent vses,
powring out his treasure so abundantly. O faithfull English people (then,)
and worthy subiects, of such an Imperiall and godly Gouernour. O your true,
and willing hearts, and blessed ready hands (then,) so to impart such
abundance of victuals for those huge Names maintenance: so (I say) as
neither dearth of famine, seemed (fondly) to be feared of you, for any
intolerable want likely to ensue thereby, nor prices of victuals complained
of to be unreasonable enhaunsed by you, finding, for their great sales so
good, and rare opportunitie.

This peaceable king Edgar, was one of the perfect Imperiall Monarches of
this British Empire, and therefore thus his fame remaineth (for euer)
recorded.

[Sidenote: Charta Regis Henrici secundi.] Anglii orbis Basileus, flos, &

sepelitur. [Footnote: _Translation_: “The king of the English realm,
that flower (of kings) and renowned Edgar, not less famous amongst the
English than Cyrus amongst the Persians, Romulus amongst the Romans,
Alexander amongst the Macedonians, Arsaces amongst the Parthians, Charles (the Great) amongst the Franks, in the 37th year of his age and 21st year of his reign with his brother and alone, died on the Ides of July, and was buried at Glastonbary."

O Glastonbury, Glastonbury, the treasurie of the carcases of so famous, and habet Antiquorum authoritas_) how lamentable is thy case nowe? howe hath hypocrisie and pride wrought thy desolation? though I omit here the names of very many other, both excellent holy men, and mighty princes, whose carcases are committed to thy custody, yet that Apostolike Ioseph, that triumphant British Arthur, and nowe this peaceable and prouident Saxon king Edgar, doe force me with a certayne sorrowful reuerence, here to celebrate thy memorie.

[Sidenote: Ranulphus Cestrinis.] This peaceable king, Edgar, (as by ancient Recordes may appeare) his Sommer progresses, and yerely chiefe pastimes were, the sailing round about this whole Isle of Albion, garded with his grand name of 4000. saile at the least, parted into 4. equall parts of petie Nauies, eche one being of 1000. ships, for so it is anciently recorded.

_Translation_: "The same Edgar collected Four Thousand ships, of which each year, after Easter, he placed One Thousand on each side of England,
and thus sailed round the Island in summer; but in winter he rendered justice throughout the country; and he did all this for the practice of his own navy and the terror of his enemies.”

Could, and would that peaceable & wise king Edgar, before need, as being in peace and quiet with all nations about him, and notwithstanding mistrusting his possible enemies, make his pastimes so roially, politically and triumphantly, with so many thousand ships, and at the least with ten times so many men as ships and that yererly? and shall we being not assured of such neighbors friendship as may become to vs as cruel and tyrannicall enemies as neuer king Edgar needed to dread the like, and they as many and mighty princes, as neuer king Edgar coped with the like, shall we (said he) not iudge it some part of wisdome, to imitate carefully in some litle proportion (though not with so many thousands) the prosperous pastimes of peaceable king Edgar, that Saxonick Alexander? yea, prosperous pastimes these may be iustly counted, by which he also made euident to the whole world, that as he wisely knew the ancient bounds and limits of this British Empire, so that he could and would royally, iustly, and triumphantly enjoy the same, spite of the deuil, and maugre the force of any forreine potentate. And al that, so highly and faithfully to the glory of God finally intended and brought to passe, as the wisest and godliest prelates and counsellors of those dayes (so counted of and recorded) coulde best aduise and direct him, or perchance, but sincerely commend and duetifully incourage him in, he being of himselfe so bent, as purposing first inuincibly to fortifie the chiefe and uttermost walles of his Islandish Monarchie, against all forreine encombrance possible. And in that fortification furthering and assuring to trust best his owne oversight and
judgement, in yerely viewing the same in euery quarter thereof, and that as it were for his pastime Imperiall, also in Sommer time, to the ende that afterward in all securitie, hee might in Winter time (vacare) be at conuenient leisure on land, chiefly to set foorth God's due honour and secondly to vnderstand and diligently to listen to the causes and complaints of his commons. For as Mattheus Westmonasteriensis of him to his Imperiall commendation hath left vs a remembrance.

vt intelligeret quomodo legum iura, & suorum statuta decretorum, a opprimerentur diligenter inuestigare solebat; in vno fortitudini, in altero

[Footnote: _Translation_: "He had, besides the habit of travelling through all the provinces of the kingdom, to ascertain how the enactments of the law and the ordinances of his decrees were carried out by those in authority; and he was careful that the poor who suffered injury from those in power should have justice done them, promoting courage in one, justice in another, in both ways benefiting the Crown and State. Thus on every side the fear of his enemies and the love of his subiects increased."]

Thus we see how in opportunitie, this peaceable Edgar procured to this Empire such prosperous securitie, that his true and faithfull subiects, all maner of wayes (that is at home and also at sea, both outward and inward) might peaceably, safely and scurely employ their wits and travels for the maruelious enriching of this kingdome and pleasuring very many other, carying forth the naturall commodities of this land, abounding here aboue our necessity vses (and due store reserued) and likewise againe furnishing
the same with all necessary and not superfluous foreign commodities, fetched from far or foreign countries. This was in deed (as before is recorded) a kingly providence. Reipub. Regnique utile sui consulens, &c. Besides with great utility and profit public and foresee and by his means enjoyed, he himself used most gladly the advantage of that security, in ministering of justice or causing the same to be executed all his kingdom over not squemishly, frowningly or scornfully shunning the ragged and tattered sleeve of any suppliant, holding up to him a simple soiled bill of complaint or petition, and that homely contrived, or affright at, and timerously hastening from the sickly pale face or feeble limmed sutor, extremely constrained so to speak for himself, nor partially smoothering his own conscience, to favour or maintain the foul fault and trespass unlawful of any his subjects, how mighty or necessary soever, they (els) passi, opprimenterunt.

Thus did public security from foreign foe abroad, and true love of his own subjects, guarding him at home, and the heavenly spirit directing all his good purposes, cause justice and equity in all quarters of this Albion to flourish. For which his peaceful and prosperous benefits at the eternall king his hand obtained, he became not insolent or declined to tyrannical regiment (as some princes in other countries have made their liues Comicotragical) but with all his foresaid invincible Sea-force, abundant wealth, triumphant peace, with security and justice over all his Monarchie prevailing, his heart was continually, and most zealously bent to set forth the glory, laude and honour of the Almighty Creator, the heavenly and everlasting king, by such principal and princely means, as (then) were deemed to God most acceptable, as many monuments yet to our
dayes remaining, do of him undoubtedly testifie: As this, for one

& Dominus, gratias ago ipsi Deo omnipotenti, Regi meo, qui meum Imperium
sic ampliavit, & exaltavit super regnum patrum meorum: qui licet Monarchiam
eorum ultra eius fines imperium suum dilatare aggressus est. Mihi autem
concessit propitia Diuinitas, cum Anglorum Imperio, omnia regna Insularum

Duos etiam omnes, meis Imperijs colla subdere (Dei laudente gratia) coegi.
Quapropter & ego Christi gloriam, & laudem exaltare, & eius seruitium
amplificare deuotus disposui, & per meos fideles Fautores, Dunstanum, viz.
Archiepiscopum, Athelwoldum, & Oswaldum episcopos (quos mihi patres
spirituales, & Consiliatores elegi) magna er parte, secundum quod disposui,
effeci, &c. [Footnote: _Translation_ "By the wide-extending Grace of the
mighty God of Thunders, who is king of kings, I, Edgar, king of Angles and
of all Kingdoms, and Islands, and of the Ocean lying around Britain,
Emperor and Lord of all the nations therein contained, return thanks to
that same, all-powerful God, my king, who has thus extended my Empire and
exalted me above the state of my forefathers, who, although they held sway
ouer all England from the days of Athelstan (who first conquered the
kingdom of the Angles and all the nations which inhabit Britain) yet none
attempted to extend his empire beyond the frontiers of Athelstan's kingdom.
Favouring Providence, however, has permitted me, together with the throne
of England, to add thereto all the kingdoms of the Islands of the Ocean,
with their warlike kings, as far as Norway, and the greater part of
Ireland, with its very powerful city of Dublin, all of whom, by the help of
God, I have compelled, to bow the neck to my power. Wherefore I desire to
exalt the glory and praise of Christ, and increase His worship, and by my
faithful counsellors, viz., Dunstan the Archbishop and Athelwold and
Oswald, bishops (whom I have chosen to be my spiritual Fathers and
Advisers), I have in a great measure performed what I intended etc."

Cathedralis Eliensis.

Brytonum, & omnium circumsirca Regionum, quieta pace perfruens, studiosus
authontate) crucis.

Thaumate confirmaui. [Footnote: _Translation_ "In the name of Almighty God,
eetc. Strengthened by the favour and grace of God, I, Edgar, king of the
favoured Isle of Albion having made subject to us the kingdoms of the
Scots, the Cumbrians, the Britons, and all regions around, in the enjoyment
of quiet peace, being anxious, to increase the praise of the Creator of all
things, in order that lukewarmness may not appear to render His worship
less earnest in these our days, etc., in the 18th year of my earthly reign,
and the year of the Holy Incarnation 973. etc., I, Edgar, king of all
Albion, haue confirmed that privilege, etc."
So that by all these rehearsed Records, it is most evident that the peaceable king Edgar, was one of those Monarchs, in whose handes (if life had suffised) the incredible value and priuilege granted by God and nature vnto this British monarchie might haue bene peaceably purchased in such sort, as the very blessing and favoure of the diuine Trinitie hath laid meanes for our industrie to attaine to, and enioye the same by.

And though sundry other valiant princes and kings of this land I could recite, which in times past haue either by intent gone about or by wise and valiant exploit, haue meetely well prospered towards this Islandish appropriate supremacie attaining, yet neuer any other reasonable meanes was vsed, or by humane wit, or industrie can be contriued, to al purposes sufficient, but only by our sea forces preuailing, and so by our inuincible enioying al within the sea limites of our British royaltie contained.

To which incredible political mysterie attaining, no easier, readier or perfecter plat and introduction, is (as yet) come to my imagination then is the present and continuall seruice of three score good and tall warlike ships, with twentie smaller barkes, and those 80. ships (great and smal) with 6660. apt men furnished, and all singularly well appointed for seruice both on sea and land, faithfully and diligently to be done in such circumspect and discreet order as partly I haue in other places declared, and further (vpon good occasion offered) may declare.

This grand name of peaceable King Edgar, of so many thousand ships, and
they furnished with an hundred thousand men at the least, with all the
finall intents of those sea forces, so invincible, continually maintained,
the order of the execution of their service, the godly and Imperial
successe thereof, are in a maner kingly lessons and prophetical
encouragements to vs left, even now to bee as prouident for publique
securitie as he was, to be as skilful of our sea right and royal limits,
and wisely to finde our selues as able to recouer and enjoy the same as he
was, who could not chuse, but with the passing and yeerely sayling about
this British Albion, with all the lesser Isles next adjacent round about
it, he could not chuse I say, but by such ful and peaceable possession,
find himselfe (according to right, and his hearts desire) the true and
souveraigne Monarch of all the British Ocean, enuironing any way his empire
of Albion and Ireland, with the lesser Islands next adjacent: with memorial
whereof, as with one very precious iweel Imperial, hee adorned the title
and crowne of his regalitie, as with the testimonie annexed of the states
and nobles of his Empire, to commit to perpetuall memorie, the stile of his
chiefe worldly dignitie, in this very tenor of words before also remembred.

[Sidenote: Note the Queens Maiesties royaltie ouer the British Ocean sea,

* * * * *

The voyage of Edmund and Edward the sonnes of King Edmund Ironside into
Hungarie, Anno D. 1017. Recorded by Florentius Wigorniensis pag. 391.

vnus scilicet Eadmundus processu temporis ibidem vitam finiuit. Eadwardus qua Margaretam Scotorum reginam, & Christinam Sanctimonialem, & Clitonem Eadgarum suscepit. [Footnote: "Pus par le conseil le duc Edric aveit il en pense de aver tue les fiz le re Edmund; cest a dire, Eduuard e Edmun. Mes pur ceo ke il fust avis ke ceo eust este grant honte ali, si il les eust fet tuer en Engleterre, e pur ceo ke il se duta ausi ke se il demorassent en Engleterre ke il pensent en prendre contre lui, il les envea al rei de Sueue, e ly manda ke il les meist ala mort: ki ne, voleit unkes fere sa priere mes les envea a Salomon le rei de Hungrie pur nurir. E tant com il furunt la, Edmund morust tost, e Eduuard prist a femme Agathe la filie le emperour Henri, de la quele il engendra Margarete, ki pus fust reyne de Escoce, e Edgar" (_Le Liuere de reis de Engleterre_, MS in Trinity College, Cambridge.)]

The same in English

Edric counselled king Kanutus to murther the young princes Edward and Edmund the sonnes of King Edmund. But because it seemed a thing very dishonourable vnto him to haue them put to death in England, hee sent them, after a short space, vnto the king of Sweden to be slaine. Who, albeit there was a league betweene them, would in no case condescend vnto Canutus
his bloody request, but sent them vnto Salomon [Footnote: An error for Stephen the Holy, who married the sister of Henry II William of Malmesbory makes Agatha the niece of Henry and daughter of Stephen.] the king of Hungarie to be nourished and preserued aliue. The one whereof namely Edmund in processe of time there deceased. But Edward receiued to wife Agatha daughter vnto the Germane Emperour Henry of whom he begot Margaret the Queene of the Seots, and Christina a Nunne, and Clito Edgar. [Footnote: Edgar Atheling]

* * * * *

Chronicle of the Kings of Man, taken out of M. Camdens Chorographie.

In the yeere of our Lord 1066, Edward King of England, of famous memory deceased, whom Harald sonne of Godwin succeeded in his kingdome, against which Harald the king of Norwaie called Harald Harfager fought a battel at Stamford bridge, where the English winning the fielde put all the Norwegians to flight: [Footnote: "Memes cel an Harald le rey de Norweye, frere Seint Olaf, ariva al flum de Tine a Nof Chastel ou plus de Ve granz neofs, a ki le connte Tostin, le frere le rey Harald de Engletere, vint ou sa nauie, si com il aveient fet covenant en semble, e vindrunt sus a Richale (_Richmond_) e desturent tut le pais de Euerwyk (_York_) E Kant cee out oy Harald, le rei de Engletere, tant tost se mist conntre eus ou son ost en vn liu ki hom apele Stamfordbrigge e la twa il le rey de Norweye e Tostin son frere de meine, e grant partie del ost. Mes IX. de ses chivalers pus le lesserent, pur cee ke il ne les voleit ren doner de la
preye ki il prist des Norreis." (_Le Liuere de reis de Engleterre_ MS in Trinity College, Cambridge.)] out of which flight one Godredus surnamed Crouan (the sonne of Harald the blacke, who had before time fled out of Island) repaired vnto Godred sonne of Syrric who then reigned in Man and was right friendly and honourably enterteined by him.

[Sidenote: Fingal.] In the very same yeere William the Conquerour subdued England and Godred the sonne of Syrric, king of Man, deceased, after whom succeeded his sonne Fingal.

In the yeere 1066. Godredus Crouan gathered a fleete of ships, and sailed vnto Man, and giuing battell vnto the people of the countrey, was vanquished and put to flight. The second time also hauing gathered his armie and ships together, hee came vnto Man, fought with the inhabitants, lost the victorie, and was chaced away. Yea, the third time [Footnote: in 1077] he assembled a great multitude, and comming by night vnto the port which is called Ramsa, [Footnote: Ramsay] hid 300. of his men in a wood standing vpon the side of the hill called Scacafel. The Sunne was no sooner vp, but the Mannians arranged themselues and with great furie set vpon Godred. And in the midst of the skirmish, the foresaid 300. men rising out of their ambush, and comming vpon the backes of the Mannians, molested them so sore, that they were enforced to flie. But when they saw that they were overcome and had no place of refuge to retire vnto (for the tide of the sea had filled the chanel of the riuer of Ramsa [Footnote: The riuer Colby]) and seeing the enemie so fiercely pursuing them on the other side, they which remained, with lamentable outcries beseeched Godred to spare their liues. Then hee being mouued with compassion, and pitying their extreme
calamitie, because hee had bene of late sustained and nourished among them, sounded a retreat and forbad his soldiers to make any longer pursuit. The day following Godred put his soldiers to their choice, whether they would divide Man among themselves and inhabite it, or whether they would take the wealth of the countrey, and so returne unto their owne home. Howbeit, it pleased them better to waste the whole Island and to enrich themselves with the commodities thereof, and so to returne from whence they came. Nowe Godred himselfe with a fewe Islanders which had remained with him, tooke possession of the South part of the Island, and unto the remnant of the Mannians he granted the North part thereof, vpon condition, that none of them should at any time afterward dare once to chalenge any parcell of the said ground by title of inheritance. Whereupon it commeth to passe, that unto this day the whole Island is the kings owne Fee-simple, and that all the revenues thereof pertaine unto him. [Sidenote: Boats hauing not past three yron nailes in them] Also Godredus subdued Dublin unto himselfe & a great part of Lainestir. And he so tamed the Scots, that none of them durst build a ship or a boate, with aboue three yron nailes in it. Hee reigned 16. yeeres and died in the Island called Yle. [Footnote: Yell, a northern island of the Shetland group, seventeen miles by seven.] He left behinde him three sonnes, Lagman, Harald, and Olaus. Lagman being the eldest chalenged the kingdome and reigned seuen yeeres. Howbeit Harald his brother rebell'd against him a long time, but being at length taken by Lagman, hee was gelt and had his eyes put out. Afterward Lagman repenting him that he had put out the eyes of his brother, did of his owne accord relinquish his kingdome, and taking vpon him the badge of the crosse, he went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, in which iourney also he died.
In the yeere 1075. all the principall men of the Islands hauing intelligence of the death of Lagman, sent messengers vnto Murccardus O-Brien King of Irland, requesting him that hee would send some wel-disposed person of his owne kinred and blood royall, vntill Olauus sonne of Godred were come to full age. The king most willingly condescended vnto their request, and sent vnto them one Dopnald the sonne of Tade, charging and commaunding him that with all meekenesse and modestie, hee should gouerne that kingdome, which of right belonged not vnto him. Howbeit he, after he had once attained vnto the kingdom, neglecting the commaundement of his lord, vsurped the gouernment with great tyrannie, committing many heinous crimes, and so he reigned very disorderly for the space of three yeeres. Then all the princes of the Islands making a generall conspiracie, banded themselues against him, and expelled him out of their dominions. And he flying into Irland returned no more vnto them.

In the yeere 1077. one Ingemundus was sent from the king of Norway, to take possession of the kingdome of the Islands. And being come vnto the Island of Leodus, [Footnote: Lewis.] he sent messengers vnto all the princes of the Islands to come vnto him, commaunding them to assemble themselues, and to appoint him to be their King. In the meane season he and his companions spent their time in robbing and rioting, rauished women and virgines, and addicted themselues to filthy pleasures and to the lustes of the flesh. And when these things, were reported vnto the princes of the Islands, who had assembled themselues to chuse him king, being mightely incensed thereat, they made haste towards him, and comming vpon him in the night they burnt the house wherein hee was and slue both him and the rest of his company, partly with sword and partly with fire.
In the yeere 1008. the abbey of S. Manes at Cistertrum was founded. In the
same yeere also Antiochri was taken by the Christians and a Comet appeared.

Moreouer the same yeere there was a battel fought betweene the inhabitants
of Man at Santwat [Footnote: In the parish of Jurby.] and they of the North
obtained the victory. In which battell were slaine Earle Othor and
Mac-Maras chieftaines of both parts.

The same yeere Magnus king of Norway, sonne of Olauus, sonne of Harald
Harfagre, being desirous to view the corpse of S. Olauus king and Martyr,
gave commaundment that his monument should be opened. But the Bishop and
the Clergie withstanding this his attempt, the king went very boldly and by
his kingly authoritie caused the cophin to be opened. And when hee had
scene with his eyes and handled with his hands the incorrupt body of the
foresaid King and Martyr, a sudden feare came vpon him and he departed with
great haste. The night following Olauus king and Martyr appeared vnto him
in a vision saying: Chuse (I say) vnto your selfe one of these two, either
within 30. dayes to lose your life with your kingdome, or else to depart
from Norway and neuer to see it againe. The King so soone as he was awaked
out of sleepe, called his princes and Senatours, and expounded the
foresaide vision vnto them. And they also being astonished thereat gaue him
this counsell, that with all speed he should depart out of Norway. Then he
without any further delay caused a Nauie of 160. ships to be proided, and
so sailed vnto the Islands of Orkney, which hee presently subdued, and
passing along through all the Islands and conquering them at length he came
vnto the Isle of Man, where he was no sooner arrived, but hee went vnto the
Isle of S. Patric to see the place of battell, where the inhabitants of Man
had of late fought, because many of the dead bodies were as yet vnburied.
And seeing that it was a most beautifull Island, it pleased him exceeding
well, and therefore hee made choice to inhabite therein his owne selfe, and
built forts there which are at this day called by his owne name. He had the
people of Galway in such awe that he constrained them to cut downe their
owne timber, and to bring it vnto his shore for the building of his fortes.
Hee sailed on further vnto the Isle of Anglesey neere vnto Wales, and
finding two harles therein (either of them being called by the name of
Hugo) be slue the one, and the other hee put to flight, and so subdued the
Island. But the Welshmen presented many gifts vnto him, and so bidding them
farewell he returned vnto Man. Vnto Murecard king of Irland he sent his
shooes, commaunding him that he should cary them on his shoulders, vpon the
birth-day of our Lord through the midst of his Palace, in the sight of his
Embassadours, that thereby it might appeare vnto them that he was subject
to king Magnus. Which when the Irishmen heard, they toke it grieuously
and disdeined much thereat. But the King being better advised, I had rather
(said he) not onely beare his shooes, but eate his shooes, then that king
Magnus should destroy any one prouince in Irland. Wherefore he fulfilled
his commaundement, and honourably enterteined his Embassadours. Many giftes
also he sent vnto king Magnus by them, and concluded a league. But the
messengers returning vnto their lord, tolde him of the situation of Irland,
of the beautie thereof, of the fruitfulness of the soile, and of the
holesomnesse of the aire. Magnus hearing these things was fully resolved to
conquer all Irland vnto himselfe. And for the same purpose he commaunded
that a Fleet should be made ready. But he taking his voyage with sixteene
ships, & being desirous to view the land, when he had vndiscreetly departed
from his Nauie, he was suddenly inuironed by the Irish, and was himselfe
slaine, together with all that were with him almost. Hee was interred neere
vnto the Church of S. Patric in Armagh. Hee reigned sixe yeeres. After his
death the Princes of the Islands sent for Olauus the sonne of Godredus
Crouan, who liued in the Court of Henry King of England son vnsto William
the Conquerour.

In the yeere 1102. Olaaus sonne of Godredus Crouan beganne his reigne and
reigned fourtie yeeres. He was a peaceable man being in league with all the
Kings of Scotland and Irland in his time. He took to wife Africa the
daughter of Fergusius of Galway, of whom he begat Godredus. Of his
concubines he begat Regnaldus, Lagmannus, and Haraldus, and many daughters,
whereof one married vnsto Sumerledus king of Herergaidel, [Footnote:
Argyll.] which afterward occasioned the ouerthrow of the whole kingdome of
the Islands. He begat foure sonnes by her, namely Dulgallus, Raignaldus,
Engus and Olaaus.

In the yeere 1134. Olaaus gaue vnsto Yuo the Abbat of Furnes a portion of
his owne ground in Man to build an Abbey in the place which is called
Russin. [Footnote: Rushen] Also hee inriched with revenues and indued with
priviledges al places of religion within his islands.

In the yere 1142. Godredus the son of Olaaus sailed vnsto the K. of Norway
called Hinge, and doing his homage vnsto him he remained with him, & was by
him honorably enterteined. The same vere the 3. sonnes of Harald brother
vnsto Olaaus, who were brought vp at the citie of Dublin, gathering together
a great multitude of people, and all the fugitives and vagabonds of the
ingdom resorted unto Man, and demanded of the said king the one halfe of
all the kingdom of the Islands. Which thing when the king heard, being
desirous to pacifie them, he answered that he would consult about that
matter. And a day and place being appointed, where the consultation should
bee kept, in the mean time those miscreants conspired together, about the
murdering of the King. And when the day appointed was come, both companies
assembled themselves unto the hauen towne called Ramsa, and they sate in
order, the king with his nobilitie on the one side, and they with their
confederates on the other side. Howbeit Regnaldu, who had an intention to
slay the king, stood a-side in the midst of the house talking with one of
the Princes of the lande. And being called to come unto the king he turned
himselfe about as if he would have saluted him, and lifting vp his
glittering axe, he chopped the kings head quite off at a blow. [Sidenote:
1143.] Nowe having committed this outrageous villanie, within a short space
they divided the Island between themselves, and gathering an armie
together sailed unto Galway, intending to subdue that also, howbeit the
people of Galway assembled themselves, and with great furie encountred with
them. Then they immediately turning their backs with great confusion fled
unto Man. And as touching all the Galweians which inhabited in the said
Island, some of them they slue, and the residue they banished.

In the yeere 1143. Godredus sonne of Olauus returning out of Norway was
created king of Man, who in revenge of his fathers death, put out the eyes
of two of Haralds sonnes and slue the thirde.

In the yeere 1144. Godredus began his reign, and hee reigned thirtie
yeeres. In the thirde yeere of his reign the citizens of Dublin sent for
him and created him king of Dublin, against whom Murecardus king of Irland
made warre, and encamping himselfe at the citie called Coridelis, he sent
his brother Osibel with 3000. horsemen vnto Dublin, who was slaine by
Godred and the Dubliners, the rest of his company being put to flight.
These things being thus finished, Godredus returned vnto Man, and began to
exercise tyrannie, disinheriting certaine of his nobles, of whome one
called Thorfinus the sonne of Oter, being mightier then the rest, went vnto
Sumerledus, and named Dubgal the sonne of Sumerledus, king of the Islands,
and subdued many of the said Islands on his behalfe. Whereof when Godred
had intelligence by one Paulus, prouiding a Nauie, hee went to meete
Sumerledus coming against him with 80. ships: [Sidenote: 1156.] and in the
yeere 1156. vpon the night of the feast of Epiphanie, there was a
Sea-battell fought, and many being slaine on both parts, the day folowing
they were pacified, and diuided the kingdome of the Islands among
themselves, and it continued two kingdomes from that day vnto this present
time. And this was the cause of the ruine of the monarchie of the Islands,
from which time the sonnes of Sumerled injoyed the one halfe thereof.

In the yeere 1158. Sumerled came vnto Man with 53. ships, putting Godred to
flight and wasting the Island: and Godred sailed vnto Norway to seeke for
aide against Sumerled. In the yere 1164. Sumerled gathered a fleete of 160.
ships together; and arriued at Rhinfrin, [Footnote: Renfrew] intending to
subdue all Scotland vnto himselfe: howbeit, by Gods iust iudgement being
overcome by a few, together with his sonne, and an innumerable multitude of
people, he was slaine. The very same yere there was a battel fought at
Ramsa, betweene Reginald the brother of Godred, and the inhabitants of Man,
but by the stratageme of a certaine Earle the Mannians were put to flight.

Then began Reginald to vsurpe the kingly authoritie. Howbeit his brother

Godred, within foure dayes after comming out of Norway with a great power

of armed men, apprehended his brother Reginald, gelt him, and put out his

eyes. The same yeere deceased Malcolme the king of Scots and his brother

William succeeded in the kmgdome.

In the yeere 1166. two Comets appeared in the moneth of August before the

rising of the Sunne, one to the South and another to the North.

In the yeere 1171. Richard earle of Penbroke sailed into Irland, and

subdued Dublin with a great part of Irland.

In the yere 1176. Iohn Curcy conquered Vlster vnto himselfe. And at the

same time also Viuianus legate from the sea of Rome came into Man, & caused

king Godred to bee lawfully wedded vnto his wife Phingola, daughter of

Maclotlen son of Murkartac king of Irland, mother of Olauus, who was then

3. yeeres old. Siluanus the abbat married them, vnto whom the very same

day, king Godred gaue a portion of ground in Mirescoge, where he built a

Monastery: howbeit, in processe of time, the said land with the monkes, was

granted vnto the abbey of Russin.

In the yere 1172. Reginaldus the son of Eacmarcat (a man descended of the

blood royal) comming into Man with a great multitude of people, in the

absence of the king, at the first conflict hee put to flight certaine

watchmen which kept the shoare, & slue about 30. persons. Whereupon the
very same day the Mannians arranging themselues put him, & almost almost al
his folowers to the sword.

In the yere 1183. O-Fogolt was vicount of Man.

In the yere 1185. the Sunne was ecclipsed vpon the feast of S. Philip and
Iacob.

In the yere 1187. deceased Godred king of the Islands, vpon the 4. of the
Ides of Nouember, and the next sommer his body was translated vnto the
island of Hy. He left 3. sonnes behinde him Reginaldus Olauus, and Yuarus.
In his life time he ordeined his sonne Olauus to be his heire apparant
because he onely was borne legitimate. But the Mannians, when Olauus was
scarce ten yeeres olde, sent vnto the islands for Reginald and created him
king.

In the yeere 1187. began Reginald the sonne of Godred to reigne ouer the
islands: and Murchardus a man of great power throughout all the kingdome of
the islands was put to death.

In the yere 1192. there was a battel fought betweene Reginald and Engus the
two sonnes of Sumerled: but Engus obtained the victory. The same yere was
the abbey of Russin remooued vnto Dufglas, [Footnote: Douglas] howbeit
within foure yeeres after the monkes returned vnto Russin.
Nicholas succeeded in his roome.

In the yere 1204. Hugo de Lacy inuaded Vlster with an armie and encountered with Iohn de Curcy, tooke him prisoner & subdued Vlster vnto himselfe.
Afterward he permitted the said Iohn to goe at libertie, who comming vnto king Reginald was honourably enterteined by him, because he was his sonne in lawe, for Iohn de Curcy had taken to wife Afrrica the daughter of Godredus, which founded the abbey of _S. Mary de iugo domini_, and was there buried.

In the yeere 1205. Iohn de Curcy & Reginald king of the islands inuading Vlster with a hundreth ships at the port which is called Stranfeord did negligently besiege the castle of Rath: but Walter de Lacy comming vpon them with his armie, put them to flight, & from that time Curcy neuer recouered his land. In the yeere 1210. Engus the son of Sumerled & his 3. sonnes were slaine.

[Sidenote: King Iohn passed into Irland with 500. sailes] At the same time Iohn king of England conducted a fleet of 500. ships into Irland, and subdued it vnto himselfe and sending a certaine earle named Fulco, vnto the isle of Man, his souldeiours almost utterly wasted it the space of 15. dayes, and hauing taken pledges they returned home into their owne countrey. King Reginald and his nobles were at this time absent from Man.

In the yere 1217. deceased Nicolas bishop of the islands, and was buried in
Vlster, in the house of Benchor, whom Reginald succeeded.

I thinke it not amisse to report somewhat more concerning the two foresaid brethren Reginaldus and Olauus.

Reginald gaue vnto his brother Olauus, the island called Lodhus or Lewes, which is saide to be larger then the rest of the islands, but almost destitute of inhabitants, because it is so ful of mountaines & quarreis, being almost no where fit for tillage. Howbeit the inhabitants thereof do liue for the most part vpon hunting and fishing. Olauus therefore went to take possession of this Island, and dwelt therein leading a poore life; and when he saw that it would by no meanes suffice for the sustentation of himselfe & his followers hee went boldly vnto his brother Reginald, who as then remained in the islands, & spake on this wise vnto him. My brother (said he) and my lord and king you know that the kingdom of the islands pertained vnto me by right of inheritance, howbet because the Lord had chosen you to beare the scepter, I doe not enuie that honour vnto you, neither doeth it any whit grieue me that you are exalted vnto this royall dignitie. Nowe therefore I beseech you to prouide mee some portion of land in the islands, whereby I may honestly liue. For the island of Lewis which you gaue me is not sufficient for my maintenance. Which his brother Reginald hearing said that he would consult about the premisses. And on the morow when Olauus was sent for to parle, Reginald comanded him to be attached, and to be caried vnto William king of Scotland and with him to remame prisoner: and Olauus remained in prison almost for the space of 7. yeres. But at the 7. yeres end William king of Scots deceased, and Alexander his sonne reigned in his stead. The foresaid William, before his
death, commanded that all prisoners should be set at libertie. Olauus therefore being at libertie came unto Man, and immediatly with a great company of nobles tooke his journey unto S. Iames: and his brother Reginald caused the said Olauus to take unto wife, the daughter of a certaine noble man of Kentyre, cousine german unto his owne wife, & by name being called Lauon, and he granted unto him the possession of Lewis. After a few dayes Reginald the bishop of the Islands hauing gathered a Synod, separated Olauus and Godred his sonne, and Lauon his wife, namely because shee was cousin german unto his former wife. Afterward Olauus maried Scristina daughter unto Ferkarus earle of Rosse.

Hereupon the wife of Reginald Queene of the Islands being incensed, sent letters unto the Island of Sky in K. Reginald his name to her sonne Godred willing him to take Olauus. Which comandement Godred putting in practise, & entring the isle of Lewis for the same purpose, Olauus fled in a little skiffe unto his father in law the earle of Rosse, & in the meane time Godred wasted the isle of Lewis. At the very same time Pol the son of Boke vicount of Sky, being a man of power in al the islands, because he would not consent unto Godred, fled, & dwelt together with Olauus in the dominions of the earle of Rosse, & making a league with Olauus, they went both in a ship unto Sky. To be short, sending certaine spies, they were informed that Godred remained secure with a smal company in a certaine Isle called the isle of S. Colomba. [Footnote: Iona.] And vniting unto themselues their friends and acquaintance, & others that would goe voluntarily with them, in the dead of the night, hauing lanced 5. ships from the next sea-shore, which was distant about the space of 2. furlongs from the foresaid Island, they enuironed the said Island on all sides. Now
Godred and his company rising early in the morning, and seeing themselves beset with their enemies on all sides, they were utterly astonished. Howbeit arming themselves they began stoutly to make resistance, but altogether in vaine. For about 9. of the clocke in the morning, Olauus and the foresaid vicount Pol, with all their soldiers, entred the Island, and hauing slaine all whom they found without the precincts of the Church, they apprehended Godred, gelding him, and putting out his eyes. Vnto which action Olauus gaue not his consent, neither could he withstand it, by reason of the forenamed vicount the son of Boke. This was done in the yere of Christ 1223. The next summer following Olauus hauing receiued pledges from all the chiefe men of the Islands, with a fleet of 32 ships sailed vnto Man, and arriued at Rognolfwaht. [Footnote: Peel.] [Sidenote: The Isle of Man advancd to a kingdome] At the same time Reginald and Olauus diuident the kingdome of the Islands beweteene themselues, Man being granted vnto Reginald, & besides his portion the name of a king also. Olauus hauing recieued certaine victuals of the people of Man, returned, together with his company, vnto his owne portion of Islands. The yeere following Reginald taking vnto him Alanus lord of Galway, together with his subiects of Man, sailed vnto the Islands, that hee might take away that portion of ground from his brother Olauus, which he had granted vnto him, and subdue it vnto himselfe. Howbeit, by reason that the people of Man had no list to fight against Olauus or the Islanders, because they bare good will towards them, Reginald and Alanus lord of Galway being defeated of their purpose, returned home vnto their owne. Within a short space after Reginald, vnder pretense of going vnto the Court of his lord the king of England, receiued an 100. markes of the people of Man, and tooke his iourney vnto Alanus lord of Galway. Which the people of Man hearing tooke great indignation thereat, insomuch that they sent for Olauus, and appointed him to be their king.
In the yeere 1226. Olauus recovered his inheritance, that is to say the
kingdome of Man and of the Islands, which Reginald his brother had gouerned
for the space of 38. yeeres, and he reigned two yeeres in safetie.

In the yeere 1228. Olauus with all his nobles of Man, and the stronger part
of his people, sailed vnto the Islands. A short space after Alanus lord of
Galway, Thomas earle of Athol, & king Reginald came vnto Man with a mightie
army, and wasted all the South part of Man, spoiled the Churches, and slue
all the men whom they could take, insomuch, that the Southpart of the
saide Island was brought almost into desolation. And then Alanus returned
with his army into his owne land, leauing behind him bailiffes and
substitutes in Man, which should gather vp and render vnto him the tribute
of the countrey. Howbeit king Olauus came suddenly vpon them, chaced them
away and recovered his kingdome. And the Mannians which of late were
dispersed and scattered abroad, began to vnite themselues, and to inhabite
without feare. The same yeere, in the time of Winter, vpon the sudden, and
in the very dead of the night came king Reginald out of Galway with fiue
ships, & burnt all the ships of his brother Olauus and of the nobles of
Man, at the isle of S. Patric, & concluding a peace with his brother,
remained at the port of Ragnolwath 40. dayes; in the meane while hee
allured vnto himselfe all the Islanders vpon the South part of Man, who
sware, that they would adventure their liues, vntill hee had gotten the one
halfe of his kingdome: contrary wise Olauus ioyned vnto himselfe them of
the North part, & vpon the 14. of February in the place called Tingualla,
[Footnote: Tynwald Mount.] a field was fought betweene the two brothers,
wherein Olauus got the victory, and Reginald the king was by certaine
souldiers slaine without the knowledge of his brother. Also certaine
pirates comming to the South part of Man, wasted & spoiled it. The monkes
of Russin conueyed the body of K. Reginald, vnto the abbey of S. Mary of
Fournes, & there he was interred in the place, which his owne selfe had
chosen for the purpose. After these things Olauus traueled vnto the king
of Norway, but before he was arriued there, Haco king of Norway appointed a
certaine noble man named Husbac the son of Owmund to be king of the Islands
of the Hebrides & called his name Haco. Then came the said Haco with Olauus
& Godred Don the son of Reginald and a multitude of Noruegians, vnto the
Islands, and while they were giuing an assault vnto a castle in the Island
of Both. [Footnote: Bute.] Haco being hit with a stone died, and was buried
in Iona.

In the yere 1230. came Olauus with Godredus Don and certeine Noruegians
vnto Man, and they parted the kingdome among themselues, Olauus stil
reteining Man. Godred as he was going vnto the Islands, was slaine in the
Isle of Lewis, & Olauus inioyed the kingdome of the islands also.

In the yere 1237. vpon the 12. of the kalends of lune, Olauus sonne of
Godred king of Man deceased in the isle of S. Patric, and was interred in
the abbey of Russin. He reigned 11. yeres, two while his brother was aliue,
and nine after his death.

Haraldus his sonne being of the age of 14. yeres, succeeded, and he reigned
12. yerees. The first yere of his reigne taking his iourney vnto the
islands, he appointed one Loglen his kinsman to be his deputie in Man. The
Autumne folowing Haraldus sent the three sonnes of Nel, namely Dufgaldus, Torquellus, & Molmore, and his friend Ioseph vnto Man, that they might enter into cosultation together. Wherefore the 25. day they assembled themselues at Tingualla: and malice growing betweene the sonnes of Nel, and Loglen they fel to blowes and skirmished sore on both parts, Molmore, Dufgald, and the foresaid Ioseph being all slaine in the fray. The Spring folowing, king Harald came into the Isle of Man, and Loglen fleeing into Wales, was himselfe, together with Godred the sonne of Olauus his pupil, and 40. others, drowned by shipwracke.

In the yere 1238. Gospatricius and Gillescrist sonne of Mac-Kerthac came from the king of Norway vnto Man, expelling Harald out of the said island, and taking tribute on the behalfe of the Noruegian king, because the said Harald refused to come vnto his Court.

In the yere 1240. Gospatricius deceased and was buried in the abbey of Russin.

In the yere 1239. Haraldus went vnto the king of Norway who within two yeres confirmed vnto him, his heires and successors, vnder seale, all the islands which his predecessors enioyed.

In the yeere 1242. Haraldus returned out of Norway vnto Man and being honorably receiued by the inhabitants he liued in peace with the kings of England and Scotland.
In the yere 1247. Haraldus (like as his father also before him) was
knighted by the king of England, and so being rewarded with many gifts he
returned home. The same yere he was sent for by the king of Norway, and he
maried his daughter. And in the yere 1249. as he was returning home with
his wife, with Laurence the elect of Man, and with many other nobles, neere
unto the confines of Radland, he was drowned in a tempest.

In the yere 1249. Reginald the sonne of Olauus and brother unto Harald
began to reigne the day next before the nones of May: and vpon the 30. day
of the same moneth he was slaine by Yuarus a soouldier, and other of his
complices in the South part of a certaine medow neere vnto the Church of
the holy Trinitie, and he was buried at the Church of S. Marie at Russin.

The same yere Alexander king of Scots prouided a great nauie of ships that
he might conquere the islands vnto himselfe, howbeit falling into an ague
at the isle of Kenwary [Footnote: Query, Kerrera.] he deceased.

Then Haraldus the sonne of Godred Don usurped the name of a king ouer the
islands, hee banished also all the princes of Harald the sonne of Olauus
and ordeined his fugitiues to bee princes and nobles in their stead.

In the yere 1250. Haraldus the son of Godred Don being summoned by letters
went vnto the king of Norway who deteined him in prison because he had
vniustly possessed the kingdome. The same yeere Magnus the sonne of Olauus,
and Iohn the sonne of Dugalt arriued at Roghalwhat, which Iohn named
himselfe king, but the Mannians taking it grieuously, that Magnus was not
nominated, draue them from their shoare, and many of the company perished
by shipwracke.

In the yeere 1252. came Magnus the sonne of Olauus vnto Man, and was
ordained king. The yere folowing he tooke his iourney vnto the king of
Norway & there he remained one whole yere.

In the yeere 1254. Haco king of Norway ordeined Magnus the sonne of Olauus
king of the islands, confirming them to him and to his heires, and by name
vnto Harald his brother.

In the yere 1256. Magnus tooke his iourney into England, and was by the
king of England created knight.

In the yere 1257. the Church of S. Maries of Russin was dedicated by
Richard bishop of Soder.

In the yeere 1260. Haco king of Norway came into the parts of Scotland, and
without atchieving ought, turning his course towards the Orcades he there
deceased at Kirwas. [Footnote: Kirkwall. The date is an error Hacos
expedition took place in 1263. He sailed from Herdle-Voer on the 5th of
July, and died Saturday, 15th December (_Det Norske Folks Historie_, by P.
A. Munch.)] and was buried at Bergen.
In the yeere 1265. Magnus the sonne of Olauus king of Man and of the Islands died at the castle of Russin, and was buried at the Church of St. Mary at Russin.

In the yere 1266. the kingdome of the Islands was translated vnto Alexander king of Scots.

* * * * *

That which followeth was written in a new character or letter, and of a diuers kinde from the former.

In the yeere 1270. vpon the seuenth day of October the Fleete of Alexander king of Scots arriued at Roghalwath, and the next day before the sunne rising there was a battell fought betweene the Mannians and the Scots, in the which conflict there were slaine 535. Mannians: whereupon a certaine versifier writeth to this effect:

Fiue hundreth fourtie men are slaine:
against ill haps,
Yee Mannians arme your selues, for feare
of afterclaps.

In the yeere 1313. Robert king of Scots beseiged the castle of Russin,
which Dingaway Dowil held against him howbeit at the last the king tooke
the castle.

In the yeere 1316. vpon the feast of Ascension, Richard le Mandeuile and
his brethren, with diuers great personages of Irland arriued at Ramaldwath,
demaunding to haue victuals and money ministred vnto them, because they had
bene spoyled by their enemies, which made continuall warre vpon them. But
when the whole company of the Mannians answered that they would giue
nothing, they proceeded against them in warlike maner with two bands, till
they were come vnder the side of the hill called Warthfel, in the fiele
where Iohn Mandeuile remained, and there hauing fought a battell, the Irish
ouercame the people of Man, and spoiled the Island and the Abbey of Russmin
also: and when they had reueled a whole moneth in the Island, lading their
ships they retained home.

* * * * *

The mariage of the daughter of Harald, slaine by William the conquerour,
vnto Ieruslaus duke of Russia, taken out of the 9. booke of the Danish

pietatis more accepit, puellamque Ruthenorum regi Waldemaro, (qui & ipse
ortum confluens communem stirpem duaram gentium ornamentum effecit.
The same in English.

Harald being slaine his two sonnes with their sister sped themselues immediatly into Denmarke. Whom Sweno forgetting their fathers deserts receiued in most kinde and friendly maner, and bestowed the yong damosell in mariage vpon Waldemarus king of Russia who was also called by his subiects Iarislaus. Afterward the said Waldemarus had by his daughter a nephew being duke at this present, who succeeded his predecessour both in lineal descent and in name also. Wherefore the English blood on the one side and the Russian on the other side concurring to the ioyful birth of our prince, caused that mutual kinred to be an ornament vnto both nations.

* * * * *

The state of the shipping of the Cinque ports from Edward the Confessour and William the Conquerour, and so dowe to Edward the first, faithfully gathered by the learned Gentleman M. William Lambert in his Perambulation of Kent, out of the most ancient Records of England.

[Sidenote: The antiquity of the Ports. 1070.] I finde in the booke of the generall suruey of the Realme, which William the Conquerour caused to bee made in the fourth yeere of his reigne, and to be called Domesday, because (as Matthew Parise saith) it spared no man but iudged all men indifferently, as the Lord in that great day wil do, that Douer, Sandwich,
and Rumney, were in the time of K. Edward the Confessour discharged almost of all maner of imposicions and burdens (which other townes did beare) in consideration of such seruice to bee done by them vpon the sea, as in their special titles shall hereafter appeare.

Whereupon, although I might ground reasonable coniecture, that the immunitie of the hauen Townes (which we nowe call by a certaine number, the Cinque Ports) might take their beginning from the same Edward: yet for as much as I read in the Chartre of K. Edward the first after the conquest (which is reported in our booke of Entries) A recitall of the graunts of sundry kings to the Fiue Ports, the same reaching no higher then to William the Conquerour, I will leaue my coniecture, and leane to his Chartre: contenting my selfe to yeele to the Conquerour, the thankes of other mens benefits, seeing those which were benefited, were wisely contented (as the case then stood) to like better of his confirmation (or second gift) then of K. Edwards first graunt, and endowment.

And to the ende that I may proceed in some maner of array, I will first shewe, which Townes were at the beginning taken for the Fiue Ports, and what others be now reputed in the same number: secondly, what seruice they ought, and did in times passed: and lastly, what priuiledges they haue therefore, and by what persons they haue bene gouerned.

If I should iudge by the common, and rude verse,

Douer, Sandwicus, Ry, Rum, Frigmare ventus,
I must say that Dover, Sandwich, Rie, Rumney, and Winchelsey, (for that is, Frigmare ventus) be the Fiue Ports: Againe, if I should be ruled by the Rolle which reciteth the Ports that send Barons to the Parliament, I must then adde to these, Hastings and Hyde, for they also haue their Barons as well as the other and so should I not onely, not shew which were the first Fiue, but also (by addition of two others) increase both the number, and doubtfulnesse. Leauing the verse therefore, for ignorance of the authour and suspition of his authoritie, and forsaking the Rolle (as not assured of the antiquitie) I will flee to Henry Bracton, [Sidenote: 1250.] a man both ancient, learned, and credible, which liued vnder K. Henry the thirde and wrote (aboue three hundreth yeeres since) learnedly of the lawes of this Realme.

[Sidenote: Citizens were called Barons in old time.] He (I say) in the third booke of his worke, [Footnote: _De Legibus et Consuetudinibus articles inquirable before the Iustice in Eire, (or Itinerent as we called them because they vsed to ride from place to place throughout the Realme, for administration of iustice) setteth forth a special fourme of writs, to be directed seuerally to the Bailifes of Hastings, Hithe, Rumney, Douer, and Sandwich, commanding them that they should cause twentie & foure of their Barons (for so their Burgesses, or townesmen, and the citizens of London likewise, were wont to be termed) to appeare before the Kings Iustices at Shipwey in Kent (as they accustomed to do) there to enquire of such points, as should be giuen in charge. [Sidenote: Contention betwene
Yarmouth and the Fiue Ports. 1250. Antiquitie of Yarmouth fishing.] Which
done, hee addeth moreouer, that forsomuch as there was oftentimes
contention betwene them of the Fiue Ports, & the inhabitants of Yarmouth in
Norfolke, and Donwich in Suffolke, there should be seuerall writs directed
to them also, returnable before the same lustices at the same day and
place, reciting, that where the King had by his former writs summoned the
Pleas of the Fiue Ports to bee holden at Shipwey, if any of the same townes
had cause to complaine of any (being within the liberties of the said
Ports) he should be at Shipwey to propound against him, and there to
receiue according to law and justice.

Thus much I recite out of Bracton, partly to shew that Shipwey was before
K. Edward the firsts time, the place of assembly for the Plees of the Fiue
Ports: partly to notifie the difference, and controuersie that long time
since was betwene these Ports, and those other townes: But purposely, and
chiefly, to proue, that Hastings, and Hithe, Douer, Rumney, and Sandwich,
were in Bractons time accompted the Fiue principall hauens or Ports, which
were endowed with priuiledge, and had the same ratified by the great
Chartre of England.

Neither yet will I deny, but that soone after, Winchelsey and Rie might be
added to the number. [Sidenote: 1268.] For I find in an old recorde, that
king Henry the third tooke into his owne hands (for the better defence of
the Realme) the townes of Winchelsey, and Rie, which belonged before to the
Monasterie of Fescampe in Normandie, and gaue therefore in exchange, the
Manor of Chiltham in Gloucestershire, & diuers other lands in
Lincolnshire. This he did, partly to conceale from the Priors Aliens the
intelligence of the secret affaires of his Realme, and partly because of a
great disobedience & excess, that was committed by the inhabitants of
Wincelsey, against Prince Edward his eldest sonne. And therefore, although
I can easily be led to thinke, that he submitted them for their correction
to the order, and governance of the Fiue ports, yet I stand doubtfull
whether hee made them partners of their priuiledges or no, for that had
bene a preferment, and no punishment vnto them: [Sidenote: Winchelsey first
builded 1277] but I suspect rather, that his sonne king Edward the first,
(by whose encouragement and aide, olde Winchelsey was afterward abandoned,
and the newe towne builded) was the first that apparelled them with that
preeminence.

By this therefore let it appeare, that Hastings, Douer, Hithe, Rumney, and
Sandwich, were the first Ports of priuiledge: which (because they were 5.
in number) both at the first gaue, and yet continue, to all the residue,
the name of Cinque Ports, although not onely Winchelsey and Rie, be (since
that time) incorporated with them as principals, but diuers other places
also (for the ease of their charge) be crept in, as partes, lims, and
members of the same.

Now therefore, somewhat shalbe said, as touching the seruices that these
Ports of duetie owe, and in deed haue done, to the Princes: whereof the one
(I meane with what number of vessels, in what maner of furniture, and for
how long season, they ought to wait on the king at the Sea, vpon their owne
charges) shall partly appeare by that which we shall presently say, and
partly by that which shall followe in Sandwich, and Rumney: The other shall
bee made manifest by examples, drawne out of good histories: and they both
shall be testified by the words of king Edward the first in his owne
Chartre.

The booke of Domesday before remembred, chargeth Douer with twentie vessels
at the sea, whereof eche to be furnished with one and twentie men for
fifteene dayes together: and saith further, that Rumney and Sandwich
answered the like seruice. But now whether this (like) ought to be
vnderstoode of the like altogether, both in respect of the number and
seruice, or of the (like) in respect of seruice according to the proportion
of their abilite onely, I may not hereby take vpon me to determine. For on
the one side, if Rumney, Sandwich, and the residue should likewise finde
twentie vessels a piece, then (as you shall anone see) the fiue Ports were
subiect to a greater charge at that time then King Edward the first layd
vpon them: And on the other side if they were onely chargeable after their
proportion, then know I not how farre to burthen them, seeing the Record of
Domesday it selfe bideth them to no certeintie. And therefore leauing this
as I find it I must elsewhere make inquisition for more lightsome profe.

And first I will haue recourse to king Edward the first his Chartre, in
which I read, that At ech time that the King passeth ouer the sea, the
Ports ought to rigge vp fiftie and seuen ships, (whereof every one to haue
twentie armed soouldiers) and to mainteine them at their owne costes, by the
space of fifteene dayes together.

And thus it stoode with the Ports for their generall charge, in the sixt
yeere of his reigne, for then was this Chartre sealed. But as touching the
particular burthen of ech one, I haue seen two diuers testimonies, of
which the first is a note in French (bearing the countenance of a Record)
and is intituled, to haue bene renued in the two and twentie yeere of the
Reigne of the same king, by Stephan Penchester, then Constable of Douer
Castle, in which the particular charge is set downe in this maner.

The Port of Hastings ought to finde three ships.
The lowe of Peuensey one.
Buluerhithe and Petit lahn, one.
Bekesborne in Kent, seuen.
Grenche at Gillingham in Kent, two men and armour, with the ships of
Hastings.
The towne of Rie, fiue.
To it was Tenterdene annexed, in the time of King Henrie the sixt.
The towne of Winchelsey, tenne.
The Port of Rumney, foure.
Lydde, seuen.
The Port of Hythe, fiue.
The Port of Douer, nineteene.
The towne of Folkestone, seuen.
The towne of Feuersharm, seuen.
The Port of Sandwich, with Stonor, Fordwich, Dale, &c. fiue.

These ships they ought to finde vpon fortie dayes summons, armed and
arrayed at their owne charge, and in ech of them twentie men, besides the
Master of the Mariners: all which they shall likewise mainteine fiue dayes
together at their owne costs, giuing to the Maister sixe pence by the day,
to the Constable sixe pence, and to ech other Mariner three pence. And
after those fiue dayes ended, the King shall deffray the charges.
The other is a Latine Custumall of the towne of Hyde, the which although it pretend not so great antiquity as the first, yet seemeth it to me to import as much or more likelihood and credit: It standeth thus.

These be the Fiue Ports of our soueraigne Lord the King hauing liberties, which other Ports haue not: Hasting, Romenal, Heth, Douer, Sandwich, the chiefe Townes. The seruices due by the same.

Hasting shall finde 21. ships, in euery ship 21. men, and a Garcion, or Boy, which is called a Gromet. To it perteine (as the members of one towne) the Seashore in Seford, Peuenshey, Hodeney, Winchelsey, Rie, Ihame, Bekesbourne, Grenge, Northie, Bulwerheth.

Romenal 5. ships, in euery ship 21. men, and a Garcion: To it perteine, as members thereof, Promhell, Lede, Eastwestone, Dengemareys, olde Rumney.

Hethe 5. ships, as Romenal before. To it perteineth the Westhethe.

Douer 21, ships, as Hasting before. To it pertaine, Folkstane, Feuersham, and S. Margarets, not concerning the land, but for the goods and cartels.

Sandwich 5. ships, as Romenal and hethe. To it pertaine Fordwich, Reculuer, Serre, and Dele, not for the soile, but for the goods.
Summe of ships 57.

Summe of the men 1187. and 57. Garcions.

This service, the Barons of the Five Ports do acknowledge to owe to the King, upon summons yearly (if it happen) by the space of 15. dayes together, at their owne costs and changes, accounting that for the first day of the 15. in which they shall spread their sailes to goe towards those parts that the King intendeth: and to serue so long after 15. dayes, as the King will, at his owne pay and wages.

Thus much out of these ancient notes, whereby your selfe may easily discerne the difference: but whether the one or the other, or (by reason of some latter dispensation) neither of these, haue place at this day, I must referre it to them that be priuie, and of counsell with the Ports: and so leauing this also vndecided, holde on the way, wherein I am entred.

This dutie of attendance therefore (being devised for the honourable transportation, and safe conduct of the Kings owne person or his armie ouer the narrow Seas) the Ports haue not onely most diligently euersince that time performed, but furthermore also valiantly behaued themselues against the enemie from time to time, in sundrie exploits by water, as occasion hath bene proffered, or the necessitie of the Realme required.
[Sidenote: The good service of the five ports. 1217] And amongst other
feats not unworthy perpetual remembrance, after such time as Lewes (the
eldest son of the French King) had entered the Realme to aide Stephan
Langton the Archbishop, and the Nobilitie, in the life of King John, and
had sent into France for new supply of Soldiers after his death, Hubert of
Borough (then captain of Douer) following the opinion of Themistocles in
the exposition of the oracle of the wooden walls, by the aide of the Port
townes, armed forty tall ships, and meeting with eighty sail of
Frenchmen upon the high seas, gave them a most courageous encounter, in
which he took some, sank others, and discomfited the rest.

King Henry the third also, after that he came to riper age, had great
benefit by the service of the Cinque Ports: [Sidenote: 1278.] And king
Edward the first in his Charter, maketh their continual faithful service
(and especially their good endevour, then lately shewed against the
Welshmen) the principal cause, and motive of that his liberall grant.

[Sidenote: 1293.] Furthermore, about the midst of the reign of the same
king, an hundred sail of the Nauie of the Ports fought at the Sea with a
fleet of 200. French men, all which (notwithstanding the great oddes of the
number) they took, and slew, and sank so many of the Mariners, that
France was thereby (for a long season after) in manner destitute, both of
Seamen, and shipping.

[Sidenote: 1406.] Finally, and to conclude this part, in the days of king
Henry the fourth, the name of the Fiue Ports, under the conduct of one
Henrie Paye, surprised one hundred and twenty French ships, all laden with Salt, Iron, Oile, and no worse merchandize.

[Sidenote: Privileges of the five ports.] The privileges of these Ports being first granted by Edward the Confessour, and William the Conquerour, and then confirmed and increased by William Rufus, Henrie the second, Richard the first, Henrie the third, and king Edward the first be very great, considering either the honour and ease, or the freedome and exemption, that the inhabitants haue by reason of the same.

Part of the great Charter granted by king Edward the first to the Barons of the Cinque portes, in the sixt yeere of his reigne 1278. for their good services done unto him by sea, wherein is mention of their former ancient Charters from Edward the Confessor, William the Conqueror, William Rufus, Henry the second, king Richard the first, king Iohn, and Henry the third continued unto them.

Edward by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, & duke of Gascogne, to all Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Earles, Barons, Justices, Shirifs, Prouosts, Officers, & to all Bayliffes and true subjects greeting. You shall knowe that for the faithfull service that our Barons of the fiue Ports hitherto to our predecessors kings of England, & unto vs lately in our armie of Wales haue done, and for their good service to us and our heires kings of England, truly to be continued in time to come, we haue granted & by this our Charter confirmed for us and our heires, to the same our Barons and to their heires, all their liberties and freedomes. So
that they shall be free from all toll, and from all custome; that is to say
from all lastage, tallage, passage, cariage, riuage, asponsage, and from
all wrecke, and from all their sale, carying and recarying through all our
realme and dominion, with socke and souke, toll and theme. And that they
shall haue Infangthefe, and that they shall be wreckefree, lastagefree, and
louecopfree. [Sidenote: The fishing at great Yarmouth.] And that they shall
haue Denne and Strande at great Yarmouth, according as it is contayned in
the ordinance by vs thereof made perpetually to bee obserued. And also that
they are free from all shires and hundreds: so that if any person will
plead against them, they shall not aunswere nor pleade otherwise then they
were wont to plead in the time of the lord, king Henrie our great
grandfather. And that they shall haue their findelles in the sea and in the
land. And that they be free of all their goods and of all their
marchandises as our freemen. And that they haue their honour in our court,
and their liberties throughout all the land wheresoever they shall come.
And that they shall be free for euer of all their lands, which in the time
of Lord Henrie the king our father [Sidenote: Henry the third.] they
possessed: that is to say in the 44. yere of his reign, from all maner of
summonces before our Iustices to any maner of pleadings, iourneying in what
shire soeuer their lands are. So that they shall not be bound to come
before the Iustices aforesaid, except any of the same Barons doe implead
any man, or if any man be impleaded. And that they shall not pleade in any
other place, except where they ought, and where they were wont, that is to
say, at Shepeway. And they that haue their liberties and freedomes from
hencefoorth, as they and their predecessors haue had them at any time
better, more fully and honourably in the time of the kings of England,
Edward [Sidenote: Edward the confessor.], William the first, William the
second, Henrie the king our great grandfather, and in the times of king
Richard, and king Iohn our grandfathers, and lord king Henrie our father, by their Charters, as the same Charters which the same our Barons thereof haue, and which we haue seene, doe reasonably testifie. And we forbid that no man vniustly trouble them nor their merchandise vpon our forfeyture of ten pounds. So neverthelesse, that when the same Barons shall fayle in doing of lustice or in receiuing of lustice, our Warden, and the wardens of our heires of the Cinque Portes, which for the time shall be, their Ports and liberties may enter for to doe their full lustice. [Sidenote: 57. Ships of the Cinque Ports bound to serue the king 15. dayes at their owne costs.] So also that the sayd Barons and their heires, do vnto vs and to our heirs kings of England by the yeare their full seruice of shippes at their costs by the space of fifteene dayes at our somounce, or at the somounce of our heires. We haue granted also vnto them of our speciall grace that they haue Outfangthefe in their lands within the Ports aforesayd, in the same manner that Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earles and Barons, haue in their manours in the countie of Kent. And they be not put in any Assises, Iuries, or Recognisances by reason of their forreine tenure against their will: and that they be free of all their owne wines for which they do trauaile of our right prise, [Footnote: Prisage--one cask in ten, on wine, was the first customs-duty levied in England.] that is to say, of one tunne before the mast, and of another behind the maste. We haue granted furthermore vnto the said Barons for vs and our heires, that they for euer haue this liberty, that is to say, That we or our heires shall not haue the wardship or mariages of their heires by reason of their landes, which they holde within the liberties and Portes aforesayde, for the which they doe their seruice aforesayde: and for the which wee and our progenitors had not the wardships and mariages in time past. But we our aforesayd confirmation vpon the liberties and freedomes aforesayde, and our grants following to them of our
especiall grace, of newe haue caused to be made, sauing alwaies in al
things our kingly dignitie: And sauing vnto vs and to our heires, plea of
our crowne, life and member. Wherefore we will and surely command for vs
and our heires that the aforesaid Barons and their heires for euer haue all
the aforesaid liberties and freedomes, as the aforesaid Charters do
reasonably testifie. And that of our especial grace they haue outfangthefe
in their lands within the Ports aforesaid after the manner that
Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earles and Barons haue in their manours in
the county of Kent. And that they be not put in Assizes, Iuries, or
recognisances by reason of their forreine tenure against their will. And
that they bee free of their owne wines for which they trauaile of our right
price or custome, that is to say of one tunne of wine before the maste, and
of another tunne behinde the maste. And that likewise for euer they haue
the libertie aforesayde: that is to say: That wee and our heires haue not
the worshipes or mariages of their heires by reason of their landes which
they holde within the liberties and Portes aforesayd, for the which their
servicie aforesaid, and for which wee and our predecessors the wardships and
mariages haue not had in times past, But our aforesayd confirmation of
their liberties and freedomes aforesaid and other grants following to them
of our especial grace of new we haue caused to bee made. Sauing alwayes
and in all things our regall dignity. And sauing vnto vs and our heires the
pleas of our crowne of life and member as is aforesayd. These being
witnesses, the reuerend father Robert of Portuens Cardinall of the holie
Church of Rome, frier William of Southhampton Prior prouincial of the
friers preachers in England, William of Valencia our vncle, Roger of the
dead sea, Roger of Clifford, Master Robert Samuel deane of Sarum, Master
Robert of Scarborough the Archdeacon of East Riding, Master Robert of
Seyton, Bartholomew of Southley, Thomas of Wayland, Walter of Hoptan,
Thomas of Normannel, Steuen of Pennester, Frances of Bonaua, Iohn of Lenetotes, Iohn of Metingham and others. Given by our hand at Westminster the fourteenth day of lune, in the sixth yeare of our reigne.

[Sidenote: Thomas Walsingham writeth that he had once 1100. strong shippes.] The roll of the huge fleete of Edward the third before Calice, extant in the kings wardrobe in London, whereby the wonderfull strength of England by sea in those days may appeare.

The South fleete.

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<th>Mariners</th>
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Mariners 160. Mariners 603.


Mariners 22. Mariners 315.


Mariners 25. Mariners 47.


Mariners 504. Mariners 770.


Mariners 336. Mariners 608.


Mariners 220. Mariners 25.


Mariners 596. Mariners 96.


Mariners 263. Mariners 65.


Mariners 156. Mariners 29.


Mariners 122. Mariners 79.


Mariners 329. stowe /Mariners 27.


Mariners 80. Mariners 60.


hooke /Mariners 117. Mariners 51.

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<td>Wareham</td>
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<td>Summe of the</td>
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<tr>
<td>South fleete</td>
<td>9630</td>
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[Footnote 1: Or, Morne.]
[Footnote 2: Or, Foy.]
[Footnote 3: Or, Seford.]
[Footnote 4: Or, Padstow.]

The North fleete

<table>
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Mariners 208. Mariners 15.

Mariners 576. Mariners 16.

Mariners 59. worth Mariners 12.

Mariners 159. Mariners 16.

Mariners 94. Mariners 12.


Mariners 314. Mariners 8.


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<tr>
<td>The Summe</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mariners 15</td>
<td>of the North 4521.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The summe totall of Ships 700.
all the English fleete Mariners 14151.

[Footnote 1: Stockhith]
[Footnote 2: Or, Linne]
[Footnote 3: Or, Yermouth]
[Footnote 4: Now Brickelsey]

Estrangers their ships and mariners

Mariners 439. Mariners 133.


Ireland Ships 1.
Mariners 25.

The summe of all the Estrangers Ships 38.
Mariners 805.

The summe of expenses aswell of wages & prests as for the expenses of the
kings houses, and for other gifts and rewards, shippes and other things
necessary to the parties of France and Normandie, and before Calice, during
the siege there, as it appeareth in the accompts of William Norwel keeper
of the kings Wardrobe from the 21. day of April in the 18 yeere of the
reigne of the said king vnto the foure and twentieth day of Nouember in the
one and twentieth yeere of his reigne, is iii. hondreth xxxvii. thousand
li. ix. s. iii. d.

* * * * *

A note out of Thomas Walsmgham [Footnote: Thomas Walsingham, a native of
Norfolk and Benedictine monk of St. Albans. He wrote _A History of
England, from 1273 to the Death of Henry V_, and _Ypodigma
touching the huge Fleeete of eleuen hundred well furnished ships wherewith
King Edward the third passed ouer vnto Calais in the yeere 1359.

equitauerat & vastarat: pro quibus omnibus ratificandis, idem Rex Edwardus
in Franciam nuncios suos direxit: quibus omnibus Franci contradixerunt.

mille currus, habuitque apud Sanwicam instructas optime vndecies centum
naues, & cum hoc apparatu ad humiliandum Francorum fastum Franciam
nauiguit, relicito domino Thoma de Woodstock filio suo minore admodum
paruulo Anglici regni custode, sub tutela tamen.

The same in English.
In the yeere of our Lord 1359. Iohn the French king craftily, and vnder
pretence of peace offered vnto Edward the third king of England, Flanders,
Picardie, Gascoigne, and other territories which he had spoyled and wasted,
for the ratifying of which agreement the foresaid king Edward sent his
ambassadors into France, but the Frenchmen gainsaied them in all their
articles and demaunds. Whereupon the king of England being prouoked,
speedily prepared himselfe and his forces to crosse the seas, carying with
him Edward Prince of Wales his heire apparant, and Henry duke of Lancaster
and almost all his Nobles, with a thousand wagons and cartes attending vpon
them. And the said king had at Sandwich eleuen hundred ships exceedingly
well furnished: with which preparation he passed ouer the seas, to abate
the Frenchmens arrogancie, leauing his yonger sonne Thomas of Woodstocke,
being very tender of age as his vicegerent in the Realme of England, albeit
not without a protectour, &c.

* * * * *

The voyage of Nicholas de Lynna a Franciscan Frier, and an excellent
Mathematician of Oxford, to all the Regions situate vnder the North pole,
in the yeere 1360. and in the raigne of Edward the 3. king of England.

[Sidenote: The words of Gerardus Mercator in the foote of his general Map
vpon the description of the North partes.] Quod ad descriptionem partium
Septentrionalium attinet, eam nos accipimus ex Itinerario Iacobi Cnoyen
1364. didicit. Descenderat is ex illis quos Arthurus ad has habitandas insulas miserat, & referebat, An. 1360. Minoritam quendam Anglum Oxonieasem Mathematicum in eas insulas venisse, ipsisque relictis ad ulteriora arte Magica profectu descripsisse omnia, & Astrolabio dimensum esse in hanc

enim scribit. Non procul ab insulis Hebridibus, Islandia, &c. ex parte

vndique fluctus marini tanquam ex condito fluunt, & recurrunt, qui in

fluctuum violentia, vt eam statim irreuocabilter vis voracitatis absorbeat.

Quatuor voragines huius Oceani, a quatuor oppositis mundi partibus

causaliter peruenire nonnulli coniectant.

The same in English.

Touching the description of the North partes, I haue taken the same out of the voyage of Iames Cnoyen of Hartzeuan Buske, which alleageth certaine conquests of Arthur king of Britaine: and the most part, and chiefest things among the rest, he learned of a certaine priest in the king of Norwayes court, in the yeere 1364. This priest was descended from them which king Arthur had sent to inhabite these Islands, and he reported that in the yeere 1360, a certaine English Frier, a Franciscan, and a Mathematician of Oxford, came into those Islands, who leauing them, and
passing further by his Magicall Arte, described all those places that he sawe, and tooke the height of them with his Astrolabe, according to the forme that I (Gerard Mercator) haue set downe in my mappe, and as I haue taken it out of the aforesaid Iames Cnoyen. Hee sayd that those foure Indraughts were drawne into an inward gulfe or whirlepoole, with so great a force, that the ships which once entred therein, could by no meanes be driuen backe againe, and that there is neuer in those parts so much winde blowing, as might be sufficient to driue a Corne mill.

Giraldus Cambrensis (who flourished in the yeere 1210, vnder king Iohn) in his booke of the miracles of Ireland, hath certaine words altogether alike with these videlicet:

[Sidenote: There is a notable whirlepoole on the coast of Norway, caled Islands (namely the Hebrides, Island &c.) towards the North there is a certaine woonderful whirlpoole of the sea, whereinto all the waues of the sea from farre haue their course and recourse, as it were without stoppe: which, there conueying themselues into the secret receptacles of nature, are swallowed vp, as it were, into a bottomlesse pit, and if it chance that any shippe doe passe this way, it is pulled, and drawen with such a violence of the waues, that eftsoones without remedy, the force of the whirlepoole deuoureth the same.

The Philosophers describe foure indraughts of this Ocean sea, in the foure opposite quarters of the world, from whence many doe coniecture that as well the flowing of the sea, as the blasts of the winde, haue their first
A Testimonie of the learned Mathematician master Iohn Dee, [Footnote: Born in London in 1537. He was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. He was a man of vast erudition, but being, in Mary's reign, suspected of devoting himself to the "black art," a mob broke into his house and destroyed his library, museum, and mathematical instruments, said to be with Queen Elizabeth, who is said to haue paid him a salary, employed him on secret political missions, and visited him at Mortlake. He professed to be able to raise the dead, and had a magic ball (in reality a lump of black lead), in which he pretended to read the future, and which was afterwards in Horace Walpole's collection at Strawberry Hill. In 1596. he was made Warden of Manchester College, and died in 1608.] touching theforesaid voyage of Nicholas De Linna.

Anno 1360. (that is to wit, in the 34. yeere of the reigne of the triumphant king Edward the third) a frier of Oxford, being a good Astronomer, went in companie with others to the most Northren Islands of the world, and there leauing his company together, hee transited alone, and purposely described all the Northerne Islands, with the indraweing seas: and the record thereof at his returne he deliuered to the king of England.

[Sidenote: Inuentio Fortunata.] The name of which booke is Inuentio Which frier for sundry purposes after that did fiue times passe from
England thither, and home againe.

It is to be noted, that from the hauen of Linne in Norfolke (whereof the foresaid Francisan frier tooke his name) to Island, it is not about a fortnights sailing with an ordinarie winde, and hath bene of many yeeres a very common and vsuall trade: which further appeareth by the priuileges granted to the Fisher men of the towne of Blacknie in the said Countie of Norfolke, by king Edward the third for their exemption and freedome from his ordinary servuice in respect of their trade to Island. [Sidenote: An 2. & 4. & 31. Edwardi tertij.]

* * * * *

The voyage of Henry Earle of Derbie, after Duke of Hereford and lastly king of England by the name of Henry the fourth, An. Dom 1340. into Prussia and Lettowe against the infidels, recorded by Thomas of Walsingham

propter infirmitates, quibus vexabatur exercitus magistri de Pruys & de Lettowe octo. Et magister de Lifland duxit secum in suam patriam tria millia captuorum.

The same in English.

About the same time L. Henry the Earle of Derbie trauailed into Prussia, where, with the helpe of the Marshall of the same Prouince, and of a certaine king called Wytot, hee vanquished the armie of the king of Lettowe, with the captiuitie of foure Lithuanian Dukes, and the slaughter of three, besides more then three hundred of the principall common soldiers of the sayd armie which were slaine. The Citie also which is called Wil or Vilna, into the castle whereof the king of Lettow named Skirgalle fled for his sauegard, was, by the valour of the sayd Earle especially and of his followers, surprised and taken. For certaine of the chiefe men of his familie, while others were slouthfull or at least ignorant of their intent, skaling the walles, advanced his colours thereupon. And there were taken and slaine foure thousand of the common soldiers, and amongst others was slaine the king of Poland his brother, who was our professed enemie. And the castle of the foresaid Citie was besieged for the space of fiue weekes: but by reason of the infirmities and inconueniences wherewith the whole armie was annoyed, the great masters of Prussia and of Lifland would not stay any longer. There were converted of the nation of Lettowe eight persons vnto the Christian faith. And the master of Lifland carried home with him into his countrey three thousand captuies.
The voyage of Thomas of Woodstocke Duke of Glocester into Prussia, in the yeere 1391. written by Thomas Walsingham.

le Pruys: quem non Loudinensium gemitus, non communis vulgi moeror retinere
circumfertur; & in tantum destituitur, vt de vita etiam desperaret.
[Sidenote: Reditus.] Tandem post Daciam, post Norwagiam, post Scottam barbariem non sine mortis pauore transcorsam, peruenit Northumbriam, & ad castellum se contulit de Tinnemutha velut assylum antiquitus notum sibi: vbi per aliquot dies recreatus iter assumpsit versus manerium suum de aduentu suo.

The same in English.

At the same time the Duke of Glocester Lord Thomas of Woodstock (the yongest sonne of Edward the third) to the great griefe of many, tooke his iourney towards Prussia: whom neither the Londoners mones nor yet the lamentation of the communaltie could restraine from his intended expedition. For the common people both of the Citie and of the countrey
feared lest in his absence some newe calamitie might happen; which they feared not while he was present. For in him the whole nation seemed to repose their hope and comfort. Howbeit hauing skarce passed as yet the bounds of his owne countrey, he was immediatly by hard fortune tossed vp and downe with dangerous stormes and tempests, and was brought into such distresse, that he despaired euen of his owne life. At length, hauing not without danger of death, sailed along the coastes of Denmarke, Norway, and Scotland, he returned into Northumberland, and went to the castle of Tinmouth as vnto a place of refuge knowen of olde vnto him; where, after hee had refreshed himselfe a fewe dayes, hee tooke his iourney toward his Mannour of Plashy, bringing great ioy vnto the whole kingdome, aswell in regard of his safetie as of his returne.

* * * * *

The verses of Geofrey Chaucer in the knights Prologue, who liuing in the yeere 1402. [Footnote: Chaucer died 25. October, 1400, according to the inscription on his tombstone at Westminster. Urry, in his edition of Chaucer, folio, 1721, p. 534, attributes the _Epistle to Cupid_ to Thomas Occlue, Chaucer's scholar, but does not give his authority.] (as hee writeth himselfe in his Epistle of Cupide) shewed that the English Knights after the losse of Acon, were wont in his time to trauaile into Prussia and Lettowe, and other heathen lands, to aduance the Christian faith against Infidels and miscreants, and to seeke honour by feats of armes.
A Knight there was, and that a worthie man,
that from the time that he first began
to riden out, he loued Cheualrie,
truth, honour, freedome, and Curtesie.
full worthy was he in his lords warre:
and thereto had hee ridden no man farre,
As well in Christendome as in Heathennesse,
and euer had honour for his worthinesse.

At Alisandre hee was, when it was wonne:
full oft time hee had the bourd begon
abouen all nations in Pruce,
In Lettowe had hee riden, and in Ruce,
no Christen man so oft of his degree:
In Granade at the siege had he bee
At Algezer[1]: and ridden in Belmarye:
At Leyes [2] was hee, and also at Satalye,[3]
when they were wonne: and in the great see
at many a Noble armie had hee bee.
At mortall battailes had he bin fifteene,
And foughten for our faith at Tramissen,[4]
in listes thries, and aye slayne his foe:
This ilke worthie Knight had bin also,
sometime with the lord of Palathye [5]
ayenst another Heathen in Turkie.

Written in the lustie moneth of May
in our Palace, where many a million
of louers true haue habitation,
The yeere of grace ioyfull and iocond,
a thousand, foure hundred and second.

[Footnote 1: Algezer in Granado.]
[Footnote 2: Layas in Armenia. Froysart. lib. 3. cap. 40.]
[Footnote 3: Satalie in the mayne of Asia neere Rhods.]
[Footnote 4: Tremisen is in Barbarie.]
[Footnote 5: Or, Palice. Froysart lib. 3. cap. 40.]

* * * * *

The original proceedings and sucessse of the Northren domestical and forren
trades and traffique of this Isle of Britain from the time of Nero the
Emperour, who deceased in the yeere of our Lord 70. vnder the Romans,
Britons, Saxons, and Danes, till the conquest: and from the conquest,
vntill this present time, gathered out of the most authentical histories
and records of this nation.
A testimone out of the fourteenth Booke of the Annales of Cornelius Tacitus, proouing London to haue bene a famous Mart Towne in the reigne of Nero the Emperour, which died in the yeere of Christ 70.

At Suetonius mira constantia medios inter hostes Londinium perrexit,

maxime celebre.

The same in English.

But Suetonius with wonderfull constancie passed through the middest of his enemies, vnto London, which though it were not honoured with the name and title of a Romane Colonie, yet was it most famous for multitude of Marchants and concourse of people.

A testimonie out of Venerable Beda (which died in the yeere of our Lord 734.) proouing London to haue bene a Citie of great traffike and Marchandize not long after the beginning of the Saxons reigne.
Archiepiscopus ordinavit duos Episcopos, Mellitum videlicet & Iustum:

multorum emporium populorum, terra marique venientium. [Footnote: Beda

The same in English.

In the yeere of the incarnation of Chnst 604. Augustine Archbishop of
Britaine consecrated two Bishops, to wit Mellitus and Iustus. He appoynted
Mellitus to preach to the East Saxons which are diuided from Kent by the
riuer of Thames, and border vpon the Easterne sea, whose chiefe and
Metropolitane Citie is London seated vpon the banke of the aforesaid riuer,
which is also a Marte Towne of many nations, which repayre thither by sea
and by land.

* * * * *

The league betweene Carolus Magnus and Offa King of Mercia concerning safe
trade of the English Marchants in all the Emperours Dominion. This Offa
died in the yeere of our Lord 795.

Offa interea Carolum magnum Regem Francorum frequentibus legationibus
amicum parauit: quamuis non facile quod suis artibus conduceret in Caroli
animo inuenerit. Discordarunt antea, adeo vt magnis motibus vtrobie
concurrentibus, etiam negociatorum commenatus prohiberentur. Est Epistola
Albini huiusce rei index, cuius partem hic apponam.

Nescio quid de nobis venturum sit. [Sidenote: Nauigatio interdicta.]
Aliquid enim dissentionis diabolico fomento inflammante, nuper inter Regem Carolum & Regem Offam exortum est: ita vt vtrinque nauigatio interdicta negociantibus cesset. Sunt qui dicant nos pro pace in illas partes mittendos. Et nonnullis interpositis, Nunc, inquit, ex verbis Caroli foedus firmum inter eum & Offam compactum subijciam. Carolus gratia Dei Rex Francorum, & Longobardorum, & patricius Romanorum, viro venerando & fratri laudabiler paginis reperimus exaratum. De peregrinis vero qui pro amore Dei, & salute animarum suarum beatiorum Apostolorum limina desiderant adire, cum pace sine omni perturbatione vadant. Sed si aliqui, non religioni seruientes, sed lucra sectantes, inueniantur inter eos, locis opportunis statuta soluant telonia. [Sidenote: Negociatorum Anglicanorum patrocinium.]
Negociatores quoque volumus vt ex mandato nostro patrocinium habeant in Regno nostro legitime. Et si aliquo loco iniusta affligantur oppressione, reclament ad nos vel nostros indices, & plenam videbimus iustitiam fieri.

[Footnote: Malmsbur. de gestis Regum Anglorum lib. 1. cap 4.]

The same in English.

In the meane season Offa by often legacies solicited Charles le maigne the king of France, to be his friend: albeit he could not easily finde king Charles any whit enclined to further and promote his craftie attempts.

[Sidenote: Traffique prohibited] Their mindes were so alienated before,
that bearing hauty stomacks on both parts, euen the mutuall traffique of
their Marchants was prohibited. The Epistle of Albmus is a sufficient
testimony of this matter part whereof I will here put downe.

I know not (quoth he) what will become of vs. [Sidenote: Nauigation
forbidden.] For there is of late, by the instigation of the deuill, some
discord and variance sprung vp betweene king Charles and king Offa:
insomuch that sailing to and fro is forbidden vnto the Marchants of both
their dominions. Some say that we are to be sent, for the obtaining of a
peace, into those partes. And againe, after a fewe lines. Nowe (quoth he)
out of Charles his owne words, I will make report of the league concluded
betweene him and Offa.

[Sidenote: A league between Carol. Mag. and K. Offa.] Charles by the grace
of God king of the Franks and Lombards and Senatour of the Romanes, vnto
the reuerend and his most deare brother Offa king of the Mercians sendeth
greeting. First we doe render vnto almightie God most humble thankes for
the saluation of soules, and the sinceritie of the Catholique faith, which
we, to your great commendation, haue found signified in your letters. As
touching those pilgrimes, who for the loue of God and their owne soules
health, are desirous to resort vnto the Churches of the holy Apostles, let
them goe in peace without all disturbance. But if any be found amongst them
not honouring religion, but following their owne gaine, they are to pay
their ordinarie customes at places conuenient. [Sidenote: Protection of the
English marchants] It is our pleasure also and commandement, that your
marchants shall haue lawfull patronage and protection in our dominions.
Who, if in any place they chance to be afflicted with any vniust
oppression, let them make their supplication vnto vs, or vnto our ludges,
and we will see iustice executed to the full.

* * * * *

An ancient testimonie translated out of the olde Saxon lawes, containing
among other things the aduancement of Marchants for their thrise crossing
the wide seas, set downe by the learned Gentleman Master William Lambert
pagina 500. of his perambulation of Kent.

It was sometime in English lawes, that the people and the lawes were in
reputation: and then were the wisest of the people worship worthy, euery
one after his degree: Earle, and Churle, Thein, and vnder-Thein. And if a
churle thrieu so, that hee had fully fiue hides of his owne land, a Church
and a Kitchin, a Belhouse, and a gate, a seate, and a seuerall office in
the Kings hall, then was he thenceforth the Theins right worthy. And if a
Thein so thriued, that he serued the king, and on his message rid in his
houshold, if he then had a Thein that followed him, the which to the kings
journey fiue hides had, and in the kings seate his Lord serued, and thrise
with his errand had gone to the king, he might afterward with his foreoth
his lords part play at any great neede. And if a Thein did thrive so, that
he became an Earle; then was he afterward an Earles right worthie. And if a
Marchant so thrieued, that he passed thrise ouer the wide seas, of his owne
craft, he was thencefoorth a Theins right worthie. And if a scholar so
prospered thorow learning that he degree had, and serued Christ, he was
then afterward of dignitie and peace so much worthie, as thereunto
belonged, vnlesse he forfaited so, that he the vse of his degree vse he
might.

* * * * *

A testimonie of certayne priuiledges obtained for the English and Danish
Merchants of Conradus the Emperour and Iohn the Bishop of Rome by Canutus
the King of England in his iourney to Rome, extracted out of a letter of
his written vnto the Cleargie of England.

Sit vobis notom quia magna congregatio nobilora in ipsa solemnitate
omnes principes gentium a monte Gargano, vsque ad istum proximum Mare: qui
omnes me & honorifice suscepere, & magnificis donis honorauere. Maxime
autem ab imperatore donis varijs & muneribus pretiosis honoratus sum, tam
in vasis aureis & argenteis, quam in pallijs & vestibus valde pretiosis.
Locutus sum igitur cum ipso imperatore, & Domino Papa, & principibus qui
ibi erant, de necessitatibus totius populi mei, tam Angli quam Dani, vt eis
clausuris per viam arcerentur, & propter inijustum teloneum fatigarentur.
clausurarum dominatur, cunctique principes edictis firmarunt, vt homines
clausurarum & teloneariorum, cum firma pace Romam eant & redeant.
[Footnote: William of Malmsb. lib. 2. cap. 9. de gestis Regum Anglorum.]

The same in English.
You are to understand, that at the feast of Easter, there was a great company of Nobles with Pope John and Conradus the Emperour assembled at Rome, namely all the princes of the nations from mount Garganus [Footnote: Garganus a mountain of Apulia in Italy.] unto the West Ocean sea. Who all of them honourably interteined me, and welcomed mee with rich and magnificent gifts: but especially the Emperour bestowed divers costly presents and rewards upon me, both in vessels or golde and siluer, and also in cloakes and garments of great value. Wherefore I conferred with the Emperour himselfe and the Pope, and with the other Princes who were there present, concerning the necessities of all my subiects both Englishmen and Danes; that a more fauourable law & secure peace in their way to Rome might bee graunted unto them, and that they might not bee hindered by so many stops & impediments in their iourney, and weaned by reason of iniust exactions. And the Emperour condescended unto my request, and king Rodulphus also, who hath greatest authoritie ouer the foresaid stops and streights, and all the other princes confirmed by their Edicts, that my subiects, as well Marchants, as others who travailed for deuotions sake, should without all hinderance and restraint of the foresaid stops and customers, goe unto Rome in peace, and returne from thence in safetie.

* * * * *

The flourishing state of Marchandise in the Citie of London in the dayes of Willielmus Malmesburiensis, which died in the yeere 1142. in the reigne of K. Stephen.
Haud longe a Rofa quasi viginti quinque milliarijs est Londonia Ciuitas
nobilis, opima ciuium diuitij, constipata negociatorum ex omni terra, &
maxime ex Germania venientium, commercijs. Vnde fit vt cum vbique in Anglia
caritas victualium pro sterili prouentu messium sit, ibi necessaria
ementium dispendio. Peregrinas inuehit merces Ciuitatis finibus Tamesis
fluuius famous, qui citra vrbe ad 80. milliaria foniculo fusus, vltra
plus 70. nomen profert. [Footnote: Guliel. Malmesb. de gestis pont.
Anglorum lib. 2.]

The same in English.

Not farre from Rochester, about the distance of fiue and twenty miles,
standeth the Noble Citie of London, abounding with the riches of the
inhabitants, [Sidenote: Germanie] and being frequented with the traffique
of Marchants resorting thither out of all nations, and especially out of
Germanie. Whereupon it commeth to passe, that when any generall dearth of
victuals falleth out in England, by reason of the scarcitie of corne,
things necessary may there be prouided and bought with lesse gaine vnto the
sellers, and with lesse hinderance and losse vnto the buyers, then in any
other place of the Realme. Outlandish wares are conueighed into the same
Citie by the famous riuere of Thames: which riuere springing out of a
fountaine 80. miles beyond the Citie, is called by one and the selfe same
name 70. miles beneath it.

* * * * *
The aforesaid William of Malmesburie writeth of traffike in his time to Bristowe in his fourth booke de gestis pontificum Anghorum, after this maner.

In eadem valle est vicus celeberrimus Bristow nomine, in quo est naium receptaculum, ne scilicet genitalibus diuitijis tam fortunata regio peregrinarum opum frauderetur commercio.

The same in English.

[Sidenote: Norway.] In the same valley stands the famous Towne of Bristow, [Footnote: Bristol.] with an Hauen belonging thereunto, which is a commodious and safe receptacle for all ships directing their course for the same, from Ireland, Norway, and other outlandish and foren countreys: namely that a region so fortunate and blessed with the riches that nature hath vouchsafed thereupon should not bee destitute of the wealth and commodities of other lands.

* * * * *

The league betweene Henry the second and Fredericke Barbarossa Emperour of Germanie, wherein is mention of friendly traffike betweene the Marchants of the Empire and England, confirmed in the yeere of our Lord 1157,
recorded in the first Booke and seuenteenth Chapter of Radeuicus
Canonicus Frisingensis, being an appendix to Otto Frisingensis.

vnum quantitate maximum, qualitate optimum perspeeximus. Cuius si
quantitatem requiris, non nisi machinis & instrumentorum genere &
adminiculo leuari poterat: si qualitatem, nec materia nec opere ipsum putem
aliquando ab aliquo huiusce apparatu superatum iri. Literas quoque mellito
suo, Frederico Dei gratia Romanorum imperatori inuictissimo, Henricus Rex
grates, dominantium optime, quod nos nuncijs vestris visitare, salutare
amoris inuicem dignatus estis foedera inchoare. Exultauius, & quodammodo
animus nobis crescere, & in maius sensimus euehi dum vestra promissio, in
qua nobis spem dedistis in disponendis. Regni nostri negocijs, alacriores
quicquid ad honorem vestrum spectare nouerimus, pro posse nostro effectui
omnia disponuntur, & in omnibus vestri fiat voluntas imperij. [Sidedote:
Commercia inter Germanos & Anglos.] Sit igitur inter nos & populos nostros
dilectionis & pacis vnitas indiuisa, commercia tuta. Ita tamen vt vobis,
voluntas obsequendi. Et sicut vestraa Serenitatis memoriam vestrorum
excitat in nobis munere largitio, sic vos nostri quoque reminisci
placitura. Attendite itaque dantis affectum, non data, & eo animo quo
dantur accipite. De manu beati lacobi, super qua nobis scripsistis, in ore
magistri Hereberti & Guilielmi Clerici nostri verbum posuimus. Teste Thoma
There were present also the same tune, the messengers of Henry [Footnote: The Second.] king of England presenting divers rich and precious gifts, and that with great learning & eloquence of speech. Amongst the which we saw a pavilion, most large in quantity, & most excellent in quality. For if you desire to know the quantity thereof, it could not be erected without engines and a kind of instruments, and maine force: if the quality, I thanke there was never any furniture of the same kinde, that surpassed the same either in stuffe or workemanship. The said king directed his letters also, full of sugred speeches, the tenour whereof was this that followeth.

To his entirely beloved friend Frederick [Footnote: Son of Frederick, Duke of Suabia, was born in 1121. and succeeded his uncle Conrad III. in 1152 as Emperor of the West. As was proved by his campaigns in Italy in 1154, 1158, and 1162, and by the justice and probity of his administration, he was equally great as a soldier and as a ruler. He joined the Third Crusade in 1189, and was drowned whilst crossing a river in Asia in June, 1190. His memory is still cherished amongst the peasants of Germany, who look upon him in the same light as the Welsh on Arthur.] by the grace of God Emperour of the Romanes most invincible, Henry king of England, duke of Normandie and Aquitaine, Earl of Anjou wisheth health and concord of sincere amitie.

We doo render vnto your highnes (most renowned and peerelesse Prince) exceeding great thanks for that you haue so graciously vouchsafed by your
messengers to visite vs in your letters to salute vs, with your gifts to present vs, and (which wee doe more highly esteeme of then all the rest) to beginne a league of peace and friendship betweene vs. We reioyced, and in a maner sensibly felt our selues to bee greatly emboldened, and our courage to encrease, whilst your promise, whereby you put vs in good comfort, did make vs more cheerefull and resolute, in managing the affaires of our kingdome. We reioyced (I say) & in our secret cogitations did humble obeisance vnto your Maiestie, giuing you at this time to vnderstand from the sincere & vnfained affection of our heart, that whatsoeuer we shal know to tend vnto your honour, we are, to our power most ready to put in practise. Our kingdome, and whatsoeuer is vnder our iurisdiction we doe offer vnto you, and commit the same vnto our highnesse, that all matters may be disposed according to your direction, and that your pleasure may in all things be fulfilled. Let there be therefore betweene our selues and our subiects, an indiuisible vnitie of friendship and peace, and safe trade of Marchandize yet so, as that vnto you (who excell in dignitie) authoritie in commanding may bee ascribed, and diligence in obeying shall not want in vs. And as the liberalitie of your rewards doeth often put vs in remembrance of your Maiestie euen so in like maner sending vnto your Highnesse the most rare things in our custodie and which we thought should be most acceptable vnto you, wee doe most heartily wish that your selfe also would not altogether bee vnmindefull of vs. Haue respect therefore not vnto the gifts, but vnto the affection of the giuer, and accept of them with that minde, wherewith they are offered vnto you.

Concerning the hand of S Iames, [Footnote: According to the legend, the relics of this saint were miraculously conveyed to Spain in a ship of
marble from Jerusalem, where he was bishop.] about which you wrote vnto vs,
we haue sent you word by M Herbert, and by William the Clerke. Witnes
Thomas our Chancelour at Northanton.

* * * * *

A generall safe conduct graunted to all forreine Marchants by king Iohn in
the [Marginal note: 1199] first yeere of his reigne, as appeareth in the
Records of the Tower, Anno 1. Regis Ioannis.

Ioannes Dei gratij &c. Maiori & Communitati Londinensi salutam. Sciatis
voluntatem esse nostram, quod omnes Mercatores de quicunque fuerunt terra
saluum habeant conductum ire & redire cum mercibus suis in Angliam.

habeant pacem in Anglia, quam Mercatores de Anglia habent in terris illis
denunciari in Balliuva vestra, & firmiter teneri; permittentes eos ire &
redire sine impedimento per debitas & rectas & solitas consuetudines in
die Aprilis.

In eadem forma scribitur vicecomiti Sudsex, Maiori & communtati Ciuitatis
Winton, Balliuo de Southampton, Balliuo de Lenne, Balliuo Kent, Vicecomiti
portubus, Vicecomiti de Southampton sire, Vicecomiti de Herttford & Essex,

The same in English.
Iohn by the grace of God &c. to the Maior and communaltie of London, greeting. You are to vnderstand, that it is our pleasure, that all Marchants of what nation soeuer shall haue safe conduct to passe and repasse with their Marchandize into England. It is our will also, that they be vouchsafed the same fauour in England, which is granted vnto the English Marchants in those places from whence they come. [Sidenote: The ancient customes of Marchaunts.] And therefore we giue you in charge, that you cause this to be published, and proclaimed in your bailiwicke, & firmely to be obserued, permitting them to goe & come, without impediment, according to the due, right and ancient customes vsed in your said Bailiwucke. Witnesse Geoffry Fitz-Peter Earle of Essex at Kinefard the 5. day of April.

The same forme of writing was sent to the sherife of Sudsex, to the Maior and communaltie of the Ctie of Winchester, to the Baily of Southampton, the Baily of Lenne, the Baily of Kent, the sherife of Norfolke and Suffolke, the sherife of Dorset and Sommerset, the Barons of the Cinque-ports, the sherife of Southhampton shire the sherife of Hertford and Essex the sherife of Cornewal and Deuon.

* * * * *

intercursu mercandisandi Anno 1 Henrici 3. [Marginal note: 1216.]
literas vestris prudentem virum. Abbatem de Lisa nobis significastis volentes & desiderantes foedus pacis & dilectionis libenter nobiscum inire

libere & sine impedimento terram nostrum adire possint, & homines & Mercatores nostri similiter terri vestram. Dum tamen literas vestras patentes super hoc nobis distinctis & nos vobis nostras transmittemus. Interim autem bene volumus & concedimus, quod Mercatores tam de terra contentis pro posse nostro restitutionem fieri faceremus: per quem de statu ipso apud Lamhithe decimo die Octobris.

The letters of King Henry the third vnto Haquinus [Footnote: Haco IV., bastard of the able adventurer Swerro. His invasion of Scotland in 1263 treatie of peace and mutuall traffique of marchandize, &c.

Henry by the grace of God, &c. vnto Haquinus by the same grace King of Norway sendeth greeting. Wee render vnto your highnesse vnspeakeable thanks for those things which by your letters, and by your discreete subiect the Abbat of Lisa, you haue signified vnto vs, and also for that you are right willing and desirous to begin and to conclude betweene vs both, a league of peace and amitie. And wee for our part both nowe are, and hereafter shalbe well contented that both our lands be common to the ende that the Marchants and people of your dominions may freely and without impediment resort vnto
our land, and our people and Marchants may likewise haue recourse vnto your territories. Prouided, that for the confirmation of this matter, you send vnfo vs your letters patents, and wee will send ours also vnfo you. Howbeit in the meane while wee doe will and freely graunt, that the Marchants both of our and your lands, may goe, come, and returne to and from both our Dominions. And if there be ought in your minde, whereby we might stand you in any stead, you may boldly signifie the same vnfo vs. Wee haue as yet deteined the foresaid Abbat, that wee might, to our abilitie, cause restitution to be made for your ship, and for the things therein contained: by whome wee will certifie you of our owne estate, and of the estate of our kingdome so soone, &c, Witnesse our selfe at Lambith the tenth of October.

Another letter in the same forme and to the same effect was there and then sent vnfo S. Duke of Norway.

Mandatum est omnibus Balliuis portuum in quos ventura est Coga de Norwegia,

ipsam Cogam in portubus suis morari, quamdui necesse habuerit, & libere sine impedimento inde recedere quando voluerint. Teste Rege.

The same in English.

A Mandate for the King of Norway his Ship called the Cog.
Wee will and commaund all bailifes of Portes, at the which the Cog of Norway (wherein certaine of the king of Norwaie his souldiers, and certaine Marchants of Saxonie are comming for England) shall touch, that, when the foresaid Cog shall chance to arriue at any of their Hauens, they doe permit the said Cog safely to remaine in their said Hauens so long as neede shall require, and without impediment also freely to depart thence, whensoever the gouernours Of the sayd ship shall thinke it expedient. Witnesse the King.

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Episcopo, Wilhelmo de Ferarijs, Gilberto Basset, Waltero de Bello campo,

Radulphi Cicistronsis Episcopi, Cancellarij nostri apud Dauintre Octauo die
Nouembris, Anno Regni nostri vicesimo.

The same in English.

A Charter granted for the behalfe of the Marchants of Colen [Footnote: Cologne.] in the twentieth yeere of Henry the third, confirmed by King Edward the first, as it is extant in the roule of Charters, in the eighteenth yeere of King Edward the first.

The King vnto Archbishops &c. greeting. [Sidenote: The ancient custome of the Coloners Gildhall in London.] Be it knowen vnto you, that wee haue quite claimed, and for vs and our heires released our welbeloued the Citizens of Colen and their marchandize, from the payment of those two shillings which they were wont to pay out of their Gildhall at London and from all other customes and demaunds, which perteine vnto vs, either in London, or in any other place of our Dominions and that they may safely resort vnto Fayers throughout our whole Kingdome, and buy and sell in the Citie of London. Wherefore we will and firmely command for vs and our heires, that the forenamed Marchants of Colen may enioy the liberties and free priuiledges aboue-mentioned, throughout our whole kingdome of England as is aforesaid. Witnesses, the reuerend father Walter Bishop of Carlii, William de Ferarijs, Gilbert Basset, Walter de Beauchamp Hugh Disspenser, Walter Marescal, Geofrie Disspensser. Bartholomew Peach, Bartholomew de Saukeuill and others. Giuen by the hand of the reuerend father Ralph Bishop of Chichester and our Chauncellour at Dauintre, the eight day of Nouember in the twentieth yeere of our reigne.

[Sidenote: Carta conditionalis]

suscepisse in protectionem & defensionem nostram & saluum & securum
conductum nostrum Burgenses de Lubek in Alemania cum omnibus rebus &
mercandisis quas in Regnum nostrum deferent, vel facient deferri. Et eis
concessimus, quod de omnibus rebus & mercandisis suis nihil capiatur ad
opus nostrum vel alterius contra voluntatem eorundem; sed libere vendant &
vobis mandamus, quod dictis Burgensibus vel eorum nuncijs in veniendo in
terram nostram cum rebus & mercandisis suis ibidem morando, & inde
recedendo, nullum inferatis, aut ab alijs inferri permittatis impedimentum
vexari permittatis. In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fiera
fecimus patentes per septennium durantes: Dum tamen iisdem Burgenses interim
meipso apud Westmonasterium vndecimo die Maij Anno Regni nostri
mercatoribus Dacis, Brunswig, & Lubek.

The same in English.
The charter of Lubek granted for seuen yeeres, obtained in the one and fortiethe yeere of Henry the third.

Henry by the grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandie and Aquitaine, and Earle of Anjou, to all his Bailifs sendeth greeting. Know ye that at the instant request of our welbeloued and trusty brother Richard Earle of Cornewal being of late elected king of the Romanes, we haue receiued vnder our protection and defence, and vnder our safe and secure conduct, the citizens of Lubek in Alemain, with all their goods and wares, which they shall bring or cause to be brought into our kingdome. We have also granted vnto them, that of all their goods and merchandize, nothing shal be seized vnto the use of our selues, or of any other without their owne consent, but that they may freely sell and exercise traffike therewith according as they shall thinke expedient. And therefore we straightly command you, that neither your selues do offer, nor that you permit any other to offer any impediment or molestation vnto the said Burgers or vnto their messengers, either at their comming into our land, with their goods and marchandize, in the time of their abode there, or at their departure from thence, and that yee neither molest them your selues, nor yet suffer them by others to be molested, contrary to the aforesaid Charter. In testimonie whereof, we haue caused these our Letters to be made Patents, during the space of seuen yeeres next following.

Provided, that the sayd Burghers doe in the meane time behaue themselves well and faithfully towards our foresaid elected brother. Witnesse our
selues at Westminster the eleuenth day of March, [Footnote: _Sic_ in Hakluyt. It should be _May_.] in the one and fortieth yeere of our reigne.

* * * * *

This Letter was doubled, namely for the Burghers, and the Marchants of Denmarke, of Brunswig, and of Lubecke.


Ad instantiam Serenissimi principis Richardi Romanorum Regis charissimi nuncupatur, quod eos vnuersos manutenebimus per totum Regnum nostrum in omnibus ijsdem libertatibus & liberis consuetudinibus, quibus ipsi nostris & [Marginal note: Nota antiquitatem.] progenitorum nostrorum temporibus vsi sunt & gauisi. Ipsosque extra huiusmodi libertates & liberas consuetudines non trahemus, nec trahi aliquatenus permittemus. In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes.

The same in English

A charter for the Marchants of Almaine, who haue an house at London commonly called [Marginal note: The Stiliard.] the Guild hall of the
Dutch, granted in the 44. yeere of Henry the third, renued and confirmed in the 1. & 29. yeere of Edward the first.

At the instant request of the most gracious Prince Richard king of the Romanes our most deare brother, wee doe graunt vnto the Marchants of Alemain (namely vnto those that haue an house in our citie of London, commonly called the Guildhall of the Dutch Merchants) that we will, throughout our whole Realme, maintaine all and euery of them, in all those liberties and free customes, which both in our times, and in the times of our progenitors, they haue vsed and enjoyed. [Sidenote: Note the antiquity.] Neither will we inforce them beyond these liberties and free customes, nor in any wise permit them to be inforced. In witnesse whereof, wee haue caused these our letters to be made patents.

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Mandatum regis Edwardi primi de mercatoribus alienigenis.


The same in English.

A mandate of king Edward the first concerning outlandish marchants.
We will and command that outlandish marchants doe sel their wares in the citie of London &c. within forty dayes of their ariuall.

* * * * *

The great Charter granted vnto forreine marchants by king Edward the first, in the 31. yeare of his reigne commonly called Carta mercatoria, Anno Domini 1303.

Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Prioribus, Comitibus, Baronibus,

fidelibus suis salutem. Circa bonum statum omnium mercatorum subscriptorum aliarum terrarum & locorum extraneorum, quocunque nomine censeantur,

itaque vota ipsorum reddantur ad nostra & regni nostri seruitia promptiora, ipsorum petitionibus favorabiliiter annuentes, & pro statu eorundem plenius nostris in perpetuum subscripta dictis mercatoribus duximus concedenda.

1. In primis videlicet quod omnes mercatores dictorum regnorum & terrarum suis quibuscunque de muragio, pontagio & pannagio liberi & quieti. Quodque infra idem regnum & potestatem nostram in ciuitatibus, burgis, & villis
mercatorij possunt mercari duntaxat in grosso tam cum indigenis seu

vocantur, ac species, minutatim vendi possint, prout antea fieri consueuit.

nostram adducere, seu infra idem regnum & potestatem nostram emere, vel

regno seu potestate nostra, postquam infra idem regnum seu potestatem
nostram ducta fuerint, sine voluntate & licentia specili non liceat eis
educere quoquo modo.

pro voluntate sua hospitari valeant, & morari cum bonis suis ad gratiam
ipsorum, quorum sunt hospitia siue domus.

3. Item quod quilibet contractus per ipsos mercatores cum quibuscunque

firmus sit & stabulis, ita quod neuter mercatorum ab illo contractu possit
recedere, vel resilire, postquam denarius Dei inter principales personas
contrahentes datus fuerit & receptus. Et si forsan super contractu euismodi
contentio oriatur fiat inde probatio aut inquisitio secundum vsus &
consuetudines feriarum & villarum, vbi dictum contractum fieri contigerit &
iniri.

perpetuum concedentes, quod nullam prisam vel arrestationem, seu dilationem

per nos vel alium seu alios pro aliqua necessitate vel casu contra
voluntatem ipsorum mercatorum aliquatenus faciemus, aut fieri patiemur, nisi statim soluto precio pro quo ipsi mercatores alijs eiusmodi mercimonia vendere possint, vel eis aliter satisfacto, ita quod reputent se contentos:

Et quod super mercimonia, mercandisas, seu bona ipsorum per nos vel ministros nostros nulla appreciatio aut estimatio imponetur.

[Sidenote: Lex mercatoria.]

5. Item volumus quod omnes balliui & ministri feriarum, ciuitatum, burgorum, & villarum mercatoriarum mercatoribus antedictis conquerentibus coram ijs celerem iustitiam faciant de die in diem sine dilatione secundum terminari. Et si forte inueniatur defectus in aliquo balliuiorum vel incommoda sustinearent vel sustineant, licet mercator versus partem in principali recuperaerit damna sua, nihilominus balliuius vel minister alius versus nos, prout delictum exigit puniatur. Et pensionem istam concedimus

6. Item quod in omnibus generibus placitorum, saluo casu criminis pro quo infligenda est poena mortis, vbi mercator implacitatus fuerit, vel alium implacitauent, cuiuscunque conditionis idem implacitatus extiterit, extraneus vel priuatus, in nudinis, ciuitatibus, siue Burgis, vbi fuerit debeat, sit medietas inquisitionis de eisdem mercatoribus, & medietas altera de probis & legalibus hominibus loci illius vbi placitum illud esse contingent. Et si de mercatoribus dictaram terrarum numerus non inuenientur sufficiens, ponentur in inquisitione illi qui idonei inuenientur ibidem, & residij sint de alijs bonis hominibus & idoneis de locis in quibus placitum illud erit.
7. Item volumus, ordinamus, & statuimus, quod in qualibet villa mercatoria nostrum in certo loco ponatur & ante ponderationem statera in presentia potestatem nostram sit vnum pondus & vna mensura: & signo standardi nostri signentur: Et quod quilibet possit habere stateram vnius quaternionis, & infra, vbi contra domini loci, aut libertatem per nos & antecessores nostros concessam illud non fuerit, siue contra villarum & feriarum consuetudinem hactenus obseruatam.

8. Item volumus & concedimus, quod aliquis certus homo fidelis & discretus Londini residens assignetur iustitiarius mercatoribus memoratis, coram quo valeant specialiter placitare, & debita sua recuperare celeriter, si deducenda.

prisis nostris remittendis iudem supradicti mercatores vniuersi & singuli pro se & omnibus alijs de partibus suis nobis concorditer & vnanimitur infra regnum & potestatem nostram, & vnnde marinarijs fretum soluere
ultra antiquas custumas debitas & in denarijs solui consuetas nobis, aut
alias infra quadraginta dies, postquam extra naues ad terram posita fuerint
dicta vina. Item de quolibet sacco lanarum, quem dicti mercatores, aut alij
soluebatur. Et similiter de trecentis pellibus lanitis extra regnum &
potestatem nostram ducendis quadraginta denarios ultra certum illud, quod
de antiqua custuma fuerat prius datum. Item duos solidos de quolibet
scarlato & panno tincto in grano. Item decem & octo denarios de quolibet
panno, in quo pars grani fuerit intermixta. Item duodecem denarios de
quintallia.

mercandisas, vt de Aucrie ponderis, & de alij rebus subtilibus, sicut de
pannis Tarsensibus, de serico, & cindallis, de seta & alij diuersis
mercibus, & de equis etiam & alij animalibus, blado & alij rebus &

libra argenti estimationis seu valoris rerum & mercandisaram huiusmodi,
quocunque nomine censeantur; tres denarios de libra in introitu rerum &

tres denarios de qualibet libra argenti in eductione quarumcunque rerum &

ultra custumas nobis aut alij ante datas. Et super valore & estimatione
rerum & mercandisarum huiusmodi de quibus tres denarii de qualibet libra

Dominis aut socijs suis ostendere poterunt: Et si literas non habeant

valetorum suorum in eorandem mercatorum absentia, iuramentis.
Edward by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Aquitaine, to Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Earles, Barons, justices, Vicounts, gouvernours, officers, and all bayliffes, and his faithfull people sendeth greeting. Wee haue speciall care for the good estate of all marchants of the kingdomes, lands, and countries following: to wit of Almaine, France, Spaine, Portugal, Nauarre, Lombardie, Florence,
Prouence, Catalonia, of our duchie of Aquitaine, Tholosa, Caturlune,
[Footnote: Catalonia] Flanders, Brabant, and of all other forreine
countreis and places by what name soeuer they be called, which come into
our kingdome of England, and there remayne, that the sayd marchants may
liue in quiet and full securitie vnder our dominion in time to come.
Wherefore that their hearts desires may bee more readily inclined to our
seruice and the seruice of our kingdome, wee fauourably agreeing to their
petitions, for the fuller assuring of their estate, haue thought good to
graunt to the sayd merchants for vs and our heires for euer these
priuiledges vnnder written, ordaining in forme as followeth.

1. First, that all marchants of the sayd kingdoms and countreys may come
into our kingdome of England, and any where else into our dominion with
their marchandises whatsoeuer safely and securely vnnder our defence and
protection without paying wharfage, pontage, or pannage. And that in
Cities, Boroughs, and market townes of the sayd kingdome and dominion they
may traffique onely by the great [Footnote: Wholesale.] as well with the
naturall subiects and inhabitantes of our aforesayde kingdome and dominion,
as with forreiners, straungers, or priuate persons. Yet so that
marchandises which are commonly called mercerie wares, and spices, may be
sold by the small, [Footnote: Retail.] as heretofore hath bin accustomed.
[Sidenote: An exception for traficking with the known enemies of the
kingdome.] And that all the aforesaid marchants may cary or cause to be
caried whither they will, aswell within our realme or dominion, as out of
the same; sauing vnto the countreis of the manifest and knowne enemies of
our kingdome, those marchandises which they shall bring into our foresayd
realme and dominion or buy or otherwise purchase in our sayd realme and
dominion paying such customes as they ought to doe: except onely wines, which it shall not be any wayes lawfull for them to cary out of our sayd realme and dominion without our speciall fauour and licence, after they be once brought into our realme and dominion.

2. Item that the aforesayd marchants may at their pleasure lodge & remaine with their goods in the cities, boroughs, and townes aforesaid, with the good liking of those which are owners of their lodgings.

3. Item that euery bargaine made by the said marchants with any maner of persons, of what places soeuer they be for any kind of marchadise whatsoeuer, shalbe firme & stable so that none of both the marchants shall shrinke or giue backe from that bargaine, after that the earnest penie be once giuen and taken betweene the principall bargayners. And if peraduenture any strife arise about the same bargaine, the triall and inquirie thereof shall be made according to the vses and customes of the fayres and townes where it chanced that the said bargaine was made and contracted.

4. Item, we promise the aforesaid marchants granting for euer for vs and our heires, that from hence foorth we will not in any wise make nor cause to be made any stay or arrest, or any delay by reason of arrest of their wares, marchandises or other goods, by our selues, or by any other or others for any neede or accident against the will of the sayd marchants, without present payment of such a price as the marchants would haue sold those marchandises for to other men, or without making of them other
satisfaction, so that they shall hold themselves well contented and that no price or valuation shalbe set vpon their wares, marchandises, & goods by vs or by any officer of ours.

5. Item, we will that all bayliffes and officers of fayres, cities, boroughs, and market townes shall doe speedie iustice from day to day without delay accgrdmg to the lawe of Marchants to the aforesayd marchants when they shall complaine before them, touching all and singuler causes, which may be determined by the same law. [Sidenote: Where is this law now become?] And if default be found in any of the bayliffes or officers aforesayd, whereby the sayd marchants or any of them haue sustained, or do sustaine any damage through delay, though the marchant recouer his losses against the partie principall, yet the bayliffe or other officer shall be punished to vs ward, according to the qualitie of the default. And wee doe grant this punishment in fauour of the aforesayd marchants in regard of the hastening of their iustice.

6. Item, that in al maner of pleas, sauing in case where punishment of death is to be inflicted, where a marchant is vnpleaded, or sueth another, of what condition soeuer hee bee which is sued, whether stranger or home borne, in fayres, cities, or boroughs, where sufficient numbers of marchants of the foresayd countreis are, and where the triall ought to bee made, let the one halfe of the Iurie be of the sayd marchants, and the other halfe of good and lawfull men of the place wheie the suite shall fall out to bee: and if sufficient number of marchants of the sayd countries cannot bee found, those which shall be found fit in that place shall be put vpon the Iurie, and the rest shall be chosen of good and fit men of the
places where such suit shall chance to be.

7. Item we will, we ordaine, and wee appoint, that in every market towne
and fayre of our realme aforesayd and elsewhere within our dominion our
weight shall bee set in some certaine place, and that before the weighing
the balance shall bee seene emptie in the presence of the buyer and of the
seller, and that the skales bee equall: and that afterward the weigher
weigh in the equall balance. And when hee hath set the balances euen, let
him straightway remooue his hands, so that the balance may remayne euen:
And that throughout all our kingdome and dominion there be one weight and
one measure, and that they be marked with the marke of our standard. And
that euery man may haue a weight of one quarter of an hundred, and vnder,
where the same hath not bin contrary to the liberty of the lord of the
place, and contrary to the libertie granted by vs and our predecessors, or
contrary to the custome of townes and fayres which hath hitherto beene
observered.

8. Item we will and we grant that some certaine faythfull and discreeete man
resident in London be appointed to doe justice to the aforesayd marchants,
before whome they may haue their sutes decided, and may speedilie recouer
their debts, if the Shiriffes and Maior should not from day to day giue
them speedy justice. And hereof let a Commission be made: which we grant
vnto the aforesaid marchants besides this present Charter: to wit of such
things as betweene marchant and marchant are to be decided according to the
lawe of marchants.
9. Item we ordayne and appoynt, and wee will that this ordinance and statute shall firmely bee obserued for euer for vs and our heires, that the aforesayd marchants shal not loose the aforesayd liberties nor any of them, for any libertie whatsoeuer, which wee or our heires hereafter shall grant.

And for the obtayning of the aforesayd liberties and free customes, and for remission of our arresting of their goods the aforesayd marchants all and euery of them for themsetues and all other of their parties with one accorde and one consent hane granted vnto vs, that of euery tunne of wine, which they shall bring or cause to be brought into our realme and dominion, for which they shall bee bound to pay freight vnto the mariners, besides the olde customes which are due and were woont to bee payd vnto vs, they will pay vnto vs and to our heires in the name of a custome two shillings in money, either out of hande, or else within fortie dayes after the sayd wines shall bee brought on land out of the shippes. Item for euery sacke of wooll, which the sayd marchants or others in their name shall buy and carie out of the realme, or cause to bee brought and caried out, they will pay forty pence aboue the old custome of halfe a marke, which was payed heretofore: And for a last of hides to bee caryed out of our realme and dominion halfe a marke aboue that which heretofore was payed by the olde custome. And likewise for three hundreth Felles with the wooll on them to bee transported out of our realme and dominion fortie pence, aboue that certaine rate which before was payed by the olde custome: Also two shillings vpon euery scarlate and euery cloth dyed in graine. Item eighteen pence for euery cloth wherein any kind of graine is mingled. Item twelue pence vpon euery cloth dyed without graine. Item twelue pence vpon euerie quintall of copper.
And whereas sundrie of the aforesayd marchants are woont to exercise other
marchandises, as of Hauer de pois, and other fine wares, as saracenets,
lawnes, cindalles, and silke, and diuers other marchandises, and to sell
horses and other beastes, corne, and sundrie other things and marchandises,
which cannot easily bee reduced vnto a certaine custome: the sayd marchants
haue granted to giue vnto us, and to our heires of euery pound of siluer of
the estemation and value of these kinde of goods and marchandises, by what
name soeuer they be called, three pence in the pound in the bringing in of
these goods into our realme and dominion aforesaid, within twentie dayes
after these goods and marchandises shall be brought into our realme and
dominion, and shall be there vnladen and solde. And likewise three pence
vpon euery pound of siluer in the carying out of any such goods and
marchandises which are bought in our realme and dominion aforesayd aboue
the customes beforetime payd vnto vs or any of our progenitors. And
touching the value and estimation of these goods and marchandises, whereof
three pence of euery pound of siluer, as is aforesayd, is to be payd,
credite shalbe giuen vnto them vpon the letters which they are able to
shewe from their masters or parteners. And if they haue no letters in this
behalfe, we will stand to the othe of the foresayd marchants if they bee
present, or in their absence to the othes of their seruants.

Moreouer, it shall be lawfull for such as be of the company of the
aforesayd marchants within our realme and dominion aforesayd, to sell
woolles to other of their company, and likewise to buy of them without
paying of custome. Yet so, that the said woolles come not to such hands, that
wee be defrauded of the custome due vnto vs. And furthermore it is to be
vnderstood, that after that the aforesaid marchants haue once payed in one
place within our realme and dominion, the custome aboue granted vnto vs in
forme aforesayd for their marchandises, & haue their warrant therof,
whether these marchandises remayne within our kingdome or be caried out
(excepting wines, which in no wise shalbe caried forth of our realme and
dominion aforesayd without our fauour & licence as is aforesayd) we wil and
we grant for vs and our heires, that no execution, attachment or loane, or
any other burthen be layd vpon the persons of the aforesayd marchants, vpon
their marchandises or goods in any case contrary to the forme before
mentioned and granted. The faithfull & principall witnesses of these
presents are these Robert Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England,
Walter bishop of Couetrey and Lichfield, Henry Lacie of Lincolne, Humfrey
de Bohume, Earle of Herford and Essex high Constable of England, Adomare of
Valentia, Geoffrey of Gaymal, Hugh Spenser, Walter Beauchampe Seneschall of
our house, Robert of Bures, and others. Giuen by our owne hand at Windesore
the first day of February, in the yere of our reigne xxxi.

* * * * *

regnum vestrum causa negociandi venientibus his diebus plus solito absque
causa rationabili, sicut ex graui querela didicimus, inferuntur. Nuper
siquidem Willihelmus filius Laurentij de Waynfleete, Simon filius Alani de
eadem, Guido filius Mathei & eorum socij mercatores nostri nobis
conquerendo monstrarunt, quod cum ipsi quosdam homines & seruientes suos

cum tribus nauibus suis ad partes regni vestri, ad negotiandum ibidem

bonis omnibus tunc existentibus in eisdem, occasione mortis cuiusdam

militis nuper balliui vestri in Vikia per malefactores & piratas, dum naues
dicitur interfecti, de mandato vestro vt dicebant arrestarunt, & diu sub
aresto hiusmodi detinebant, quousque videlicet homines & marinarij

voluntatis arbitrio reducendis tres obsides ulterius liberassent: quod ipsis
valde graue censetur & auditu mirabile auribus audientium non immerito

vel rebus illorum qui criminis rei conscij vel participes, seu de hiusmodi
delinquentium societate non fuerunt, aliqualiter vliscantur, vestram

hostagiamento hiusmodi liberari, dictamque securitatem relaxari penitus &
militem vestrum vt dicitur, occiderunt, alicubi infra regnum seu potestatem
nostram poterunt inueniri, de ipsis iustitiam & iudicium secundum legem &
consuetudinem eiusdem regni fieri faciemus. Non enim possumus his diebus

partes remotas se diuertant sine nostra licentia speciali. Quid autem ad

septo die Aprilis.
The same in English.

The letters of Edward the second vsnto Haquinus king of Norway, concerning the English marchants arrested in Norway, and their goods to be freed from arrest.

To the mighty Prince, lord Haquinus, by the grace of God the famous king of Norway his most deare friend Edward by the same grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland duke of Aquitaine, greeting and sincere loue. We maruell not a little, and are much disquieted in our cogitations, considering the greeuances and oppressions which (as wee haue beene informed by pitifull complaints) are at this present more than in times past without any reasonable cause inflicted vpon our subiects, which doe vsually resort vnto your kingdome for traffiques sake. For of late one William the sonne of Laurence of Wainfleete, and one Simon the sonne of Alan of the same towne, and Guido the sonne of Mathew and their associates our marchants, in complayning wise declared vnto vs: [Sidenote: The towne of Tonesbergh.] that hauing sent certaine of their factors and seruants, with three shippes into your dominions, there to exercise traffique, and the sayd ships being laden in the hauen of your towne of Tonnesbergh, with Herrings and other commodities to a great value: and also the said mariners, men, and seruants of the foresayd shippes, being licenced by vertue of the safe conduct which you had granted them, freely to returne from your kingdome vnto the parts of England with their ships and goods aforesayd, but afterward not being able to depart out of your hauen by reason of contrary windes: certaine of your bayliffes vpon occasion of the
slaughter of a knight being himselfe also of late your bayliffe of Vikia, 
committed by malefactors and Pirates vpon the sea, whilst the sayd shippes 
remained in the hauen aforesayd, did at yoar commandement (as they say) 
arrest, and for a long season also deteined vnder that arrest, the foresaid 
ships, with all the men and goods that were in them: namely vntill such 
time, as the men and mariners aforesaide (beeing driuen perforce, and 
constrained thereunto) should lay in sufficient securitie for the payment 
of fortie pounds sterling, vpon a certain day appointed, vnto your vse for 
every of the foresaide ships and: also vntill they had moreouer deliuered 
three pledges, for the bringing of the saide ships and men backe againe 
into the foresaid hauen, before the feast of the natiuitie of S. Iohn the 
Baptist next ensuing, then and there to stand vnto your fauour and 
curtesie, as touching the said persons, and those ships of theirs: which 
dealing, the parties themselues take very grieuously, yea, and all others 
that heare thereof thinke it to be a strange and vnwonted course. And 
because it is most vndoubtedly contrary to all reason, equitie, iustice, 
and lawe, that the faults or demerits of offenders should in any sort be 
punished in such persons, or in their goods, as neither haue bene accessory 
nor partakers in the crime, nor haue had any society with the saide 
offenders: we doe heartily intreat and request your Highnes, that weighing 
and pondering the matter in the balance of iustice, you would of your loue 
and friendship, command the foresaid pledges to be set at libertie, and the 
said securitie vtterly to bee released and acquited. And know you this for 
a certaintie, that if the foresaid malefactors, who (as it is reported) 
slew your Knight aforesaide shall any where within our realme and 
dominions be found, we wil cause iustice and iudgement to bee executed vpon 
them, according to the Lawe and custome of our sayde Realme. For we cannot 
in these times conueniently and well indure, that the ships aforesaide, or
any other ships of our kingdome (which ought alwayes to be in a readinesse
for our seruice) should without speciall licence, depart out of our saide
kingdome, vnto forreine dominions. Nowe, what you shall think good at this
our request to performe in the premisses, may it please you by the bearer
of these presents to returne an answere vnto vs. Geuen at Windsore the 16.
of April.

* * * * *

Another Letter of Edward the second, to Haquinus King of Norway, in the
behalfe of certaine English Marchants

mercimonijs transmisissent, Thesaurarius vester bona & mercimonia
damnum non modicum & depauperationem manifestam. Et quia eisdem
mercatoribus nostris subuenire volumus, quatenus suadente iustitia
poterimus in hac parte, vestram amicitiam requirimus cum affectu, quatenus
The same in English.

To the mightie Prince Lord Haquinus, by the grace of God the famous King of Norway, his most deare friend Edward by the same grace of God king of England, Lorde of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, greeting and sincere loue. Wee receiued the complaint of our welbeloued Merchants Thomas de Swyn of Waynfleet, and Simon the sonne of Alanus of the same towne: the contents whereof are, that whereas of late, the saide parties sent certaine of their seruants to traffike in your kingdome, your Treasurer vpon the feast of S.

and merchandise of the foresaide Thomas and Simon, to the value of fortie pound, which their said seruants had vnnder their custodie at the towne of Northberne, to be arrested, and as yet also iniuriously deteineth the same vnnder the same arrest, to the great damage and impouereshing of the sayd Thomas and Simon. And forasmuch as our desire is to succour these our marchants so far foorth as we can, lustice requiring no lesse in this behalfe, we doe right earnestly request you, that hauing hearde the complaint and supplication of the foresayde Thomas and Simon, or of their Attturneyes, you woulde of your loue and friendship, vouchsafe them speedie administration of lustice, about the restitution of their goods and merchandise aforesaide: least that for want of the exhibiting of lustice about the foresaid arrest, we be constrained to prouide some other remedie for our marchants aforesaid. Our request is, that you would by the bearer of these presents, returne an answere vnto vs, what you are determined to doe, at this our instant motion. Giuen as aboue.

* * * * *
A third letter of King Edward the second, to Haquinus King of Norway in the behalfe of certaine English Marchants.

vt iam intelleximus, propter alimentorum subtractionem & duritiam, ac asperitatem carceris perierunt, vt ipsorum & bonorum suorum deliberationem literas speciales. Sed vos, retentis adhuc in carcere nostris mercatoribus sicut prius, nobis per literas vestras quas audiuimus & intelleximus vestro de iniurijs, violentijs & arrestationibus, quibus in regno nostro his diebus sunt vt asserunt, contra iustitiam aggrauati, multipliciter conqueruntur, adijiciendo in vestris literis memoratis, quod quidam subditis vestris, in vestris & regni vestri negotijs existentibus

adhuc intelligere possumus, quod mercatoribus vestris per aliquem vel aliquos de subditis nostris huc vsque aliter factum fuerit: Scientes pro certo quod si nobis per inquisitiones legitimas constare poterit huiusmodi grauamina subditis vestris infra regnum nostrum illata fuisse, nos poterunt inueniri, de ipsis iudicium & iustitiam fieri praciipiemus, secundum Leges & consuetudines regni nostri. [Sidenote: Antiquitas commerci]
subditos hinc inde foueri desideramus mutuam concordiam & amorem; ita quod mercatores nostri & vestri mercandisas suas in nostris & vestris regnis &
progenitorum nostrorum fieri consueuit, & ex dictarum literarum vestrarum serie collegimus euidenter vos promptos esse similiter, & paratos ad omnia contentionibus, aut grauaminibus inter nostros & vestros subditos
faccienda; Nos consimilia pro nobis & nostris, quantum ad nos & ad ipsos attinet, illius amore, qui pacis author fore dinoecitur, & pro quiete & commodo populi viiiriusque regnorum nostrorum, quatenus ius & ratio dictitauerint, promittimus nos factoros: Vestrarn amicitiam requirentes superstites relinquantur, quos etiam tempore, quo dicta felonia committi dicebatur, interclusos tenebat custodia carceralis, iubere velitis nostri ipsis capta eis prout iustum fuerit restitui faciendo. Et vt deliberatio
placeat vobis cum diligentia debita ponderare, quod Galfridus Drewe, & quidam alijs mercatores nostri de Lenne, quibusdam mercatoribus de regno vestro occasione eiusdem grauaminis ipsis mercatoribus vestris, ad sectam sterlingorum persoluerunt, sicut in quodam scripto indentato inter
Ingelramum Lende de Thorenden, & quosdam alios mercatores vestros ex parte aliquibus subditis nostris, de aliqua iniuria ipsis facta querelas in curia nostra deponere voluerint, & prosequi cum effectu, ipsorum subditorum vestrorum petitiones admitti, & eis super querelis huiusmodi plenam & celerem iustitia fieri faciemus. Ita quod iijdem subditi vestri exinde
To the mighty Prince king Haquinus, by the grace of God the famous king of Norway, his most dear friend Edward by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, Duke of Aquitaine, greeting and sincere love. We sent of late unto your royal majesty our special letters, for the behalfe of our late marchants of Lenne, and of the coast adioyning (whome your baily and officers of the citie of Bergen lately apprehended, committing them to close prison, many of whome, as we understand, are, for want of due nourishment, and by reason of the extremity & loathsomnesse of the prison, quite perished) that you would cause them and their goods to bee released. Howbeit, you reteining as yet our marchants in durance as before, in your letters, which we haue diligently heard, and throughly understood, haue, amongst other matters, returned this answere vnto vs, that certaine marchants of your kingdome doe make sundrie complaints of injuries, violences and arrests, whereby they haue lately (as themselues auouch) contrary to iustice bene aggrieued and oppressed in our dominions adding moreouer in your sayde letters, that certaine sonnes of iniquitie of the towne of Lenne, comming, as they saide, to fish for herings cruelly murthered a certaine Knight, who was in times past your bayliffe of Vikia, together with ten others of your subiects, being imployed about the affaires of your kingdome. In consideration whereof our minde is exceedingly and aboue measure griuued and troubled, especially sithence it as neuer any part of our intent, that any injuries, violences, or arrests should vniustly be inflicted vpon any marchants, or any others of your
realme by any of our kingdoms: neither can we as yet have any
intelligence, that any such hard measure hath been offered unto any of your
merchants, by any one or more of our subjects: giving you for a certainty
to understand, that if upon lawful inquiry we shall be advertised of
any such grievances, which have been offered unto your subjects within our
realme, we will cause speedy justice to be administered, and sufficient
recompense, and due satisfaction to be made in regard thereof. And
moreover, if the said malefactors, which, as it is aforesaid, slew the
forenamed Knight, and others of his company, either be appertaining unto
our kingdom and dominion, or may at any time be found within our said
kingdom or dominion, we will command justice and lodgement to be executed
upon them according to the laws and customs of our realm. And forasmuch
as our desire is, that mutual concord and amity should be maintained and
cherished between your and our subjects on both parts: so that our and your
merchants may, in both our Realms and dominions, freely and without
impediment exercise their traffique, as in the times of our progenitors it
hath been accustomed; [Sidenote: The antiquity of traffique between
England and Norway] Whereas also we evidently gathered out of the contents
of your letter, that you are in like sort ready and willing to put all
things in practice, which are by you and your subjects (for the taking away
of discords, contentions, and molestations howsoever occasioned, and sprung
up between your and our subjects) lovingly to be performed: we also do
promise for our selues and our subjects so much as in vs and them lieth for
his sake who is known to be the author of peace, and for the benefite &
tranquilitie of both our Realms (as justice and reason shall move vs) to
doe the like. Desiring and earnestly requesting at your hands, that of your
love and friendship, having regard of vs, and consideration of justice, you
would command that our foresaid merchants, who as yet remaine alive, and
who also at the time of the saide felonie committed, were shut vp in close
prison, be deliuered out of the saide thraldome, causing their goods which
haue bene taken from them, to bee, according vnto iustice, restored to them
again. And that the deliuerie of our foresaide marchants and goods, may be
the more easily yeelded vnlo, may it please you with diligent obseruation
to consider, that Gefferey Drew, and certaine other of our marchants of
Lenne, vpon occasion of the greiuances offered vnlo your marchants within
our Realme, (as the report goeth) at the suite of Tidman Lippe, paide vnlo
the same your marchants an hundreth pound sterling: euen as in a certain
Indenture made betweene Ingelram Lende of Thorenden, and some other of your
marchants on the one part, and betweene the foresaide Geffrey, and certaine
of our marchants on the other part, wee sawe conteined. Moreouer, if any of
your subiects be minded to exhibite, and effectually to prosecute their
complaints in our Court, concerning any of our subiects, or of any injury
done vnlo them, we will cause the petitions of those your subiects to be
admitted, and also full and speedie iustice to be administred, vpon any
such like complaints of theirs. Insomuch, that those your subiects shal
thinke themselues right well and sufficiently contented therewithall. And
in the meane space we will cause diligent inquisition of the trueth to be
made, of all excesses and grieuances howsoeuer offered vnlo your subiects
within our dominions. May it please you therfore, by the bearer of these
presents, to returne an answere vnlo vs, what you are determined to doe in
the premisses. Giuen at Westminster, the third day of April.

* * * * *

infra regnum & potestatem nostram ementes, & se cum eisdem lanis & pellibus

Artoys eorum libito voluntatis transtulerint: [Sidenote: Maior & Communitas

modo possemus prouidere, de consilio nostro ordinauerimus, quod mercatores

per Maiorem & Communitatem eorundem mercatorum, de regno nostro ordinandum
assignari, ac prout & quando expedire viderint mutandum, & non ad alia loca

fuereint, quibuscunque mercatoribus indigenis seu alienigenis, qui contra
dictam ordinationem venerint, & modo rationabili conuicti fuerint, certas

bonis & mercimonij mercatorum sic delinquentium, vbicunque ea infra regnum

nostrum leuenter: prout in Charta nostra inde confecta plenius continetur:
[Sidenote: Charta anno regni sexio confecta.] quam quidem Chartam per
singulos comitatus regni nostri super costeras maris fecimus publicari, &

ementes, & se cum eisdem lanis & pellibus ad vendendum eas ad alia loca in

Maiorem & communitatem dictorum mercatorum de regno nostro in aliqua
terrarum illarum ordinatam & assignatam transtulerint in nostri contemptum,

assignauerimus quosdam fideles nostros in diuersis partibus regni ad
nostram leuentur; etiam intellexerimus, quod quasi omnes mercatores tam

alij timentes inde indictari, lanas suas ac pelles lanutas sub nominibus
aliorum non culpabilium faciunt aduocari, & extra regnum nostrum transmitti
quibusdam alienigenis, sic culpabilibus in dictum regnum forsitan non
damnum non modicum redundarent. Nos volentes huiusmodi fraudibus obuiare, &
sacramentum ad sancta Dei Euangelia recipiatis, quod ipsi lanas seu pelles
sufficiente securitate pro qua respondere volueritis, de respondendo &
faciendo nobis id quod ad nos pertinet de lanis & pellibus lanutis per

supradictarum, si ipsum super hoc conuinci contingat, lanas & pelles illas

partes exteras transire pemittatis. Teste Rege apud Doueram decimo octauo
die lunij, per ipsum Regem & Consilium.

The same in English.
An Ordinance of the Staple to bee holden at one certaine place.

The King vnto his Collectors of custome, for wooll and woollen fels, in his
port of London, greeting. Whereas we vpon the 20. of May, in the sixt yeere
of our reigne, considering the damages and griuances that haue diversly
happened vnto the marchants of our realme, vpon occasion that the marchants
both of our owne, & of other countreis, buying vp wooll and woollen fels
within our kingdome and dominions, haue, for the better sale thereof, at
their pleasure conueyed theselues, and trasported the said wooll & fels
into sundry places within the prouinces of Brabant, Flanders and Artoys:
and being desirous also, to our power, to prouide a remedie against such
damages and inconueniences, haue ordained by our counsel, that all
marchants, both homeborne and aliens, buying vp such wools and fels, within
our kingdome and dominion aforesaid, and being desirous to transport them
into the foresaid prouinces, there to bee solde, may carrie the saide wools
and fels, or cause them to be caried to some certaine staple, within any of
the saide Prouinces, by the Maior and Communaltie of the said marchants of
our realme, to be appointed and assigned, and when they shall thinke it
expedient, to be changed and remoued, and not vnto any other place within
the saide Prouinces whatsoeuer: and whereas also, amongst other things, we
haue granted vnto the marchants of our foresaid realme, for vs and our
heires, that the Maior and Counsel of the saide marchants for the time
being, may impose vpon all marchants, home-borne or aliens whatsoeuer, that
shall transgress the foresaid ordination, and shall thereof lawfully be
conuicted, certaine summes of money to be paid for their offences, and that
such summes must by our ministers and officers, to our vse, be leuied out
of the goods and wares of the marchants so offending, wheresoever they
shall chance to be found within our kingdome and dominions aforesaid,
[Sidenote: A Charter made in the sixt yeere of his reigne.] as in our
Charter made for the same purpose it is more plainly expressed, (which
Charter we haue caused to be published vpon the Sea-coasts, throughout all
the countreys of our realme, and a strong prohibition to be proclaimed,
that no marchants, neither home-borne, nor strangers, may in any wise
transgresse the tenour of the foresaide Charter, vnder the penalties
therein contained) and whereas afterward it beeing giuen vs to vnderstand,
that diuers marchants both homeborne and aliens, bought vp such woolles and
woollen felles within our saide Realme and dominions, and conueyed
themselues with the saide woolles and felles for the sale thereof vnto other
places within the foresaide Prouinces, besides the saide Staple, which was,
according to our graunt aforesaide appointed and ordained by the Maior and
communaltie of the said marchants of our Realme, in some one of those
Prouinces, to the contempt of our authoritie, and contrary to the Charter
of the ordination, publication, and inhibition aforesaide, wee assigned
certaine of our faithfull subiects, in diuers parts of our Realme, to make
inquisition for such woolles and woollen felles, as were conueyed vnnto any
other place of the saide Prouinces, then vnnto the Staple, so that by these
meanes, the penalties due vnnto vs might bee leuied vnnto our vse: and hauing
intelligence also, that in a maner all marchants both home-borne, and
strangers bartering such wares in our kingdome, are culpable of the
premisses, and that many being indicted thereupon, and others fearing to
bee indicted, doe cause their woolles and woollen felles to bee auouched
vnnder the names of persons not culpable, and to be sent ouer vnnto certaine
strangers being also culpable, and not minding perhaps to return any more
into our realme, that they may so escape the foresaid forfeitures, and
defraud vs of the penaltie, appertaining of right vnto vs, (which abuses,
if they were suffered so to goe vnpunished woulde redound vnto our extreame
hinderance:) and beeing likewise desirous to withstand such deceitefull
dealing, and so farre forth as wee can, to preuent our owne losses, we
firmely command, and streightly charge you, that you doe receiue of every
particular marchant, desirous to conuey any wools, or woollen fels out of
the foresaid port, into any forrein dominions, a corporal oath vpon Gods
holy Euangelists that they shall auouch all those wools and woollen fels
vnder his name vnto whom they doe properly belong, & vnder the name of none
other: and then taking sufficient security from the owner of those wools
and fels, or in his name, in regard whereof you wil vndertake to
warrantize, and make good vnto vs those penalties and forfaitures which
shal vnto vs appertaine, for all wools, and woollen fels conueied or sent
by any of the foresaid merchants vnto any of the said prouinces of
Flanders, Brabant, and Artoys, contrary to the Charter of the Proclamation
and inhibition aboue mentioned (if they shal chance to be conuinced hereof)
that first, our due custome being receiued, you doe permit the said wools
and woollen fels to passe out of the foresaid port into forrein countnes.
Witnes the king at Douer the 18. day of lune. By the king himselfe and his
Councell.

And afterwarde by a Writte vnder the Kings priuie Seale there was a like
commandement giuen vnto the Collectors of the custome aforesayde in the
portes vnderwritten.

That is to say:
In the port of the Towne of:

Weymouth.
Southampton.
Saint Botulphs towne, now called Boston.
Kingtone vpon Hull.
Newcastle.
Iernemouth magna, or Yermouth.
Lenne.
Gypwick or Ipswich.

* * * * *

Carta Henrici quarti Anno [Marginal note: 1404] quinto regni sui concessa

ob defectum boni & sani regiminis & gubernationis, diuersa damna,

futuris temporibus verisimiliter euenire formidantur, nisi pro meliori

venturos iuste & fideliter regi & pertractari intime desiderantes, volumus

quando eis placuerit in quodam loco competenti & honesto, vbi sibi
placuerit, se congregare & vnire, & certas personas sufficientes & idoneas
in gubernatores suos in eisdem partibus inter se ad eorum libitum eligere &
obtinere valeant libere & impune: Dantes vterius & concedentes huiusmodi
est, potestatem & authoritatem speciales, omnes & singulos mercatores
sufficientes loca sua tenentes regendi & gubernandi, ac eis & eorum
cullibet in suis causis & querelis quibuscunque inter eos in partibus
reformationemque petendi, redigendi, sedandi, & pacificandi, & quascunque
transgressiones, damna, mesprisiones, excessus, violencias, & injurias
seu faciendas redigendi, reparandi, restaurandi, & emendandi, consimilesque
restituciones, reparaciones, restorationes & emandationes de ipsis
statuta, ordinationes, & consuetudines, prout pro meliori gubernatione
status eorundem mercatorum Anglicorum in hac parte videbitur expedire,
gubernatoribus sic eligendis vel eorum loca tenantibus seu eorum alicui,
rebelles, vel inobedientes iuxta quantitatem delicti sui in hac parte
rationabiliter puniendi. Volentes insuper omnia iusta & rationabilia
statuta, ordinationes & consuetudines per dictos gubernatores sic eligendos
rationabiles ordinationones per [Marginal note: Nota.] nuper gubernatores

in posterum concedenda, facienda & stabilienda, rata, firma & accepta
haberi, & pro ratis firmis, & acceptis ibidem fimiter & inuiolabiter
gubernationem & regimen in hac parte qualitercunque concernentibus intendentes sint, consulentes obedientes & auxiliantes prout decet. Data in palatio nostro Westmonasterij sub magni sigili nostri testimono sexto die Iunij Anno regni nostri quinto.

A Charter of King Henry the fourth graunted in the fift yeere of his reigne to the English Marchants resident in the partes of Prussia, Denmarke, Norway, Sweden, and Germanie for the chusing of gouernours among themselues.

Henry by the grace of God king of England and of France, and lord of Ireland to all to whom these present letters may come, sendeth greeting. Know ye, that whereas, according as we are informed, through want of good and discreete rule and gouernement, sundry damages, strifes, oppressions, and wrongs oftentimes heretofore haue bene moued and committed among the Marchants of our kingdome of England remaining in the parties of Prussia, Denmarke, Norway, the Hans steeds and Sweden, and greater hereafter, which God forbid, are feared to be like to fall out, vnlesse we put to our helping hands for the procuring of better gouernement to be maintained among the said Marchants: wee heartily desiring to preuent the perrils and dangers which are like to fall out in this case, and that the sayde Marchants and others which shall trauaile out of our said Realme into the partes aforesaid may iustly and faithfully be ruled and intreated, we will and graunt by the tenour of these presents to the said Marchants, that they may freely and without danger assemble and meeete together as often and whensoever they please in some conuenient and honest place where they shall thinke good, and that they may choose among themselues certaine sufficient
and fit persons for their gournours in those parts at their good liking.
And furthermore we giue and graunt to the said Gournours which are in such
sort to be chosen by the aforesaid Marchants, as much as in vs lieth,
speciall power and authoritie to rule and gourne all and singular the
English Marchants which hereafter shall come or repayre to the parts
aforesaid by themselves or their sufficient Deputies, and to minister vnto
them and euery of them in their causes and quarels whatsoeuer, which are
sprung vp, or shall hereafter fall out among them in the parts aforesaid
full and speedie iustice, and to reforme all maner of questions,
contentious discords, and debates moued or to be moued betweene the English
Marchants remayning in those parts, and to seeke reformation, to redresse,
appease, and compound the same. And further to redresse, restore, repayre
and satisfie all transgressions, damages, misprisions, outrages, violences,
and injuries done or to be done by the aforesaid English Marchants against
the Marchants of those parts: And to require, demaund and receiue the like
restitutions, reparations, satisfactions and amends of the Marchants of
those parts or of their deputies. And by the common consent of the
aforesaid English Marchants to make and establish statutes, ordinances, and
customes, as shall seeme expedient in that behalfe for the better
gouernement of the state of the said English Marchants: and to punish with
reason according to the quantitie of their fault in that behalfe all and
singular the English Marchants which shall withstand, resist or disobey the
aforesaid gournours so to be chosen or their deputies, or any of them: or
any of the aforesaid statutes, ordinances, or customes. Moreouer we doe
ratifie, confirme, and approoue, and as ratified, confirmed, and approoued,
wee command firmely and inuiolably there to be obserued all iust, and
reasonable statutes, ordinances, and customes which shalbe made and
established by the said gournors, so to be chosen, in forme aforesaid, and
also all iust and reasonable ordinances made & established by the late
gouernours of the aforesaid English Marchants with the common consent of
the sayd Marchants for this their gouernement in the parts aforesayd,
according to the priuileges and authorities now granted vnto them by the
Master of Prussia, or other Lords of the partes aforesayd, or which shall
be made and established by the aforesayd gouernours now as is mentioned to
be chosen according to the aforesaid priuileges heretofore graunted, or
other priuileges hereafter to bee granted to the sayde English Marchants by
the aforesayde Master and lords of the Countrey. And furthermore by the
tenor of these presents we straitely commaund all and singular the
aforesaid English Marchants, that they attend, aduise, obey and assist, as
it becommeth them, the sayde gouernours so to bee chosen, and their
deputies in all and singular the premisses and other things, which any way
may concerne in this behalfe their rule and gouernement. Giuen in our
Palace at Westminster vnder the testimonie of our great Seale the sixt day
of lune in the fift yeere of our reigne.

* * * * *

A note touching the mighty Ships of King Henry the fift, mentioned
hereafter in the treatie of keeping the sea, taken out of a Chronicle in
the Trinitie Church of Winchester.

Eodem anno quo victoria potitus est videlicet Anno Domini 1415. & regni sui
Anno tertio, post bellum de Agencourt, conducti a Francis venerunt cum
potentiores, & iterum deuicti perpetuam pacem cum Rege composuerunt, &
propter eorum naues fecit Rex fieri naues quales non erant in mundo. De his

Regum belligero trito celeberrimus aruo
Gallos, Hispanos, Ianos, deuicit, & Vrget,

Nauali bello bis deuicti quoque Iani.

* * * * *

A branch of a Statute made in the eight yeere of Henry the sixt, for the
trade to Norwey, Sweueland, Denmarke, and Fynmarke.

Item because that the kings most deare Vncle, the king of Denmarke, Norway
and Sweueland, as the same our soueraigne Lord the king of his intimation
hath vnderstood, considering the manifold & great losses, perils, hurts and
damage which haue late happened as well to him and his, as to other
foraines and strangers, and also friends and speciall subiects of our said
soueraigne Lord the king of his realme of England, by the going in, entring
& passage of such forain & strange persons into his realme of Norwey &
other dominions, streits, territories, iurisdictions & places subdued and
subiect to him, specially into his Isles of Fynmarke, and elsewhere, aswell
in their persons as their things and goods: for eschuing of such losses,
perils, hurts & damages, and that such like (which God forbid) should not
hereafter happen: our said soueraigne Lord the king hath ordeined and
statuted, that all and singular strangers, as well Englishmen and others
willing to apply by Ship and come into his realtime of Norwey and other
dominions, straights, territories, iurisdicctions, Isles & places aforesaid
with their ships to the intent to get or haue fish or any other
Marchandises, or goods, shall apply and come to his Towne of Northberne,
where the said king of Denmarke hath specially ordained and stablished his
staple for the concourses of strangers and specially of Englishmen, to the
exercise of such Marchandises granting to the said Englishmen that they
shall there inioy in and by all things the same fauour, priuileges and
prerogatiues which they of the Hans did enioy. Therefore our said
soueraigne Lord the king willing the loue, affinitie and amities to be
firmely obserued, which betwixt his said VnCLE and his noble progenitors of
good memory, their Realmes, lands, dominions, streites, territories,
iurisdicctions and their said places, and the same our soueraigne Lord the
king & his noble progenitours of famous memory, his great men, subiects,
Realmes, lands & dominions hath bene of old times hitherto continued nor
nothing by our said soueraigne Lord the king or his people to be attempted
or done whereby such amities by reason of any dissensions, enemities or
discords might be broken: by the aduise of the Lords spintuall & temporall
& of the comons of his said Realme of England, assembled in this present
Parliament, hath ordained, prohibiting that none of his liege people nor
subiects of his Realme of England by audacitie of their follie presume to
enter the Realmes, lands, dominions, straits, terntones, iurisdicctions &
places of the said king of Denmarke against the ordinance, prohibition &
interdiction of the same his VnCLE aboue remembred, & in contempt of the
same, vpon paine of forfeitoure of all their moueable goods & imprisonment
of their persons at the kings will.
Another branch of a statute made in the tenth yeere of the reigne of Henry the sixt concerning the state of the English Marchants in the dominions of the king of Denmarke.

Item because that our soueraigne Lord the king at the griuous complaint to him made in this Parliament by the commons of his realme of England being in this Parliament is informed that many of his faithfull liege people be greatly impouerished, vndone, & in point to be destroyed by the king of Denmarke & his lieges, which be of the amitie of the king our soueraigne Lord, because that they do daily take of his said faithfull subiects their goods, so that they haue taken of marchants of York and Kinston vpon Hul goods & marchandises to the valour of v. M. li. within a yeere, and of other lieges & marchants of the realme of England goods & cattals to the valour of xx. M. li. wherof they haue no remedie of the said king of Denmarke, nor of none other, forasmuch as none of them commeth within the Realme of England, nor nothing haue in the same realme of England, & that the goods be taken out of the same Realme: The king willing to prouide remedy for his said liege people, hath ordeined & established, that if the goods of any of the said his lieges be or shalbe taken by the said king of Denmarke or any of his said lieges, the keeper of the priuie seale for the time being, shall haue power to make to the partie grieued letters of request vnder the priuie seale, without any other pursuite to be made to any for restitution to be had of the goods so taken & to be taken. And if
restitution be not made by such letters, the king our soueraigne lord by
the aduise of his counsel shal prouide to the partie grieued his couenable
remedy, according as the case requireth.

* * * * *

Here beginneth the Prologue of the processe of the Libel of English
policie, exhorting all England to keepe the sea, and namely the narrowe
sea shewing what profite commeth thereof, and also what worship and
saluation to England, and to all English-men.

Galisiam.]

The true processe of English policie
Of vetterward to keepe this regne in rest
Of our England, that no man may deny,
Ner say of sooth but it is one of the best,
Is this, that who seeth South, North, East and West,
Cherish Marchandise, keepe the admiraltie,
That wee bee Masters of the narrowe see

For Sigismond the great Emperour,
Wich yet reigneth, when he was in this land [1]
With king Henry the fift, Prince of honour
Here much glory, as him thought, he found,
A mightie land which had take in hand
To werre in France and make mortalitie,
And euer well kept round about the see.

[Footnote 1: It is clear, from these lines, that this poem must have been
written between 1416, when Sigismond was in England, and 1438, when he
died.]

scilicet Calisiam & Doueream ponens suos duos digitos super duos suos
oculos ait regi: Frater custodite istas duas villas sicut duos vestros
oculos.]

And to the king thus hee sayd: My brother,
(When hee perceiued two Townes Caleis and Douer)
Of all your Townes to chuse of one and other,
To keepe the sea and soone to come ouer
To werre outwards and your regne to recouer:
Keepe these two Townes sure, and your Maiestee
As your tweyne eyne: so keepe the narrowe see.

For if this sea bee kept in time of werre,
Who can heere passe without danger and woe
Who may escape, who may mischiefe differre
What Marchandie may forby bee agoe:
For needs hem must take trewes every foe:
Flanders and Spaine, and other, trust to mee,
Or ellis hindred all for this Narrow see.

Therefore I cast mee by a little writing
To shew at eye this conclusion,
For conscience and for mine acquiting
Against God and ageyne abusion,
And cowardise, and to our enemies confusion.
For foure things our Noble [2] sheweth to me,
King, Ship, and Swerd, and power of the see

[Foonote 2: The Noble was coined by Edward the third Anno regni 18. Quatuor quorum opprobrium his diebus Britones minores & Flandrenses & alij dicunt Anglicis: Tollite de vestro Nobile nauem & imponite ouem. Intendentes, quod diebus sunt vecordes, victi, & ad bellandum & Mare obseruandum velut oues.]

Where ben our ships, where ben our swerds become:
Our enemies bed for the ship set a sheepe.
Alas our rule halteth, it is benome.
Who dare well say that lordship should take keepe:
I will assay, though mine heart ginne to weepe,
To doe this werke, if wee will euer thee,
For very shame to keepe about the see.
Shall any Prince, what so be his name,
Which hath Nobles much leche ours,
Bee Lord of see: and Flemings to our blame,
Stop vs, take vs, and so make fade the flowers
Of English state, and disteyne our honours:
For cowardise alas it should so bee
Therefore I ginne to write nowe of the see.

Of the commodities of Spaine and of Flanders.

The first Chapter

Knowe well all men that profits in certaine
Commodities called comming out of Spaine
And Marchandie, who so will weete what it is,
Bene Figs, Raisins, wine Bastard, and Datis,
And Licoris, Siuill oyle, and graine,
White Pastill Sope, and Waxe is not vayne.
Yron, Wooll, Wadmolle, Gotefell, Kidfell also:
For Poynt-makers full needefull bene they tweyn
Saffron, Quickesiluer, which owne Spaine Marchandy,
Is into Flanders shipped full craftily,
Vnto Bruges as to her staple fayre:
The Hauen of Scluse hir Hauen for her repayre
Which is cleped Swyn tho shippes giding:
Where many vessels and fayre are abiding.
But these marchandes with their shippes great,
And such chaffare as they bye and get
By the weyes must nede take on hand
By the coasts to passe of our England,
Betwixt Douer and Caleis, this is no doubt.
Who can well els such matter bring about?

[Sidenote: Flemish cloth made of English Wooll.]

And when these sayd Marchants discharged bee
Of Marchandie in Flanders nere the see,
Then they bee charged againe with Marchandy,
That to Flanders bougeth full richly.
Fine cloth of Ypre that named is better than ours,
Cloth of Curtrike, [3] fine cloth of all colours,
Much Fustian, and also Linen cloth.
But Flemings, if yee bee not wroth,
The great substance of your cloth at the full
Yee wot ye make it of our English woll.

[Footnote 3: Courtrai.]

[Sidenote: The necessarie coniunction of Spaine and Flanders.]
But that it must this Marchandy of Spaine
Both out and in by our costes passe:
Hee that sayd nay in witte was like an asse.
Wee should haue peace with the grounds twyne
Thus if this see were kept, I dare well sayne.
For Spaine and Flanders is as eche other brother,
And neither may well liue without other:
They may not liuen to maintaine their degrees,
Without our English commodities:
Wolle and Tynne: for the woolle of England
Susteineth the Commons Flemings I vnderstand.
Then if England would her wolle restraine
From Flanders, this followeth in certaine,
Flanders of nede must with vs haue peace,
Or els shee is destroyed without lees.
Also if Flanders thus destroyed bee:
Some Marchandy of Spaine will neuer ythee:
For destroyed it is, and as in cheeffe
The wolle of Spaine it commeth not to preeffe,
But if it be costed and menged well
Amongst the English wolle the greter delle.
For Spanish wooll in Flaunders draped is,
And euer hath bee, that men haue minde of this:
And yet Wooll is one of the chiefe Marchandy
That longeth to Spaine: who so will espie,
It is of little value, trust vnto mee,
With English wooll but if it menged bee.
Thus if the sea be kept, than herken hether,
If these two lands comen not together:
So that the Fleet of Flanders passe nought
That in the narrowe see it be not brought
Into the Rochelle to fetch the famose wine,
Ner into Bytonuse Bay for salt so fine,
What is then Spaine? What is Flanders also?
As who sayd, nought, the thrift is agoe
For the little land of Flanders is
But a staple to other lands ywis:
And all that groweth in Flanders graine and seede
May not a Moneth finde hem meate and brede.
What hath then Flanders, bee Flemings lieffe or loth,
But a little Mader and Flemish Cloth:
By Drapering of our wooll in substance
Luien her commons, this is her gouvernance,
Without which they may not liue at ease.
Thus must hem sterue, or with vs must haue peace.

Of the commodities of Portugal.

The second Chapter,

The Marchandy also of Portugal
By diuers lands turne into sale.
Portugalers with vs haue troth in hand:
Whose Marchandy commeth much into England.
They ben our friends, with their commodities,
And wee English passen into their countrees.
Her land hath wine, Osey, Waxe, and Graine,
Figgis, Reysins, Hony and Cordoweyne:
Dates, and Salt, Hides, and such Marchandy:
And if they would to Flanders passe for by,
They should not bee suffred ones ner twyes,
For supporting of our cruell enemies,
That is to say Flemings with her gyle:
For changeable they are in little while. [Note well.]
Then I conclude by reasons many moe,
If we suffred neither friend nor foe,
What so enemies, and so supporting
Passe for by vs in time of werring,
Seth our friends will not ben in cause
Of our hindring, if reson lede this clause:
Then nede from Flanders peace bee to vs sought,
And other lands should seeke peace, dout nought:
For Flanders is Staple, as men tell mee,
To all nations of Christianitie.

The commodities of pety Britaine,[Footnote: Brittany] with her Rouers on
the sea.

The third Chapter
Furthermore to write I am faine

Somewhat speaking of the little Britayne.

Commoditie thereof there, is and was,
Salt, and wine, crest cloth and canuas.
And the land of Flaunders sickerly
Is the staple of their Marchandy.
Wich Marchandie may not passe away
But by the coast of England, this is no nay.
And of this Britaine, who so trueth louis,
Are the greatest rouers and the greatest theeuis,
That haue bene in the sea many one yeere:
That our Merchants haue bought full dere.
For they haue tooke notable goods of ours,
On this side see, these false pelours
Called, of Sainte Malo, and ellis where:
Which to their Duke none obeysance will bere:
With such colours wee haue bee hindred sore.
And fayned peace is called no werre herefore.
Thus they haue bene in diuers coasts many
Of our England, more then rehearse can I:
In Norfolke coastes, and other places about,
And robbed and brent and slame by many a rowte:
And they haue also ransomed Towne by Towne:
That into the regnes of bost haue run her sowne:
Wich hath bin ruth vnto this Realme and shame:
They that the sea should keepe are much to blame.

For Britayne is of easie reputation;

And Saincte Malo turneth hem to reprobation.

A storie of Edward the third his ordinance for Britayne.

[Sidenote: Historia ostendens quam ordinationem Rex Edwardus tertius fecit

subiugandum Britannos minores.]

Here bring I in a stone to mee lent,
That a good Squire in time of Parliament
Tooke vnto mee well written in a scrowe:
That I haue commond both with high and lowe,
Of which all men accorden into one,
That it was done not many yeeres agone
But when noble King Edward the third
Reigned in grace, right thus it betyd.
For hee had a maner gelosie
To his Marchants and loued them hartily.
He feld the weyes to rule well the see,
Whereby Marchants might haue prosperitee.
And great werre that time were vndertaken,
betwixt the King and the Duke of Britayne:
At last to fall to peace both were they fayne:
Vpon the wich made with conuencion
Our Marchants made hem readie bowne
Toward Britayne to loade their Marchandie,
Wening hem friends they went foorth boldly:
But soone anon our Marchants were ytake,
And wee spedde neuer the better for truce sake.
They lost her good, her nauy and spending:
But their complaint came vnto the king.
Then wext he wroth, and to the Duke he sent,
And complained that such harme was hent;
By conuention and peace made so refused:
Wich Duke sent againe, and him excused,
Rehearsing that the mount of Saincte Michael,
And Sainct Malo would neuer a dell
Be subiect vnto his gouernance,
Nor be vnder his obeysance:
And so they did withouten him that deede.
But when the king anon had taken heede:
Hee in his herte set a judgement,
Without calling of any Parliament,
Or greate tarry to take long aduise
To fortifie anon he did deuise
Of English Townes three, that is to say,
Dertmouth, Plymouth, the third it is Fowey:
And gaue hem helpe and notable puisance
With insistence set them in gouernance
Vpon pety Bretayne for to werre.
Those good sea men would no more differre,
But bete hem home and made they might not rowte,
Tooke prisoners, and made them for to lowte.

And efte the Duke, an ensample wise,

Wrote to the king as he first did devise,

Him excusing: But our men wood

With great power passed ouer the floode

And werred foorth into the Dukes londe,

And had ny destroyed free and bond.

But than the Duke knewe that the townes three

Should haue lost all his natuie Countrie,

He vndertooke by suretie true not false,

For mount Michael and Saincte Malo als.

And other parties of the little Brytaine,

Which to obey, as sayd was, were not fayne

The Duke hymselfe for all did vndertake:

With all his herte a full peace did hee make:

So that in all the life time of the king,

Marchants had peace withouten werring:

[Footnote 4: Harfleur]

[Footnote 5: Honfleur]

[Sidenote: Statutum Regis Edwardi tertij pro Lombardis.]

He made a statute for Lombards in this land,

That they should in noe wise take on hande

Here to inhabite, here to chardge and dischardge
But fourtie dayes, no more time had they large.

This good king by witte of such appareife

Kept his Marchants and the sea from mischiefe.

Of the commodities of Scotland and draping of her wolles in Flanders. The
fourth Chapiter


Moreouer of Scotland the commodities

Are Felles, Hides, and of Wooll the Fleese.

And all these must passe by ys away

Into Flanders by England, sooth to say.

And all her woolle was draped for to sell

In the Townes of Poperinge and of Bell:

Which my Lord of Glocester with ire

For her falsshed set vpon a fire.

And yet they of Bell and Poperinge

Could never drape her wool for any thing,

But if they had English woll withal.

Our goodly wooll which is so generall

Needefull to them in Spaine and Scotland als,

And other costes, this sentence is nnot false:

Yee worthy Marchants I doe it vpon yow,

I haue this learned ye wot well where and howe:

Ye wotte the Staple of that Marchandie,
Of this Scotland is Flandes sekerly.
And the Scots bene charged known at the eye,
Out of Flandes with little Mercerie,
And great plentie of Haberdashers Ware,
And halfe her shippes with cart wheeles bare,
And with Barrowes are laden as in substance:
Thus most rude ware are in her cheuesance.
So they may not forbeare this Flemish land.
Therefore if wee would manly take in hand,
To keepe this Sea from Flandes and from Spaine,
And from Scotland, like as from pety Britaine,
Wee should right soone haue peace for all her bosts,
For they must needes passe by our English costs.

Of the commodities of Pruce, and High Dutch men, and Easterlings. The fifth Chapitle.

Nowe goe foorth to the commodities,
That commeth from Pruce in two maner degrees.
For two maner people haue such vse,
That is to say, High Duch men of Pruse,
And Esterlings, which might not be forborne,
Out of Flanders, but it were verely lorne.
For they bring in the substance of the Beere,
That they drinken feele too good chepe, not dere.
Yee haue heard that two Flemings togider
Will vndertake or they goe any whither,
Or they rise once to drinke a Ferkin full,
Of good Beerekin: so sore they hall and pull.
Vnder the board they pissen as they sit:
This commeth of couenant of a worthie wit.
Without Caleis in their Butter they cakked
When they fled home, and when they leysure lacked
To holde their siege, they went like as a Doe:
Well was that Fleming that might trusse, and goe.
For feare they turned backe and hyed fast,
My Lord of Glocester made hem so agast
With his commimg, and sought hem in her land,
And brent and slowe as he had take on hand:
So that our enemies durst not bide, nor stere,
They fled to mewe, they durst no more appeare,
Rebuked sore for euer so shamefully,
Vnto her vtter euerlasting villany.

Nowe Beere and Bakon bene fro Pruse ybrought
Into Flanders, as loued and farre ysought:
Osmond, Copper, Bow-staues, Steele, and Wexe,
Peltreware and grey Pitch, Terre, Board, and flexe,
And Colleyne threed, Fustian and Canuas,
Card, Bukeram: of olde time thus it was.
But the Flemings among these things dere,
In common louen best Bakon and Beere.
Also Pruse men maken her aduenture
Of Plate of siluer of wedges good and sure
In great plentie which they bring and bye,
Out of the lands of Beame and Hungarie:
Which is increase full great vnto their land,
And they bene laden, I vnderstand,
With wollen cloth all maner of colours
By dyers crafted full diuers, that ben ours.
And they aduenture full greatly vnto the Bay,
for salt that is needefull withouten nay.
Thus if they would not our friends bee,
We might lightly stoppe hem in the see:
They should not passe our streemes withouten leue,
It would not be, but if we should hem greue.

Of the commodities of the Genuoys and her great Caracks. Chap. 6.

The Genuois comen in sundry wies
Into this land with diuers marchandises
In great Caracks, arrayed withouten lacke
With cloth of gold, silke, and pepper blacke
They bring with them, and of crood [6] great plente,
Woll Oyle, Woad ashen, by vessel in the see,
Cotton, Rochalum, and good gold of Genne.
And then be charged with wolle againe I wenne,
And wollen cloth of ours of colours all.
And they aduenture, as ofte it doth befall,
Into Flanders with such things as they bye,
That is their chefe staple sekerly:
And if they would be our full enemies,
They should not passe our stremes with merchandise.

[Footnote 6: Woad.]

The comodities and nicetees of the Venetians and Florentines, with their
Gallees. Chap. 7.

The great Galees of Venice and Florence
Be well laden with things of complacence,
All spicery and of grossers ware:
With sweete wines all maner of chaffare,
Apes, and lapes, and marmusets tayled,
Nifles and trifles that little haue auayled:
And things with which they fetely blere our eye:
With things not induring that we bye.
For much of this chaffare that is wastable
Might be forborne for dere and deceiuable.
And that I wene as for infirmities
In our England are such commodities
Withouten helpe of any other lond
Which by witte and practise both yfound:
That all humors might be voyded sure,
With that we gleder with our English cure:
That we should haue no neede of Scamonie,
Turbit, enforbe, correct Diagredie,
Rabarbe, Sene, and yet they ben to needefull,
But I know things al so speedefull,
That growen here, as those things sayd.
Let of this matter no man be dismayde;
But that a man may voyde infirmitie
Without degrees fet fro beyond the sea.
And yet they should except be any thing
It were but sugre, trust to my saying:
He that trusteth not to my saying and sentence,
Let him better search experience.
In this matter I will not ferther prease,
Who so not beleeueth, let him leaue and cease.
Thus these galeys for this licking ware,
And eating ware, bare hence out best chaffare.
Cloth, woll, and tinne, which as I sayd before,
Out of this lond worst might be forbore,
For ech other land of necessitie
Haue great neede to buy some of them three:
And we receiue of hem into this coste
Ware and chaffare that lightly wilbe loste.
And would Iesus, that our Lord is wold
Consider this well both yong and old:
Namely old that haue experience,
That might the yong exhorte to prudence;
What harme, what hurt, and what hinderance
Is done to vs, vnto our great grieuance,
Of such lands, and of such nations:
As experete men know by probations,
By writings as discouered our counsailes,
And false colour alwaies the countertailes
Of our enimies: that doth vs hindering
Vnto our goods, our Relme, and to the king:
As wise men haue shewed well at eye;
And all this is couloured by marchandye.

An example of deceite

Also they bere the gold out of this land,
And sucke the thrift away out of our hand:
As the Waspe souketh honie fro the bee,
So minisheth our commoditee.
Nor wol ye here how they in Cotteswold
Were wont to borrow or they shold be sold
Her woll good as for yere and yere.
Of cloth and tinne they did in like manere:
And in her galies ship this marchandie:
Then soone at Venice of them men woll it bye.
Then vterne there the chaffare by the peise,
And lightly als there they make her reise.
And when the goods beene at Venice sold,
Then to carie her change they this money haue,
They will it profer, their subtltie to saue,
To English marchants to yeue it out by eschange
To be payed againe they make not strange,
At the receiuing and sight of a letter,
Here in England, seeming for the better,
by foure pence lesse in the noble round:
That is twelue pence in the golden pound.
And if wee wol haue of payment
A full moneth, than must him needes assent
To eight pence losse, that is shillings twaine
In the English pound: as eft soone again,
For two moneths twelue pence must he pay.
In the English pound what is that to say,
But shillings three? So that in pound fell
For hurt and harme hard is with hem to dwell.
And when English marchants haue content
This eschange in England of assent,
That these sayd Venecians haue in woone
And Florentines to bere her gold soone
Ouer the see into Flanders againe:
And thus they liue in Flanders sooth to saine,
And in London with such cheuisance,
That men call usury, to our losse and hinderance.

Another example of deceite.

Now lesten well how they made vs a valeys
When they borrowed at the town of Caleis
As they were wont, their woll that was hem lent,
For yere and yere they should make payment.
And sometimes als two yere and two yeare.
This was fayre [7] loue: but yet will ye heare
How they to Bruges would her woll carie,
And for hem take payment withouten tarie,
And sell it fast for ready money in hand.
For fifty pounds of money of losse they wold not wond
In a thousand pound, and liue thereby
Till the day of payment easily,
Come againe in exchange: making
Full like vsury, as men make vndertaking.
Than whan this payment of a thousand pound
Was well content, they should haue chaffare sound
If they wold fro the Staple full,
Receiue againe three thousand pound in woll.
In Cotteswold also they ride about,
And all England, and buy withouten doubte
What them list with freedome and franchise,
More then we English may gitten many wise
But would God that without lenger delayes
These galees were vnfraught in fortie dayes,
And in fortie dayes charged againe,
And that they might be put to certaine
To goe to oste, as we there with hem doe.
It were expedient that they did right soe,
As we doe there. If the king would it:
Ah what worship wold fall to English wit?
What profite also to our marchandle
Which wold of nede be cherished hertilie?
For I would witte, why now our nauie fayleth, [Note diligently]
When manie a foe vs at our doore assayleth.

[Sidenote: A woful complaint of lacke of nauie if need come. A storie of destruction of Denmarke for destruction of their marchants.]

Now in these dayes, that if there come a nede,
What nauie should we haue it is to drede.
In Denmarke were full noble conquerours
In time past, full worthy warriours:
Which when they had their marchants destroyed,
To pouerty they fell, thus were they noyed:
And so they stand at mischiefe at this day.
This learned I late well writon, this no nay.
Therefore beware, I can no better will,
If grace it woll, of other mennis perill.
For if marchants were cherished to her speede,
We were not likely to fayle in any neede.
If they be rich, then in prosperitee
Shalbe our londe, lords, and commontee,
And in worship. Now thinke I on the sonne
Of Marchandy Richard of Whitingdon;

[Sidenote: The prayse of Richard of Whittingdon marchant.]

That load sterre, and chiefe chosen floure:
What hath by him our England of honour,
And what profite hath bin of his riches,
And yet lasteth dayly in worthines?
That pen and paper may not me suffice
Him to describe: so high he was of price
Aboue marchants, that set him one of the best:
I can no more, but God haue him in rest.

[Footnote 7: Or, lone.]

Now the principal matter.

What reason is it that we should goe to oste
In their countries, & in this English coste
They should not so? bat haue more liberty
Then we our selues now also motte I thee.
I would to gifts men should take no heede
That letteth our thing publicke for to speede
For this we see well euery day at eye,
Gifts and fests stopen our policie.
Now see that fooles ben either they or wee
But euer we haue the worse in this countree.
Therefore let hem vnto oste go here,
Or be we free with hem in like manere
In their countrees: and if it will not bee,
Compell them vnto oste, and yee shall see
Moch auantage, and moch profite arise,
Moch more then I can write in any wise.

Of our charge and discharge at her marts.

Conceiue wel here, that Englishmen at martes
Be discharged, for all her craftes and artes,
In Brabant of her marchandy
In fourteene dayes, and ageine hastily
In the same dayes fourteene acharged eft.
And if they bide lenger all is bereft,
Anon they should forfeit her goods all,
Or marchandy: it should no better fall.
And we to martis in Brabant charged beene
With English cloth full good and fayre to seene:
We ben againe charged with mercerie,
Haburdasher ware, and with grosserie:
To which marts, that English men call fayres,
Ech nation oft maketh her repayres:
English, and French, Lombards, lennoyes,
Catalones, thedre they take her wayes:
Scots, Spaniars, Irishmen there abides,
With great plenty bringing of sale hides.
And I here say that we in Brabant bye,
Flanders and Zeland more of marchandy
In common vse then done all other nations:
This haue I heard of marchants relations:
And if the English ben not in the marts
They ben feeble, and as nought bene her parts.
For they byemore, and fro purse put out
More marchandie then all the other rowte.
Kept then the see, shippes should not bring ne fetch,
And then the carreys wold not thidre stretch:
And so those marts wold full euill thee,
If we manly kept about the see.

Of the commodities of Brabant and Zeland and Henauld and marchandy carried
by land to the martes. Cap. 8.

Yet marchandy of Brabant and Zeland
The Madre and Woad, that dyers take on hand
To dyen with, Garlike and Onions,
And saltfishe als for husband and commons.
But they of Holland at Caleis byen our felles,
And wolles our, that Englishmen hem selles.
And the chaffare that Englishmen doe byen
In the marts, that noe man may denien,
Is not made in Brabant that cuntree:
It commeth from out of Henauld, not by see,
But al by land, by carts, and from France,
Bourgoyne, Colem, Cameret in substance,
Therefore at marts if there be a restraint,
Men seyne plainely that list no fables paynt,
If Englishmen be withdrawen away,
Is great rebuke and losse to her affray:
As though we sent into the land of France
Ten thousand people, men of good puissance,
To werre vnto her hindring multifarie.
So ben our English marchants necessarie.
If it be thus assay, and we shall witten
Of men experte, by whom I haue this written.

[Sidenote: What our marchants bye in that cost more then all other.]

For sayd is that this carted marchandy
Draweth in value as much verily,
As all the goods that come in shippes thider,
Which Englishmen bye most and bring it hither.
For her marts ben febel, shame to say,
But Englishmen thither dresse her way.

A conclusion of this depending of keeping of the sea.

Than I conclude, if neuer so much by land
Were by carres brought vnto their hand,
If well the sea were kept in gouernance
They should by sea haue no deliuerance.
Wee should hem stop, and we should hem destroy,
As prisoners we should hem bring to annoy.
And so we should of our cruell enimies
Make our friends for feare of marchandies,
If they were not suffered for to passe
Into Flanders. But we be frayle as glasse
And also brittle, not thought neuer abiding,
But when grace shineth soone are we sliding,
We will it not receiue in any wise:
That maken lust, enuie, and couetise:
Expone me this; and yee shall sooth it find,
Bere it away, and keepe it in your mind.
Then shuld worship vnto our Noble bee
In feate and forme to lord and Maiestie:
Liche as the seale the greatest of this land
On the one side hath, as I vnderstand,
A prince riding with his swerd ydraw,
In the other side sitting, soth it is in saw,
Betokening good rule and punishing
In very deede of England by the king.
And it is so God blessed mought he bee.
So in likewise I would were on the see
By the Noble, that swerde should haue power,
And the ships on the sea about vs here.
What needeth a garland which is made of Iuie
Shewe a tauerne winelesse, also thrue I?
If men were wise, the Frenchmen and Fleming
Shuld bere no state in sea by werring.
Then Hankin lyons shuld not be so bold
To stoppe wine, and shippes for to hold
Vnto our shame. He had be beten thence
Alas, alas, why did we this offence,
Fully to shend the old English fames;
And the profits of England and their names:
Why is this power called of couetise;
With false colours cast befor our eyes?
That if good men called werriours
Would take in hand for the commons succours,
To purge the sea vnto our great auayle,
And winne hem goods, and haue vp the sayle,
And on our enimies their liues to impart,
So that they might their prises well departe,
As reson wold, iustice and equitie;
To make land haue lordship of the sea.

[Sidenote: Lombards are cause enough to hurt this land although there were none other cause. False colouring of goods by Lombards. Alas for bribes & gift of good feasts & other means that stoppen our policie. This is the very state of our time.]

Then shall Lombards and other fained friends
Make her chalenges by colour false offends,
And say their chaffare in the shippes is,
And chalenge al. Looke if this be amisse.
For thus may al that men haue bought to sore,
Ben soone excused, and saued by false colour.
Beware yee men that bere the great in hand
That they destroy the policie of this land,
By gifte and good, and the fine golden clothis,
And silke, and other: say yee not this soth is?
But if we had very experience
That they take meede with prime violence,
Carpets, and things of price and pleasance,
Whereby stopped should be good gouernance:
And if it were as yee say to mee,
Than wold I say, alas cupiditie,
That they that haue her liues put in drede,
Shalbe soone out of winning, all for meed,
And lose her costes, and brought to pouerty,
That they shall neuer haue lust to goe to sea.

An exhortation to make an ordinance against colour of maintainers and
excusers of folkes goods

[Sidenote: It is a marueilous thing that so great a sicknes and hurt of
the land may haue no remedie of so many as take heselues wise men of
gouernance.]

For this colour that must be sayd alofte
And be declared of the great full ofte,
That our seamen wol by many wise
Spoile our friends in steede of our enimies:
For which colour and Lombards maintenance,
The king it needes to make an ordinance
With his Counsayle that may not fayle, I trowe,
That friends should from enemies be knowe,
Our enemies taken and our friends spared:
The remedy of hem must be declared.
Thus may the sea be kept in no sell,
For if ought be spoken, wot yee well,
We haue the strokes, and enemies haue the winning:
But mayntainers are parteners of the finning.
We liue in lust and bide in couetise;
This is our rule to maintaine marchandise,
And policie that wee haue on the sea,
And, but God helpe, it will no other bee.

Of the commodities of Ireland and policie and keeping thereof and
conquering of wild Irish: with an incident of Wales. Chap. 9.

I cast to speake of Ireland but a litle:
Commodities of it I will entitle,
Hides, and fish, Salmon, Hake, Herringe,
Irish wooll, and linen cloth, faldinge,
And marterns goode ben her marchandie,
Hertes Hides, and other of Venerie.[8]
Skinnes of Otter, Squirell and Irish hare,
Of sheepe, lambe, and Fox, is her chaffare,
Felles of Kiddes, and Conies great plentie.
So that if Ireland helpe vs to keepe the sea,

Old possessed by Progenitours:
The Irish men haue cause like to ours
Our land and hers together to defend,
That no enemie should hurt ne offend,
Ireland ne vs: but as one commontie
Should helpe well to keepe about the sea:
For they haue hauens great, and goodly bayes,
Sure, wyde and deepe, of good assayes,
At Waterford, and costes many one.
And as men sayne in England be there none
Better hauens, ships in to ride,
No more sure for enemies to abide,
Why speake I thus so much of Ireland?
For all so much as I can vnderstand,
It is fertile for things that there doe growe
And multiplien, loke who lust to knowe,
So large, so good, and so commodious,
That to declare is strange and maruailous.

[Footnote 8: Hunting.]

[Sidenote: Mynes of siluer and gold in Ireland.]

For of siluer and golde there is the oore,
Among the wilde Irish though they be poore.
For they are rude can thereon no skill:
So that if we had their peace and good will
To myne and fine, and metal for to pure,
In wilde Irish might we finde the cure,
As in London saith a luellere,
Which brought from thence golde oore to vs here,
Whereof was fyned mettal good and clene,
As they touch, no better could be seene.
Nowe here beware and heartily take intent,
As yee will answere at last iudgement,
That for slought and for racheshede
Yee remember with all your might to hede
To keepe Ireland that it be not lost.
For it is a boterasse and a post,
Vnder England, and Wales another:
God forbid, but ech were others brother,
Of one ligeance due vnto the king.
But I haue pittie in good faith of this thing
That I shall say with auisement:
I am aferde that Ireland will be shent:
It must awey, it wol bee lost from vs,
But if thou helpe, thou Iesu gracious,
And giue vs grace al slought to leue beside.
For much thing in my herte is hide,
Which in another treatise I caste to write
Made al onely for that soile and site,
Of fertile Ireland, wich might not be forborne,
But if England were nigh as goode as gone.
God forbid that a wild Irish wirlinge
Should be chosen for to bee their kinge,
After her conquête for our last puissance,
And hinder us by other lands alliance.
Wise men seyn, wich felin not, ne douten,
That wild Irish so much of ground haue gotten
There vpon us, as likenesse may be
Like as England to sheeris two or three
Of this our land is made comparable:
So wild Irish haue wonne on us vnable
Yet to defend, and of none power,
That our ground is there a little corner,
To all Ireland in true comparison.
It needeth no more this matter to expon.
Which if it bee lost, as Christ Iesu forbed,
Farewel Wales, then England commeth to dred,
For aliance of Scotland and of Spaine,

[Sidenote: This is now to be greatly feared.]

And other moe, as the pety Bretaine,
And so haue enemies enuiron round about.
I beseech God, that some prayers deuout
Mutt let the said apparanse probable
Thus disposed without fyned fable.
But all onely for perill that I see
Thus imminent, it's likely for to bee,
And well I wotte, that from hence to Rome,
And, as men say, in all Christendome,
Is no ground ne land to Ireland liche,
So large, so good, so plenteous, so riche,
That to this worde Dominus doe long.

Then mee semeth that right were and no wrong,
To get the lande: and it were piteous
To vs to lese this high name Dommus.
And all this word Dominus of name
Shuld haue the ground obeysant wilde and tame.
That name and people togidre might accord
Al the ground subiect to the Lord.
And that it is possible to bee subiect,
Vnto the king wel shal it bee detect,
In the litle booke that I of spake.

I trowe reson al this wol vndertake,
And I knowe wel howe it stante,
Alas fortune beginneth so to scant,
Or ellis grace, that deade is gouernance.
For so minisheth parties of our puissance,
In that land that wee lese euery yere,
More ground and more, as well as yee may here.
I herd a man speake to mee full late,
Which was a lord [9] of full great estate;
Than expense of one yere done in France
Werred on men well willed of puissance
This said ground of Ireland to conquere.
And yet because England might not forbere
These said expenses gadred in one yeere,
But in three yeeres or foure gadred vp here,
Might winne Ireland to a finall conqueste,  
In one sole yeere to set vs all at reste.  
And how soone wolde this be paied ageyne:  
Which were it worth yerely, if wee not feyne:  
I wol declare, who so luste to looke,  
I trowe full plainely in my little booke.  
But couetise, and singularitie  
Of owne profite, enuie, crueltie,  
Hath doon vs harme, and doe vs euery day,  
And musters made that shame is to say:  
Our money spent al to little auaile,  
And our enimies so greatly doone preuaile,  
That what harme may fall and ouerthwerte  
I may vnneth write more for sore of herte.  

[Footnote 9: This Lorde was the Earle of Ormond that told to me this  
matter, that he would vndertake it, in pain of losse of al his liuelihood.  

An exhortation to the keeping of Wales  

Beware of Wales, Christ Iesu mutt vs keepe,  
That it make not our childers childe to wepe,  
Ne vs also, so if it goe his way,  
By vnwarenes: seth that many a day  
Men haue bee ferde of her rebellion,  
By great tokens and ostentation:
Seche the meanes with a discrete auise,
And helpe that they rudely not arise
For to rebell, that Christ it forbede.
Looke wel aboute, for God wote yee haue neede,
Vnfreeving, vnfeynynge and vnfeynt,
That conscience for slought you not atteynt:
Kepe well that grounde for harme that may ben vsed,
Or afore God mutte yee ben accused.

Of the commodious Stockfish of Island and keeping of the Sea namely the
Narrow sea, with an incident of the keeping of Caleis. Chap. 10.

[Sidenote: The trade of Bristow to Island.]

[Sidenote: The old trade of Scarborough to Island and the North.]

Of Island to write is litle nede,
Saue of Stock fish. Yet forsooth in deed
Out of Bristowe, and costes many one,
Men haue practised by nedle and by stone
Thider wardes within a litle while,
Within twelue yere, and without perill
Gon and come, as men were wont of old
Of Scarborough, vnsto the costes cold.
And nowe so fele shippes this yeere there ware,
That moch losse for vnfreyght they bare:
Island might not make hem to bee fraught
Vnto the Hawys: thus much harme they caught.
Then here I ende of the commoditees
For which neede is well to kepe the seas:
Este and Weste, South and North they bee.
And chiefly kepe the sharpe narrow see,
Betweene Douer and Caleis: and as thus
that foes passe none without good will of vs:
And they abide our danger in the length,
What for our costis and Caleis in our strength.

An exhortation for the sure keeping of Caleis.

And for the loue of God, and of his blisse
Cherish yee Caleis better then it is.
See well thereto, and heare the grete complaint
That true men tellen, that woll no lies paint,
And as yee know that writing commeth from thence:
Doe not to England for slought so great offence,
But that redressed it bee for any thing:
Leste a song of sorrow that wee sing.
For little wenith the foole who so might chese
What harme it were good Caleis for to lese:
What wo it were for all this English ground.

[Sidenote: The ioy of Sigismund the Emperour that Caleis was English.]
Which wel concerned the Emperour Sigismound,
That of all ioyes made it one of the moste,
That Caleis was subiect vnto English coste.
Him thought it was a iewel most of all,
And so the same in Latine did it call.
And if yee wol more of Caleis heare and knowe,
I cast to write within a little scrowe,
Like as I haue done before by and by
In other parteis of our policie.
Loke how hard it was at the first to get;
And by my counsell lightly doe not it let.
For if wee lese it with shame of face
Wilfully, it is for lacke of grace.
Howe was Harflew [10] cried vpon, and Rone,[11]
That they were likely for shought to be gone:
Howe was it warned and cried on in England,
I make record with this pen in my hand.
It was warened plainely in Normandie,
And in England, and I thereon did crie.
The world was defrauded, it betyde right so.
Farewell Harflew: lewdly it was a go.
Nowe ware Caleis, I can say no better:
My soule discharge I by this present letter.

[Footnote 10: Harfleur, which was lost in 1449.]
[Footnote 11: Rouen]
After the Chapitles of commodities, of diuers lands, sheweth the conclusion of keeping of the sea enuiron, by a storie of King Edgar and two incidents of King Edward the third, and King Henrie the fifth. Chap. 11.

Now see we well then that this round see
To our Noble by pariformitee
Vnder the ship shewed there the sayle,
And our king with royal apparyle,
With swerd drawn bright and extent
For to chastise enimies violent;
Should be lord of the sea about,
To keepe enimies from within and without;
To behold through Christianitee
Master and lord enuiron of the see:
All liuing men such a prince to dreed,
Of such a regne to bee aferd indeed.
Thus proue I well that it was thus of old;
Which by a [*] Chronicle anon shalbe told,
Right curious: but I will interprete
It into English, as I did it gete:
Of king Edgar: O most marueilous
Prince liuing, wittie, and cheualerous:
So good that none of his predecessours
Was to him liche in prudence and honours.
Hee was fortanate and more gracious
Then other before, and more glorious:
He was beneth no man in holines:
Hee passed all in vertuous sweetnes.

Of English kings was none so commendable
To English men no lesse memorable:
Then Cyrus was to Perse by puissance,
And as great Charles was to them of France,
And as to the Romanes was great Romulus,
So was to England this worthy Edgarus.
I may not write more of his worthines
For lacke of time, ne of his holines:
But to my matter I him exemplifie,
Of conditions tweyne and of his policie:
Within his land was one, this is no doubt,
And another in the see without,
That in time of Winter and of werre,
When boystrous windes put see men into fere;
Within his land about by all prouinces
Hee passed through, perceiving his princes,
Lords, and others of the commontee,
Who was oppressour, and who to pouertee
Was drawn and brought, and who was clene in life,
And was by mischiefe and by strife
With ouer leding and extortion:
And good and badde of eche condition
Hee aspied: and his ministers als,
Who did trought, and which of hem was fals:
Howe the right and lawes of the land
Were execute, and who durst take in hand
To disobey his statutes and decrees,
If they were well kept in all countrees:
Of these he made subtile inuestigation
Of his owne espie, and other men's relation.
Among other was his great busines,
Well to ben ware, that great men of riches,
And men of might in citie nor in towne
Should to the poore doe non oppression.
Thus was he wont in this Winter tide,
On such enforchise busily to abide.
This was his labour for the publike thing,
Thus was hee occupied: a passing holy King
Nowe to purpose, in the Sommer faire
Of lusty season, whan clered was the aire,
He had redie shippes made before
Great and huge, not fewe but many a store:
Full three thousand and sixe hundred also
Stately inough on our sea to goe.

extraneorum & ad suorum excitationem cum maximo apparatu circumnauigare consueuerat.]
The Chronicles say, these shippes were full boysteous:
Such things long to kings victorious.
In Sommer tide would hee haue in wonne
And in custome to be ful redie soone,
With multitude of men of good array
And instruments of werre of best assay.
Who could hem well in any wise descriue?
It were not light for eny man aliue.
Thus he and his would enter shippes great
Habiliments hauing and the fleete
Of See werres, that iojfull was to see
Such a nauie and Lord of Maiestee,
There present in person hem among
To saile and Rowe enuiron all along,
So regal liche about the English isle;
To all strangers terrous and peril.
Whose fame went about in all the world stout,
Vnto great fere of all that be without,
And exercise to Knights and his meyne
To him longing of his natall cuntree
For courage of nede must haue exercise,
Thus occupied for esshew in of vice
This knew the king that policie espied;
Winter and Somer he was thus occupied.
Thus conclude I by authoritee
Of Chronike, that enuiron the see
Should bene our subiects vnto the King,
And hee bee Lord thereof for eny thing:
For great worship and for profile also
To defend his land fro euery foo.
That worthy king I leue, Edgar by name,
And all the Chronike of his worthy fame:

[Sidenote: Dicit Chronica &c. vt non minus quantum ei etiam in hac vita
bononum operum mercedem donauerit: cum aliquando ad maximam eius
conuenissent, &c.]

Saffe onely this I may not passe away,
A worde of mighty strength till that I say,
That graunted him God such worship here,
For his merites, hee was without pere,
That sometime at his great festiuitee
Kings, and Erles of many a countree,
And princes fele were there present,
And many Lords came thider by assent.
To his worship: but in a certaine day
Hee bad shippes to be redie of aray:
For to visit Saint Iohns Church hee list
Rowing vnto the good holie Baptist,
Hee assigned to Erles, Lords, and knights
Many ships right goodly to sights:
And for himselfe and eight kings moo
Subject to him hee made kepe one of thoo,
A good shippe, and entrede into it
With eight kings, and downe did they sit;
And eche of them an ore tooke in hand,
At ore hales, as I vnderstand,
And he himselfe at the shippe behinde
As steris man it became of kinde.
Such another rowing I dare well say,
Was not seene of Princes many a day.
Lo than how hee in waters got the price,
In lande, in see, that I may not suffice
To tell, O right, O magnanimitie,
That king Edgar had vpon the see.

An incident of the Lord of the sea King Edward the third.

Of king Edward I passe and his prowes
On lande, on sea yee knowe his worthines:
The siege of Caleis, ye know well all the matter
Round about by land, and by the water,
Howe it lasted not yeeres many agoe,
After the battell of Crecye was ydoe:
Howe it was closed enuiron about,
Olde men sawe it, which liuen, this is no doubt.

[Sidenote: Caleis was yeelded to the English 1347.]
Old Knights say that the Duke of Borgoyn,
Late rebuked for all his golden coyne;
Of ship on see made no besieging there,
For want of shippes that durst not come for feare.
It was nothing besieged by the see:
Thus call they it no siege for honestee.
Gonnes assailed, but assault was there none,
No siege, but fuge: well was he that might be gone:
This maner carping haue knights ferre in age,
Expert through age of this maner language.

[Sidenote: King Edward had 700. English ships and 14151. English mariners
before Caleis.]

But king Edward made a siege royall,
And wanne the towne: and in especiall
The sea was kept, and thereof he was Lord.
Thus made he Nobles coyned of record;
In whose time was no nauie on the see
That might withstand his maiestie.
Battell of Scluse,[12] yee may rede euery day,
Howe it was done I leue and goe my way:
It was so late done that yee it knowe,
In comparison within a little throwe:
For which to God giue we honour and glorie,
For Lord of see the king was with victorie.

[Footnote 12: The battle of L'Ecluse.]

Another incident of keeping of the see, in the time of the marueilous werriour and victorious Prince, King Henrie the fifth, and of his great shippes.

[Sidenote: The great ships of Henry the fift, made at Hampton.]

And if I should conclude all by the King Henrie the fift, what was his purposing, Whan at Hampton he made the great dromons, Which passed other great ships of all the commons, The Trinitie, the Grace de Dieu, the holy Ghost, And other moe, which as nowe bee lost. What hope ye was the kings great intent Of thoo shippes, and what in minde hee meant? It was not ellis, but that hee cast to bee Lorde round about enuiron of the see. And when Harflew had her siege about, There came caracks horrible great and stoute In the narrow see willing to abide, To stoppe vs there with multitude of pride.
My Lord of Bedford came on and had the cure,
Destroyed they were by that discomfiture.

This was after the king Harflew had wonne,
Whan our enemies to siege had begonne:
That all was slaine or take, by true relation,
To his worshippe, and of his English nation.

There was present the kings chamberlaine
At both battailes; which knoweth this in certaine;
He can it tell other wise then I:
Aske him, and witte; I passe forth hastily
What had this king of his magnificence,
Of great courage of wisedome, and prudence?
Prouision, forewitte, audacitee,
Of fortitude, iustice, and agilitee,
Discretion, subtile auisednesse,
Attemperance, Noblesse, and worthinesse:
Science, prowesse, deuotion, equitie,
Of most estate, with his magnanimitie
Liche to Edgar, and the saide Edward,
As much of both liche hem as in regard.
Where was on liue a man more victorious,
And in so short time prince so marueilous?
By land and sea, so well he him acquitte,
To speake of him I stony in my witte
Thus here I leaue the king with his noblesse,
Henry the fift, with whom all my processe
Of this true booke of pure policie
Of sea keeping, entending victorie
I leaue endly: for about in the see
No prince was of better strenuitee.
And if he had to this time liued here,
He had bene Prince named withouten pere:

[Sidenote: The Trinitie, the Grace de Dieu, the holy Ghost]

His great ships should haue ben put in preefe,
Vnto the ende that he ment of in cheefe,
For doubt it not but that he would haue bee
Lord and master about the round see:
And kept it sure to stoppe our enemies hence,
And wonne vs good, and wisely brought it thence:
That no passage should be without danger,
And his licence on see to moue and sterre.
Of vnitie, shewing of our keeping of the see: with an endly or finall processe of peace by authoritie. Chap. 12.

Now than for loue of Christ, and of his ioy,
Bring it England out of trouble and noy:
Take heart and witte, and set a gouernance,
Set many wits withouten variance,
To one accord and vnanimentee.
Put to good will for to keepe the see.
First for worship and profite also,
And to rebuke of eche euill willed foe.
Thus shall worship and riches to vs long.
Than to the Noble shall we doe no wrong,
To beare that coyne in figure and in deede,
To our courage, and to our enemies dreede:
For which they must dresse hem to peace in haste,
Or ellis their thrift to standen and to waste.
As this processe hath proued by and by
All by reason and expert policy;
And by stories which proued well this parte:
Or ellis I will my life put in ieoparte,
But many londs would seche her peace for nede,
The see well kept: it must be doo for drede.
Thus must Flanders for nede haue vnitee
And peace with vs: it will non other bee,
Within short while: and ambassadours
Would bene here soone to treate for their succours.

regnum, & opprobrium inimicis.]

This vnitie is to God pleasance:
And peace after the werres variance.
The ende of battaile is peace sikerly,
And power causeth peace finally.
Kept than the sea about in speciall,
Which of England is the towne wall.
As though England were likened to a citie,
And the wall enuiron were the see
Kepe then the sea that is the wall of England:
And than is England kept by Goddes hande;
That as for any thing that is without,
England were at ease withouten doubt,
And thus should euery lond one with another
Entercommon as brother with his brother
And liue togither werrelesse in vnitie,
Without rancour in very charitie,
In rest and peace, to Christes great pleasance,
Without strife, debate and variance.
Which peace men should enserche with businesse,
And knit it saddely holding in holinesse.

[Sidenote: Ephes. 4. Solliciti sitis servare unijatem spiritus in vinculo pacis.]

The Apostle seith, if ye list to see,
Bee yee busie for to keepe vnitee
Of the spirit in the bond of peace.
Which is nedful to all withouten lese.
The Prophet biddeth vs peace for to enquire
To pursue it, this is holy desire.
Our Lord lesu saith, Blessed motte they bee
That maken peace; that is tranquillitee.

[Sidenote: Matth. 5. Beati pacifici quoniam filij Dei vocabuntur.]

For peace makers, as Matthew writeth aright,
Should be called the sonnes of God almight.
God giue vs grace, the weyes for to keepe
Of his precepts, and slugly not to sleepe
In shame of sinne: that our very foo
Might be to vs conuers, and turned so.
For in the Proverbs is a text to this purpose
Plaine inough without any close:
When mens weyes please vnto our Lord,
It shall conuert and bring to accord
Mans enemies vnto peace verray,
In vnitie, to liue to Goddis pay,
With vnitie, peace, rest and charitie.
Hee that was here cladde in humanitie,
That came from heauen, and styed vp with our nature,
Or hee ascended, he gaue to vs cure,
And left with vs peace, ageyne striffe and debate,
Mote giue vs peace, so well irradicate
Here in this world: that after all this feste

[Sidenote: Vrbs beata Ierusalem dicta pacis visio.]

Wee may haue peace in the land of beheste
Ierusalem, which of peace is the sight,
With his brightnes of eternall light,
There glorified in rest with his tuition,
The Deitie to see with full fruition:
Hee second person in diuinenesse is,
Who vs assume, and bring vs to the blis. Amen

Here endeth the true procease of the Libel of English policie, exhorting
all England to keepe the sea enuiron: shewing what profit and saluation,
with worship commeth thereof to the reigne of England.

Goe forth Libelle, and meekely shew thy face;
Appearing euer with humble countenance:
And pray my Lords to take in grace,
In opposaile and cherishing the aduance.
To hardines if that not variance
Thou hast fro trought by full experience
Authors and reasons: if ought faile in substance
Remit to hem that yafe thee this science;
That seth it is soth in verray fayth,

[Sidenote: The wise lord of Hungerfords iudgement of this booke.]

That the wise Lord Baron of Hungerford
Hath thee ouerseeene, and verely he saith
That thou art true, and thus he doeth record,
Next the Gospel: God wotte it was his worde,
When hee thee redde all ouer in a night.
Goe forth trew booke, and Christ defend thy right.

_Explicit libellus de Politia conseruatiua maris_.

* * * * *
Breuis Commentarius de Islandia: quo Scriptorum de hac Insula errores deteguntur, & extraneorum quorundam conuitij, ac calumijs, quibus suo clementissimo.

passus sit.

Lacedemonijs Darij patris legatos, vltionem, ad Regem profecti sunt, & vt legatorum necem in se, non in patria vlcisceretur, erectis & constantibus animis sese obtulerunt.

illi, mortem sponte oppeterem, aut me maactandum vitro offerrem, sed tamen, periculosam, & multorum fors an sinistro obnoxiam iudicio, aggrederer.

In eo proposito me etiam Cn. Pompeij exemplum confirmavit: Quem rei
charitate, in Sicilia, Sardinia & Africa frumentum collegisset, maiorem

properaret, & ingenti ac periculosa oborta tempestate, Naucleros trepidare,

nauigemus vrget necessitas: vt viuamus, non vrget. Quibus vir

Hunc ego sic imitor,

(Si parua licet componere magnis, & muscam Elephanto conferre) vt collectis

apud extraneos, ex maleuolorum quorundam invidia iam diu laboranti vterer;

Institutum meum complures probaturos spero: successum forsan non itidem

Quodsi scriptorum errores liberius notare, si quorundam calumnias durius

lacessere non desistunt. Dandum etiam aliquid omnibus congenito soli

ratione veniam, spero, merebitur.
sub cuius nomine & numine, tutius in vulgi manus exeat.

Eam igitur ad rem nihil poterit contingere optatius, vestra, clementissime
Princeps Sereniss. Maiestate: Et enim nos ei, qui vitam & fortunas nostras

exponentur. Nihil enim dubitamus quin S. V. Maiestas, Christianissimorum
maiorum exemplo, etiam nostram patriam, inter reliquas imperij sui Insulas,

Maiestatem V. confugiendi necessitas, ea est S. Maiestatis V. in nobis

clementer dignetur. Quod superest, Sereniss. Princeps, Dom. clementissime,

indies incrementa sumentem, ad summum imperij fastigium, summas ille

nutritijs, syderis instar, illustrem fulgere faciat. Faxit etiam idem Pater
S. M. V. humiliter subiectus:

Aragrimos Ionas Islandus.

The same in English.

A briefe commentarie of Island: wherein the errors of such as haue written concerning this Island, are detected, and the slanders, and reproches of certaine strangers, which they haue vsed ouer-boldly against the people of Island are confuted.

By Aragrimus Ionas, of Island.

To the most mighty Prince and Lord, Lord Christian the 4. [Footnote: Christian IV. was the last elective king of Denmark and Norway. Frederick III. in 1665 changed the constituion to an hereditary monarchy, vested in his own family.] of Denmarke, Norway, and of the Vandals and Gothes, King elect: of Sleswic, Holste, Stormar, and Dithmarse Duke: Earle of Oldenburg, and Delmenhorst: His most gratious Lord.

That heroical attempt of Anchurus, sonne of King Midas (most gratious prince) and that pietie towards his countrey in maner peerelesse, deserueth highly to be renowned in histories: in that freely and courageously he
offered his owne person, for the stopping vp of an huge gulfe of earth, 
about Celoea, a towne in Phrigia, which daily swallowed multitudes of men 
and whatsoeuer else came neere vnre to it. For when his father Midas was 
advirtised by the Oracle, that the said gulfe should not be shut vp, before 
things most precious were cast into it; Anchurus deeming nothing to be more 
invaluable then life plunged himselfe alieue downe headlong into that 
bottomless hole; and that with so great vehemencie of mind, that neither by 
his fathers request nor by the allurements and teares of his most amiable 
wife, he suffered himselfe to be drawne backe from this his enterprise. 

[Footnote: It is added that Midas raised an altar to Jupiter on the spot.]

Sperthius also and Bulis, two Lacedemonians, were not much inferiour to the 
former, who to turne away the reuenge of Xerxes that most puissant King of 
the Persians, entended against the Lacedemonians, for killing the 
ambassadors of his father Darius, hyed them vnto the sayd king and that he 
might auenge the ambassadours death vpon them, not vpon their countrey, 
with hardy, and constant mindes presented themselues before him.

The very same thing (most gracious prince) which moued them and many others 
being enflamed with the loue of their countrey, to refuse for the benefite 
thereof, no danger, no trouble, no nor death it selfe, the same thing (I 
say) hath also enforced me, not indeed to vndergoe voluntarie death, or 
freely to offer my selfe vnto the slaughter, but yet to assay that which I 
am able for the good of my countrey: namely, that I may gather together and 
refute the errors, and vaine reports of writers, concerning the same: and 
so take vpon me a thing very dangerous, and perhaps subiect to the sinister 
iudgement of many.
In this purpose the example of Cneius Pompeius hath likewise confirmed me:

who being chosen procurator for corne among the Romanes, and in an extreme scarcetie and dearth of the citie hauing taken vp some store of grains in Sicilia, Sardinia, and Africa, is reported to haue had greater regard of his countrey, then of himselfe. For when he made haste towards Rome, and a mighty and dangerous tempest arising, he perceiued the Pilots to tremble, and to be vnwilling to commit themselves to the rigor of the stormie sea, himselfe first going on boord, and commanding the anchors to be weighed, brake foorth into these words: That we should sayle necessitie vrgeth: but that we should liue, it vrgeth not. In which words he seemeth wisely to inferre, that greater care is to be had of our countrey lying in danger, then of our owne priuate safetie.

This man doe I thus imitate,

If small with great as equals may agree:
And Flie with Elephant compared bee.

Namely that gathering together and laying vp in store those things which might be applied to succour the fame and credite of our nation, hauing now this long time bene oppressed with strangers, through the enuie of certeine malicious persons, I boldly aduenture to present these fewe meditations of mine vnto the viewe of the world, and so hoysing vp sailes to commit my selfe vnto a troublesome sea, and to breake foorth into the like speeches with him: That I should write necessitie vrgeth: but that my writings in
all places should satisfie every delicate taste, or escape all peeuishnes
of carpers it vrgeth not. I doubt not but many will allow this my
enterprise: the successe perhaps all men will not approue. Neuertheles, I
thought that there was greater regard to be had of my countrey, sustaining
so many mens mocks and reproches, then of mine owne praise or dispraise,
redounding perhaps vnto me vpon this occasion. For what cause should moue
me to shunne the enuie and hate of some men, being ioyned with an endeuour
to benefite and gratifie my countrey?

[Sidenote: The errors of the writers of Island intolerable.]

But if I shall seeme somewhat too bold in censuring the errors of writers,
or too seuerie in reprehending the slanders of some men: yet I hope all they
will iudge indifferently of me, who shall seriously consider, how
intolerable the errors of writers are, concerning our nation: how many also
and how grieuous be the reproches of some, against vs, wherewith they haue
sundry wayes prouoked our nation, and as yet will not cease to prouoke.
They ought also to haue me excused in regard of that in-bred affection
rooted in the hearts of all men, towards their natuie soile, and to pardon
my iust griefe for these iniures offered vnto my countrey. And I in very
deed, so much as lay in me, haue in all places moderated my selfe, and haue
bene desirous to abstaine from reproches but if any man thinke, we should
haue vsed more temperance in our stile, I trust, the former reason will
content him.

Sithens therefore, I am to vndergo the same hazard, which I see is commonly
incident to all men that publish any writings: I must now haue especiall 
regarde of this one thing: namely, of seeking out some patron, and Mecoenas 
for this my breie commentary, vnder whose name and protection it may more 
safety passe through the hands of all men.

But for this purpose I could not finde out, nor wish for any man more fit 
then your royal Maiestie, most gratious prince For vnto him, who hath 
receiued vnder his power & tuition our liues and goods, vnto him (I say) 
doe we make humble sute, that he would haue respect also vnto the credit of 
our nation, so inuirously disgraced.

Yea verily (most gracious King) we are constreined to craue your Maiesties 
mercifull aide, not only in this matter, but in many other things also 
which are wanting in our countrey, or which otherwise belong to the 
publique commoditie and welfare thereof which not by me, but by the letters 
supplicatory of the chiefe men of our nation, are at this time declared, or 
will shortly be declared. For we doubt not but that your sacred Maiesties, 
after the example of your Christian predecessors, will vouchsafe vnto our 
countrey also, amongst other Islands of your Maiesties dominion, your 
kingly care and protection. For as the necessitie of fleeing for redresse 
vnto your sacred Maiestie, is ours so the glory of relieuing, regarding, 
and protecting vs, shal wholly redound vnto your sacred Maiestie: as also, 
there is layd vp for you, in respect of your fostering and preseruing of 
Gods church, vpon the extreme northerly parts almost of the whole earth, 
and in the uttermost bounds of your Maiesties dominion (which by the 
singular goodnes of God, enioyeth at this present tranquilitie and quiet 
safetie) a reward and crowne of immortall life in the heauens.
But considering these things are not proper to this place, I wil leave them, and returne to my purpose which I haue in hand: most humbly beseeching your S. M. that you would of your clemencie vouchsafe to become a fauorer, and patron vnto these my labours and studies, for the behalfe of my countrey.

It now remaineth (most gracious and mercifull souereigne) for us to make our humble prayers vnto almighty God, that king of kings, and disposer of all humane affaires, that it would please him of his infinite goodnes, to aduance your Maiestie (yearely growing vp in wisedome & experience, and all other heroicall vertues) to the highest pitch of souereigntie: and being aduanced, continually to blesse yon with most prosperous successe in all your affaires: and being blessed, long to preserue you, as the chief ornament, defence and safegarde of these kingdomes, and as the shield and fortresse of his church: and hereafter in the life to come, to make you shine glorious like a starre, amongst the principall nurcing fathers of Gods Church, in the perfect ioy of his heauenly kingdome. The same most mercifull father likewise grant, that these praiers, the oftener they be dayly repeated and multiplied in euery corner of your Maiesties most ample territories & Islands, so much the more sure and certain they may remaine, Amen. At Haffnia, or Copen Hagen 1593. in the moneth of March. Y. S. M. most humble subiect,

Arngrimus Ionas, Islander. [Footnote: A celebrated Icelandic astronomer, disciple of Tycho Brahe, and coadjutor of the Bishop of Holen, died in 1649]
at the great age of 95. His principal works, besides his Description and
History of Iceland, (published at Amsterdam in 1643, 4to), are _Idea Vera
Magistratus_ (Copenhagen, 1689, 8vo); _Rerum Islandicarum libri tres_
(Hamburg, 1630, 4to); _The Life of Gundebrand de Thorlac_, etc. He is
remembered amongst the peasantry of Iceland as the only instance known in
that country of a man of ninety-one marrying a girl in her teens.]

Benigno & pio Lectori salutem.

patre quodam Germanico propola: Rhythmi videlicet Germanici, omnium qui
vnquam leguntur spurcissimi & mendacissimi in gentem Islandicam. Nec
sufficiebat sordido Typographo sordidum illum foetum semel emisses, nisi

ignominiam, quantum, in ipso fuit, inureret. Tantum Typographi huius odium

nautarnm fabulas plusquam aniles, & vulgi opiniones vanissimas secuti. Hi
possunt, aut prorsus liberare, quo minus innocentem gentem suis scriptis

alienorum laborum suffuratoribus impudicis, qui etiam non desinunt gentem

qui ad errata Historicorum, & aliorum iniquorum censorum responderet,
scriptorum monumentis, qui de Islandia aliquid scripserunt, errores &

commentariolum conscriberet, non ex vanis vulgi fabulis, sed & ex sua &
multorum fide dignorum experientia, comprobationibus sumptis.

quasi iure flagitabat, vt in has pagellas, vel tribus saltem verbis

conciliatum iri. Quare vt mentem breuiter exponam: Ego quidem & honestam &

varias sententias de rebus ignotis perpendere, & inuicem conferre, nec non

Lector optime, vt quicquid hoc est opusculi, velut sanctissimo veritatis &

Vale.

Holensis in Islandia.

Anno 1592. Iul. 29.

[Footnote: In the _original_ edition of the description of Iceland by

Arngrimus, follow these lines:

Imbute Lector suavis arte Palladis,

Qui cuncta scis collis sacri mysteria:
Vultu legas nec ista quando turbido:
Communis vnquam sortis haud sis immemor,
Infirmitas quam nostra nobis contulit.
Obnoxius nam non quis est mortalium

Tuis & isto rite pacto consules:
Candore nam quo nostra arctans vtere,
En te legentes rursus vtentur pari:

Authoribus quamuis probata maximis,
Licere nobis credimus refellere,
Non vt notam scriptorum muram nomini,

Hoc digna lectu exempla denique comprobant.
Ergo faue: nostris faue conatibus,

O lector arte imbute suavis Palladis,
Lector benigne, amice, multum candide,
Qui cuncta scis collis sacri mysteria.]

The same in English.

To the courteous and Christian reader Gudbrandus Thorlacius, Bishop of
Holen in Island, wisheth health.
There came to light about the yeare of Christ 1561, a very deformed impe, begotten by a certain Pedlar of Germany: namely a booke of German rimes of al that euer were read the most filthy and most slanderous against the nation of Island. Neither did it suffice the base printer once to send abroad that base brat, but he must publish it also thrise or foure times ouer: that he might thereby, what lay in him, more deeply disgrace our innocent nation among the Germans, & Danes, and other neighbour countries, with shamefull, and euerlasting ignominie. So great was the malice of this printer, & his desire so greedy to get lucre, by a thing vnlawfull. And this he did without controlment, euin in that citie, which these many yeres hath trafficked with Island to the great gaine, and commodity of the citizens. His name is Ioachimus Leo, a man worthy to become lions foode.

[Sidenote: Great errors grow vpon mariners fabulous reports.]

Moreouer, there are many other writers found, who when they would seeme to describe the miracles of nature, which are thought to be very many in this Island, & the maners, & customs of the Islanders, haue altogether swarued from the matter and truth it selfe, following mariners fables more trifling than old wiues tales, & the most vain opinions of the common sort. These writers, although they haue not left behind them such filthy and reprochful stuffe as that base rimer: yet there are many things in their writings that wil not suffer them to be excused, & altogether acquited from causing an innocent nation to be had in derision by others. Wherefore marking, reading, & weighing these things with my selfe, & considering that there
dayly spring vp new writers, which offer injury to the fame & reputation of
the Islanders, being such men also as do shamelesly filch out of other
mens labours, deluding their readers with feigned descriptions, & a new
rehearsal of monsters, I often wished that some one man would come forth,
to make answere to the errors of historiographers & other vniust censurers:
and by some writing, if not to free our innocent nation from so many
reproches, yet at leastwise, in some sort to defend it, among Christian &
friendly readers. And for this cause I haue now procured an honest and
learned young man one Arngrimus Fitz-Ionas, to peruse the works of authors,
that haue written anything concerning Island, and by sound reasons to
detect their errors, & falshoods. And albeit at the first he was very loth,
yet at length my friendly admonition, & the common loue of his countrey
prevailed with him so farre, that he compiled this briefe commentary,
taking his proofes, not out of the vaine fables of the people, but from his
owne experience, and many other mens also of sufficient credit.

Now, he that vndertooke this matter at my procurement, did againe as it
were by his owne authority chalenge at my hands, that I should in two or
three words at least, make a preface vnto his booke; thinking it might
gaine some credit, and authority thereby. Wherfore to speake my minde in a
word: for my part, I iudge hin to haue taken both honest & necessary
paines, who hath done his indeuour not onely to weigh the diuers opinions
of wrighters concerning things vnknowen, and to examine them by the censure
of trueth, and experience, but also to defend his countrey from the
venemous bitings of certaine sycophants. It is thy part therefore (gentle
reader) to accept this small treatise of his, being as it were guarded with
the sacred loue of truth, and of his countrey, against the peruersnes of
ambitione, inuidia & auaritia motos, Martis castra sequi animaduertimus:

paratam vim ac iniuriam repellunt, vel saltem non lascissiti, propter
obsidentem hostem metu in armis esse coguntur: Non secus Apollini
militantes: alij animo nequaquam bono, Philosophico seu verius Christiano,
affectata ignorantia alios sugillant, vt ipsi potiores habeantur, nunc in
personam, nomen ac famam alicuius, nunc in gentem totam stylum acuentes,
atque impudenter quasi mentiendo, insontem nationem & populos

& in lucem emittunt; vt qui scientiam Theologicam & Philosophicam scriptis
mandarunt, quique suis vigilijs veterum monumenta nobis explicuerunt: qui
quicquid in illis obscurum, imperfectum, inordinatum animaduerterunt, vsu &
experientia duce illustrarunt, explerunt, ordinarunt: qui mundi historias,

indefessis laboribus iuuerunt: denique qui aliorum in se suamue gentem vel
patriam, licentiosam petulantiam reprimere, calumnias refellere, & quandam
quasi vim iniustam propulsare annixi sunt.

Et quidem ego, cui literas vix, ac ne vix quidem videre contigit, omnium
conuitiantium iugum detrectare studuerunt: Maiora ingenious sors denegauit:
Id quoquo modo tentare compellit ipsius veritatis dignitas, & innatus amor

detectis simul scriptorum de hac Insula erroribus, apud bonos & cordatos viros, (Nam vulgus sui semper simile, falsi & vani tenacissimum, non est commentariolo decreui.

idoneos: Ego tamen optimi & clarissimi viri, Dom. Gudbrandi Thorlacij,

parerem, atque amorem & studium debitum erga patriam declararem, tum vt reliquos sympatriotas meos, in bonarum literarum scientia foelicius versatos, atque in rerum plurimarum cognitione ulterius progresses, ad hoc conabuntur, obstaculo esse voluerim.

obtractatores, testimonio scripto se vti ac niti iactitant: videndum omnino isti, alijs in nos dicendi aliquam occasionem dederint, patefactis ipsorum

eorundem alioqui sacra est memoria, reuerenda dignitas, suspicienda

videbuntur.
Atque vt Commentarius hic noster aliquid ordinis habeat, duo erunt

quidem de his duobus capitibus Scriptores qui in nostris manibus versantur,

The same im English.

HERE BEGINNETH THE COMMENTARY OF ISLAND.

Euen as in war, dayly experience teacheth vs, that some vpon no iust &

lawful grounds (being egged on by ambition, enuie, and couetise) are

induced to follow the armie, and on the contrary side, that others arme

themselves vpon iust and necessary causes: namely such as go to battell for

the defence and propagation of the Gospel, or such as being any way

prouoked thereunto, doe withstand present violence and wrong, or at least

(not being prouoked) by reason of the enemie approching are constrained to

be vp in armes right so, they that fight vnder Apolloses banner. Amongst

whom, a great part, not vpon any honest, philosophical, or indeede

Christian intention, addresse themselves to wright: especially such as for

desire of glory, for enuy and spight, or vpon malicious and affected

ignorance, carpe at others: and that they may be accompted superiours,
sometimes whette their stiles against the person, name and fame of this or

that particular man, sometimes inveighing against a whole countrey, and by

shamelesse vntrueths disgracing innocent nations and people. Againe, others
of an ingenuous minde, doe by great industry, search and bring to light
things profitable: namely, they that write of Diuinity, Philosophy, History
and such like: and they who (taking use and experience for their guides) in
the said Sciences haue brought things obscure to light, things maimed to
perfection, and things confused to order: and they that haue faithfully
commended to everlasting posteritie, the stories of the whole world: that
by their infinite labours haue aduaunced the knowledge of tongues: to be
short, that endeuour themselues to represse the insolencie, confute the
slanders, and withstand the vniust violence of others, against themselues,
their Nation or their Countrey:

And I for my part, hauing scarce attained the sight of good letters, and
being the meanest of all the followers of Minerua (that I may freely
acknowledge mine owne wants) can do no lesse then become one of their
number, who haue applied themselues to ridde their countrey from dishonor,
to auouch the trueth, and to shake off the yoke of railers & reuilers. My
estate enabled me onely to write; howbeit the excellencie of trueth and the
in bred affection I beare to my countrey enforceth me to do the best I can:
sithens it hath pleased some strangers by false rumours to deface, and by
manifolde reproches to injurie my sayd countrey, making it a by word, and a
langhing-stocke to all other nations. To meet with whose insolencie and
false accusations, as also to detect the errours of certeine writers
concerning this Island, vnto good and well affected men (for the common
people will be alwayses like themselues, stubbornly mainteining that which
is false and foolish, neither can I hope to remooue them from this
accustomed and stale opinion) I haue penned the treatise following.
And albeit Island is not destitute of many excellent men, who, both in age, 
wt, and learning, are by many degrees my superiors, and therefore more fit 
to take the defence of the countrey into their hands: notwithstanding, 
being earnestly persuaded thereunto, by that godly & famous man Gudbrandus 
Thorlacius Bishop of Hola in Island, I thought good (to the utmost of mine 
ability) to be no whit wanting into the common cause: both that I might 
obey his most reasonable request, and also that I might encourage other of 
my countreymen, who have been better trained vp in good learning, and 
indued with a greater measure of knowledge then I my selfe, to the defence 
of this our nation: so farre am I from hindering any man to undertake the 
like enterprise.

But to returne to the matter, because they (whatsoever they be) that 
reproch and maligne our nation, make their boast that they use the 
testimonies of writers: we are seriously to consider, what things, and how 
true, writers have reported of Island, to the end that if they have given 
(perhaps) any occasion to others of inveying against vs, their errors 
being layd open (for I will not speake more sharpely) all the world may see 
how justly they do reproch vs. And albeit I nothing doubt to examine some 
ancient writers of this Island, by the rule of truth and experience: yet 
(otherwise) their memory is precious in our eyes, their dignity reverend, 
their learning to be had in honour, and their zeale and affection towards 
the whole common wealth of learned men, highly to be commended: but as for 
novices (if there be any such writers or rather pasquilles) when they shall 
heare and know truer matters concerning Island, then they themselues have 
written, they shall seeme by their inconstancie and peruerse wit to have 
gained nought else but a blacke marke of enuy and reproch.
And that this commentarie of mine may haue some order, it shall be diuided into two general parts: the first of the Island, the second of the inhabitants: and of these two but so farfoorth as those writers which are come to our hands haue left recorded: because I am not determined to wander out of these lists, or to handle more then these things and some other which perteine vnto them. For I professe not my selfe an Historiographer, or Geographer, but onely a Disputer. Wherefore omitting a longer Preface, let vs come to the first part concerning the situation, the name, miracles, and certaine other adiuncts of this Iland.

SECTIO PRIMA.

agnoscitur, &c.

prodentibus, acceperunt, vnde sua in gentem nostram ludibia depromi aiunt, quantum fidei mereantur, iudicet.
aliquando propria edoctus experientia, meam quoque sententiam si non interponam, tamen adiungam.

Longit. Latitud.

Munsterus Islandiam collocat sub

Gerardus Mercator 352 68

Gemma Frisius:

Hersee: 7 40 60 42

Thirtes: 5 50 64 44

Nadar: 6 40 57 20

Iacobi Ziegleri:

Chos promontorium: 22 46 63

Latus orientale extenditur contra

Septentrionem: & finis extensionis

habet 30 68

Latus septentrionale contra occidentem

extenditur, & finis extensionis

habet 28 69

Lateris Occidentalis descriptio.

Heckelfel promontorium 25 67

Madher promontorium 21 20 65 10

Holen Episcopalis 28 67 50

Schalholten Episcopalis 22 63 30

Reinholdus.

Ioh. Myritius.
Neander.

Islandia tribus gradibus in circulum

mediam circulus ille secet, &c.

quin potius diuersum quippiam ab ijs omnibus statuam, tamen id ipsum in

propriam afferre liceat.

[Sidenote: Bidui nauigatio ab Islandia ad Norugiam desertam.]

scripserat esse circiter 400. milliarium: Vnde si longitudinis differentiam

habebit illo in loco Islandia. Ego ternis Hamburgensium nauigationibus

sitam peruenitur, quemadmodum in harum nationum vetustis codicibus

reperimus.

The same in English.

THE FIRST SECTION.
from other countreys an infinite distance, standeth farre into the Ocean, and is scarce knowen vnto Sailers.

Albeit a discourse of those things which concerne the land, and the adiuncts or properties thereof be of little moment to defend the nation or inhabitants from the biting of slanderers, yet seemeth it in no case to be omitted, but to be intreated of in the first place; that the friendly reader perceiuing how truely those writers of Island haue reported in this respect, may thereby also easily iudge what credit is to be giuen vnto them in other matters which they haue left written concerning the inhabitants, and which others haue receiued from them as oracles, from whence (as they say) they haue borrowed scoffes and taunts against our nation.

First therefore, that the distance of Island from other countreys is not infinite, nor indeed so great as men commonly imagine, it might easily be prouided, if one did but in some sort know the true longitude & latitude of the said Iland. For I am of opinion that it cannot exactly be knowen any other way then this, whenas it is manifest how the Mariners course (be it neuer so direct, as they suppose) doth at all times swerue. In the meane while therfore I will set downe diuers opinions of authors, concerning the situation of Island, that from hence every man may gather that of the distance which seemeth most probable, vntil perhaps my selfe being one day taught by mine owne experience, may, if not intrude, yet at least adioin, what I shal thinke true as touching this matter. [Footnote: The real position of Iceland is 700 miles west of Norway, 200 miles east of
Greenland, and 320 miles north-west of the Faroe Islands. It lies between length east to west 280 miles; breadth 210 miles. It will be thus seen that while Frisius is nearly right in his latitude, Gerard Mercator is considerably out. As regards the longitude, whilst Munster's estimate is converted to the standard of Greenwich, Mercator's reckoning is from Copenhagen or Hamburg, and Frisius has reckoned east of Reikiavik or Skallholt.]

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<th>Longit.</th>
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- Munster placeth Island almost in 20 68
- Gerardus Mercator 325 68
- Gemma Frisius placeth the midst of Island 7 0 65 30
- Hersee 7 40 60 42
- Thirtes 5 50 64 44
- Nadar 6 40 57 10
- Iacobus Zieglerus

- The West shore of Island 20 0 63 0
- The promontorie of Chos 22 46 63 0
- The East shore is extended
- Northward, and hath bounds of extension in 30 0 68 0
- The North shore is extended
- Westward and hath bounds of
extension in 28 0 69 0

The description of the West side

The promontorie of Heckelfell 25 0 67 0

The promontorie of Madher 21 20 65 10

The inland cities of Island

Holen the seat of a bishop 28 0 67 50

Schalholten the seat of a bishop 22 63 30

Reinholdus

By Holen in Island 68

Iohannes Miritius

By Mid-Island 69-1/2

Neander

Island stretcheth it selfe 3 degrees

within the circle arctic from the

equinocial, insomuch that the

said circle arctic doeth almost

divide it in the midst &c.

There be others also, who either in their maps, or writings have noted the
situation of Island: notwithstanding it is to no purpose to set downe any
more of their opinions, because the more you have, the more contrary shall
you finde them. For my part, albeit I have probable coniectures perswading
me not to beleue any of the former opinions, concerning the situation of
Island, but to dissent from them all: yet had I rather leave the matter in
suspense then affirme an vncertainty, vntill (as I have sayd) I may be able
perhappes one day not to groove at the matter, but to bring forth mine owne
obseruation, and experience.
A certeine writer hath put downe the distance betweene the mouth of Elbe & Batzende in the South part of Island to be 400 leagues: from whence if you shall account the difference of longitude to the meridian of Hamburgh, Island must haue none of the forenamed longitudes in that place. I am able to proue by three sundry voyages of certaine Hamburghers, that it is but seuen dayes sailing from Island to Hamburgh. Besides all those Islands, which by reason of the abundance of sheepe, are called Fareyiar or more rightly Faareyiar,[Footnote: Faroe Islands.] as likewise the desert shores of Norway, are distant from vs but two dayes sailing. We haue foure dayes sailing into habitable Gronland; and almost in the same quantitie of time we passe ouer to the province of Norway, called Stad, lying betweene the townes of Nidrosia or Trondon, [Footnote: Trondheim.] and Bergen, as we finde in the ancient records of these nations.

SECTIO SECUNDA.

sole signum Cancri transeunte, nox nulla, brumali Solstitio proinde

circulum in amplissimo Oceano sita est, Islandia hodie dicta, & terris congelati maris proxima, quas Entgronlandt vocant, menses sunt plures sine noctibus.
Nullum esse hyemali solstitio diem, id est, tempus quo sol supra horizontem

eiusdem loci Episcopo accepimus, & illic diem breuiissimum habemus ad
minimum duarum horarum, in meridionali autem Islandia longiorem, vt ex
artificum tabulis videre est. Vnde constat nec Islandiam ultra Arcticum
brumali solstitio care.

The same in English.

THE SECOND SECTION.

[Sidenote: Munsterus, Olaus Magnus and others.] In this Iland, at the
Summer solstitium, the Sun passing thorow the signe of Cancer, there is
no night, and therefore at the Winter solstitium there is no day. Also:
Vadianus. But in that Iland, which farre within the artic circle is
seated in the maine Ocean, at this day called Island, and next vnto the
lands of the frozen sea, which they call Engrontland, there be many
moneths in the yere without nights.

At the solstitium of winter, that there is no day (that is to say, no time,
wherein the Sunne is seene aboue the horizon) we confesse to be true onely
in that angle of Island (if there be any such angle) where the pole is
eleuuated full 67. degrees. But at Holen (which is the bishops seat for the
North part of Island, and lieth in a most deepe valley) the latitude is
about 65. degrees and 44. minutes, as I am enformed by the reuerend father,
Gudbrand, bishop of that place: and yet there, the shortest day in all the
yere is at least two houres long, and in South-Island longer, as it
appeareth by the tables of Mathematicians. [Sidenote: Island is not within
the circle arctic.] Heerehence it is manifest, first that Island is not
situate beyond the arctic circle: [Footnote: This is true, except for the
very small portion of Iceland round about Cape North.] secondly, that in
Island there are not wanting in Summer solstitium many nights, nor in
Winter solstitium many dayes.

SECTIO TERTIA.

[Sidenote: Snelandia.] Nam qui omnium primus eius inuentor fuisse creditur
Naddocus genere Noruagus, cum versus insulas Farenses nauigaret tempestate
aliquot septimanas cum socijs commoratus, animaduertit immodicam niuium
nomen de suo nomine Gardarsholme id est, Gardars Insula imposuit. Quin &
plures nouam terram visendi cupidio incessit: nam & post illos duos adhuc
tertius quidam Noruagus (Floki nomen habuit) contulit se in Islandiam,
dicam, Islandos autoctonas dicat, cum constet vix ante annos 718. incol
coeptam.

Regem, quem hoc ipsi nomen dedisse putant, ad Insulam iam tum incultam &
licebit, vt illud sit quaddam quasi spectaculum, dum ita in contrarias
scinduntur sententias. Vnus affirmat esse Islandiam. Alter quandam insulam,
vbi arbores bis in anno fructificant. Tertius vnam ex Orcadibus, siue
vitimam in ditione Scoti, vt Ioannes Myritius & alij, qui nomen illius
referunt, Thylensey, quod etiam Virgilius per suam vitimam Thylen sensisse
videtur. Siquidem utra Britannos, quo nomine Angli hodie dicti & Scoti
veniunt, nullos populos statueret. Quod vel ex illo Virgiliij Eclog I.
apparet:

Et penitus toto diuisos orbe Britannos.

Schrichfinniam.

verum est. [Sidenote: Glacies Aprili aut Maio soluitur.] Nam vt plurimum in
mense Aprili aut Maio soluitur, & Occidentem versus propellitur, nec ante
annos numerare licet, quibus glaciem illam huius nationis immite flagellum,
ne viderit quidem Islandia: Quod etiam hoc anno 1592. compertum est. Vnde

The same in English.

THE THIRD SECTION.

It is named of the ice which continually cleueth vnto the North part thereof. [Sidenote: Munsterus Saxo] Another writeth: From the West part of Norway there lieth an Iland which is named of the ice, enuironed with an huge sea, and being a countrey of ancient habitation, &c. Zieglerus. This is Thyle [Footnote: Thule] whereof most of the ancient writers haue made mention.

It is named of ice, &c. Island hath beene called by three names, one after another. [Sidenote: Island first discovered by Naddocus in a tempest.] For one Naddocus a Noruagian borne, who is thought to be the first Discoverer of the same, as he was sailing towards the Faar-llands, [Footnote: Faroe Islands.] through a violent tempest did by chance arriue at the East shore of Island; [Sidenote: Sneland.] where staying with his whole company certaine weeks, he beheld abundance of snow couering the tops of the mountaines, and thereupon, in regard of the snow, called this Iland
Sneland. [Sidenote: Gardarsholme] After him one Gardarus, being moved thereunto by the report which Naddocus gave out concerning Island, went to seeke the sayd Island who when he had found it, called it after his owne name Gardars-holme, that is to say, Gardars Ile. There were more also desirous to visit this new land. [Sidenote: Island.] For after the two former a certaine third Noruagian, called Flok, went into Island, and named it of the ice, wherewith he saw it enuironed.

Of ancient habitation &c. I gather not this opinion out of these words of Saxo (as some men do) that Island hath bene inhabited from the beginning or (to speake in one word) that the people of Island were autochthones, that is, earth-bred, or bred out of their owne soile like vnto trees and herbs: sithens it is evident that this Island scarce began to be inhabited no longer agoe then about 718 yeres since. [Footnote: The Viking Naddodr is said to have discovered Iceland in 860, and it was colonised by Ingulf, a chieftain from the west coast of Norway.]

This is Thyle, &c. Grammarians wrangle about this name, and as yet the contouersie is not decided. Which notwithstanding, I thinke might easily grow to composition, if men would understand that this Iland was first inhabited about the yeere of our Lord 874. Vnlesse some man will say that passed so farre vnto an Iland, which was at that time vntilled, and destitute of inhabitants. Againe, if any man will denye this, he may for all me, that it may seeme to be but a dreame, while they are distracted into so many contrary opinions. One affirmes that it is Island: another, that it is a certeine Iland, where trees beare fruit twise in a yeere: the
third, that it is one of the Orcades, or the last Iland of the Scotish dominion, as Iohannes Myritius and others, calling it by the name of Thylensey, which Virgil also seemeth to haue meant by his ultima Thyle. If beyond the Britans (by which name the English men and Scots onely at this day are called) he imagined none other nation to inhabit. Which is euident out of that verse of Virgil in his first Eclogue:

And Britans whole from all the world diuided.

The fourth writeth, that it is one of the Faar-Ilands: the fift, that it is Telemark in Norway: the sixt, that it is Scrichfinnia.

[Sidenote: The ice of Iseland sets always to the West.] Which continually cleaueth to the North part of the Iland. That clause that ice continually cleaueth &c. or as Munster affirmeth a little after, that it cleaueth for the space of eight whole moneths, are neither of them both true, when as for the most part the ice is thawed in the moneth of April or May, and is driuen towards the West: neither doth it returne before Ianuarie or Februarie, nay often times it commeth later. [Sidenote: No ice at all some yeres in Island.] What if a man should recken vp many yeeres, wherein ice (the sharpe scourge of this our nation) hath not at all bene seene about Island? which was found to be true this present yeere 1592. Heereupon it is manifest how truely Frisius hath written that nauigation to this Iland lieth open onely for foure moneths in a yeere, and no longer, by reason of the ice and colde, whereby the passage is shut vp, when as English ships euery yere, sometimes in March, sometimes in April, and some of them in
May; the Germans and Danes, in May and June, do usually return unto us, and some of them depart not again from hence till August. [Sidenote: Navigation open to Island from March till the midst of November.] But the last yere, being 1591, there lay a certeine shippe of Germanie laden with Copper within the hauen of Vopnafjord in the coast of Island about fourteen dayes in the moneth of November, which time being expired, she fortunately set saile. Wherefore, seeing that ice, neither continually, nor yet eight moneths cleaueth unto Iland, Munster and Frisius are much deceiued. [Footnote: The mean temperature of Iceland is said to be 40 degrees.]

SECTIO QUARTA

[Sidenote: Kranzius. Munsterus.] Tam grandis Insula, vt populos multos auunculum meum in Islandia Occidentali misit breuem commentarium, quem ex scriptorum rapsodijs de Islandia collegerat. Vbi sic reperimus Islandia duplo maior Sicilia, &c. Sicilia autem secundum Munsterum 150. milliaria opinio, & apud nostrates recepta 144. milliaria numerat per duodecim Populos multos.) Gysserus quidam, circa annum Domini 1090, Episcopus facultates possiderent, vt regi tributum soluere tenerentur (reliquis
pauperibus cum foeminis & promiscuo vulgo omissis) lustrari curauit,

1100, Aquilonari 1200. Summa 4000. colonorum tributa soluentium. Iam si quis experiatur, inueniet Insulam plus dimidio fuisse inhabitatam.

The same in English.

THE FOURTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: Krantzius. Munsterus.] The land is so great that it containeth many people. Item Zieglerus sayth: The situation of the land is extended betweene the South and the North almost 200 leagues in length.

So great, &c. One Wilstenius schoolmaster of Oldenburg, in the yere 1591, sent vnto mine Vncle in West Island, a short treatise which he had gathered out of the fragments of sundrie writers, concerning Island. Where we found thus written: Island is twise as great as Sicilie, &c. But Sicilie, according to Munster, hath 150. Germaine miles in compasse. [Sidenote: 144. Germaine miles in compasse.] As for the circuit of our land, although it be not exactly known vnto vs, yet the ancient, constant, and receiued opinion of the inhabitants accounteth it I44 leagues; namely by the 12 promontories of land, which are commonly known, being distant one from another 12 leagues or thereabout, which two numbers being multiplied, produce the whole summe. [Footnote: The exact area is 39,737 square miles.]

Many people, &c. One Gysserus about the yere of our Lord 1090, being bishop
of Schalholten in Island, caused all the husbandmen, or countreymen of the
Iland, who, in regard of their possessions were bound to pay tribute to the
king, to be numbred (omitting the poorer sort with women, and the meaner
sort of the communally) and he found in the East part of Island 700, in the
South part 1000, in the West part 1100, in the North part 1200, to the
number of 4000. inhabitants paying tribute. Now if any man will trie, he
shall finde that more then halfe the Iland was at that time vnpeopled.

[Footnote: In 1875 the population was 69,800.]

SECTIO QUINTA.

[Sidenote: Munst. Frisius, Ziegler] Insula multa sui parte montosa est &

Id suffocationis periculum nullo testimomo, nec nostra nec patrum

The same in English.

THE FIFTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: Munster. Frisius. Zieglerus.] The Iland, most part thereof, is
mountainous and vntilled But that part which is plaine doth greatly
abound with fodder, which is so ranke, that they are faine to drieue their
cattell from the pasture, least they surfet or be choaked.
That danger of surfetting or choaking was neuer heard tell of, in our fathers, grandfathers, great grandfathers or any of our predecessours dayes, be they neuer so ancient. [Footnote: In the tenth and eleventh centuries, corn and other crops seem to have been raised in considerable quantities, but at present only small crops of potatoes, turnips, and cabbages are grown. The pastures are good, and many horses, cattle, and sheep are reared.]

SECTIO SEXTA.

[Sidenote: Munst. Frisius.] Sunt in hac Insula montes elati in coelum, Primus Occidentem versus est, qui vocatur Hecla, alter crucis, tertius ignibus. Item Saxo. In hac itidem Insula mons est, qui rupem sideream flammarum eructatione continuat.

cum incommodo impingunt. Nam quod hic de monte Hecla asserunt, etsi aliquam habet veritatis speciem, tamen quod idem de duobus alijs montibus perpetuo extant, nec quicquam, quod huic tanto scriptorum errori occasionem dederit, imaginari possimus. Facta tamen est, sed nunc demum Anno 1581. ex monte Munstero, Zieglero & Frisio sequitur, de orco Islandico opinionem aliquid
exsufflatione tanquam folliis quibusdam, ardentissima excitatur flamma.

necessaria, materiam scilicet, motum, & tandem penetrandi faculatem:
Materiam quidem pinguem & humidam ideoque flammam diuturnam alentem: Motum
vis invicta, sine respiraculo esse nescientis, & incredibili conatu
violenter erumpentis, atque ita (non secus ac in cuniculis machinisue seu

lapides & Saxa in ista voragine ignita, ceu quodam camino, collique facta

dehiscit: pulsu eleuatur intumescens, & nonunquam, vt inquit Plinius

Ergo incerta ferens raptim vestigia, anhelus
Spiritus incursat, nunc huc, nunc percutit illuc,

Si qua forte queat victis erumpere claustris.

Interea tremit ingentem factura ruinam

Terra, suis quatiens latas cum moenibus vrbes:
Dissiliunt auula sa iugis immania saxa, &c.

alij ignorare credant, atque ideo ad suas fabulas, quas hinc extruunt,
confugere velle.

eorum basin semper ardere dicant, summitates tamen nunquam niue careant.
nialis sit, noctibus tamen, eodem teste, semper ardet. Quare etiam
secundum illos, ille mons, cum adhac niuium copia obducitur, & tamen ardeat

obducuntur, non collique faciat. Nam & in Caira, altissima montis cacumina
niuibus semper candentia esse perhibentur: & in Beragua quidem similiter,
iugiter conflagrans, niues, quibus media cingitur, teste Benzone Italo,

Nunc illud quoque castigandum arbitramur, quod hos montes in coelum vsque

nobilis Helgafel. i. Sacer mons, apud monasterium eiusdem nominis, nulla sui

humilis nomen meretur, nunquam, vt initio huius sectionis dixi, de incendio
debebat: Permultos enim habet eiusmodi montes niuosos Islandia, quos omnes

admirator Cosmographus. Quin etiam id non negligendum, quod mons Hecla non

mediterraneus.

anno Christi 1104. 1157. 1222. 1300. 1341. 1362. & 1389. Neque enim ab illo

vt hactenus annotatum est, eruperint, aut etiam forte posthac erumpant.
The same in English.

THE SIXTH SECTION

[Sidenote: Monsterus. Frisius.] There be in this Iland mountaines lift vp
to the skies, whose tops being white with perpetuall snowe, their roots
boile with euerlasting fire. The first is towards the West, called Hecla:
the other the mountaine of the crosse: and the third Helga. Item
Zieglerus. The rocke or promontone of Hecla boileth with continuall fire.
Item: Saxo. There is in this Iland also a mountaine, which resembling the
starrie firmament, with perpetuall flashings of fire, continueth alwayes
burning, by vncessant belching out of flames.

Munster and Frisius being about to report the woonders of Island doe
presently stumble, as it were, vpon the thresholde, to the great
inconuenience of them both. For that which they heere affirme of mount
Hecla, although it hath some shew of trueth: notwithstanding concerning the
other two mountaines, that they should burne with perpetuall fire, it is a
manifest errour. For there are no such mountaines to be found in Island,
nor yet any thing els (so farre foorth as wee can imagine) which might
minister occasion of so great an errour vnto writers. Howbeit there was
seene (yet very lately) in the yeere 1581 out of a certaine mountaine of
South Island lying neere the Sea, and couered ouer with continuall snow and
frost, a marueilous eruption of smoke and fire, casting vp abundance of
stones and ashes. But this mountaine is farre from the other three, which
the sayd authours doe mention. Howbeit, suppose that these things be true
which they report of firie mountaines: is it possible therefore that they
should seeeme strange, or monstrous, whenas they proceed from naturall
causes? What? Doe they any whit preuaile to establish that opinion
concerning the hell of Island, which followeth next after in Munster,
Ziegler, and Frisius? For my part, I thinke it no way tollerable, that men
should abuse these, and the like miracles of nature, to auouch absurdities,
or, that they should with a kinde of impietie woonder at them, as at
matters impossible. As though in these kindes of inflammations, there did
not concurre causes of sufficient force for the same purpose. There is in
the rootes of these mountaines a matter most apt to be set on fire, comming
so neere as it doeth to the nature of brimstone and pitch. There is ayer
also which insinuating it selfe by passages, and holes, into the very
bowels of the earth, doeth puffe vp the nourishment of so huge a fire,
together with Salt-peter, by which puffing (as it were with certeine
bellowes) a most ardent flame is kindled. [Sidenote: Three naturall causes
of firie mountaines.] For, all these thus concurring fire hath those three
things, which necessarily make it burne, that is to say, matter, motion,
and force of making passage: matter which is fattie and moyst, and
therefore nourisheth lasting flames: motion which the ayer doeth performe,
being admitted into the caues of the earth: force of making passage, and
that the inuincible might of fire it selufe (which can not be without
inspiration of ayre, and can not but breake foorth with an incredible
strength) doeth bring to passe: and so (euen as in vndermining trenches and
engines or great warrelike ordinance, huge yron bullets are cast foorth
with monstrous roaring, and cracking, by the force of kindled Brimstone,
and Salt-peeter, whereof Gunne-powder is compounded) chingle and great
stones being skorched in that fiery gulfe, as it were in a furnace,
together with abundance of sande and ashes, are vomitted vp and discharged, and that for the most part not without an earthquake which, if it commeth from the depth of the earth, (being called by Possidionius, Succussio) it must either be either an opening or a quaking. Opening causeth the earth in some places to gape, and fall a sunder. By quaking the earth is heaued vp and swelleth, and sometimes (as Plinie saith) [Sidenote: Lib. 20. cap. 20.] casteth out huge heaps: such an earth-quake was the same which I euen now mentioned, which in the yere 1581 did so sore trouble the South shore of Island. And this kinde of earth-quake is most clearkely described by Pontanus in these verses:

The stirrung breath runnes on with stealing steppes, 
vrged now vp, and now enforced downe:
For freedome eke tries all, it skips, it leaps, 
to ridde it selfe from vncouth dungeon.
Then quakes the earth as it would burst anon,
The earth yquakes, and walled cities quiuer.
Strong quarries cracke, and stones from hilles doe shiuer.

I thought good to adde these things, not that I suppose any man to be ignorant thereof: but least other men should thinke that we are ignorant, and therefore that we will runne after their fables, which they do from hence establish. But yet there is somewhat more in these three famed mountaines of Island, which causeth the sayd writers not a little to woonder, namely whereas they say that their foundations are alwayes burning, and yet for all that, their toppes be neuer destitute of snowe. Howbeit, it beseemeth not the authority and learning of such great clearks
to marvile at this, who can not but well know the flames of mount Aetna, which (according to Plinie) being full of snowe all Winter, notwithstanding (as the same man witnesseth) it doth always burne. Wherefore, if we will giue credit vnto them, euen this mountaine also, sithens it is couered with snowe, and yet burneth, must be a prison of vnclene soules: which thing they haue not doubted to ascribe vnto Hecla, in regard of the frozen top, and the fine bottome. And it is no marvile that fire lurking so deepe in the roots of a mountaine, and neuer breaking forth except it be very seldom, should not be able continually to melt the snowe couering the topppe of the sayd mountaine. [Sidenote: Cardanus] For in Caira (or Capira) also, the highest toppes of the mountaine are sayd continually to be white with snowe: and those in Veragua likewise, which are fiue miles high, and neuer without snowe, being distant notwithstanding but onely 10 degrees from the equinoctiall. We haue heard that either of the forsayd Prouinces standeth neere vnto Paria. What, if in Teneriffa (which is one of the Canarie or fortunate Islands) the Pike [Footnote: The Peak.] so called, arising into the ayre, according to Munster, eight or nine Germaine miles in height, and continually flaming like Aetna: yet (as Benzo an Italian, and Historiographer of the West Indies witnesseth) is it not able to melt the girdle of snowe embracing the middest thereof. Which thing, what reason haue we more to admire in the mountaine of Hecla? And thus much briefly concerning firie mountaines.

Now that also is to be amended, whereas they write that these mountaines are lifted vp euen vnto the skies. For they haue no extraordinarie height beyond the other mountaines of Island, but especially that third mountaine, called by Munster Helga, and by vs Helgafel, that is the holy mount,
standing iust by a monastery of the same name, being couered with snowe, vpon no part thereof in Summer time, neither deserueth it the name of an high mountaine, but rather of an humble hillocke, neuer yet as I sayd in the beginning of this section, so much as once suspected of burning. Neither yet ought perpetuall snowe to be ascribed to Hecla onely, or to a few others; for Island hath very many such snowy mountaines, all which the Cosmographer (who hath so extolled and admired these three) should not easily find out, and reckon vp in a whole yere. And that also is not to be omitted, that mount Hecla standeth not towards the West, as Munster and Ziegler haue noted, but betweene the South and the East: neither is it an headland, but rather a mid-land hill.

[Sidenote: The chronicles of Island.] Continueth alwayes burning &c. whosoeuer they be that haue ascribed vnto Hecla perpetuall belching out of flames, they are farre besides the marke: insomuch that as often as it hath bene enflamed, our countreymen haue recorded it in their yerely Chronicles for a rare accident: namely in the yeeres of Christ 1104, 1157, 1222, 1300, 1341, 1362, and 1389: For from that yeere we neuer heard of the burning of this mountaine vntill the yeere 1558, which was the last breaking foorth of fire in that mountaine. In the meane time I say not that is impossible, but that the bottome of the hill may inwardly breed and nourish flames, which at certaine seasons (as hath bene heretofore obserued) haue burst out, and perhaps may do the like hereafter. [Footnote: The surface of the country is very mountainous, but there are no definite ranges, the isolated volcanic masses being separated by elevated plateaux of greater or less size. The whole centre is, in fact, an almost continuous desert fringed by a belt of pasture land, lying along the coast and running up the valleys of several
of the greater rivers. This desert is occupied partly by snow mountains and
glaciers, partly by enormous lava streams, partly by undulating plains of
black volcanic sand, shingle, and loose stones. This region is of course
without verdure, and entirely uninhabited. The rocks are all of igneous
origin, but of very different ages, traps, basalts, amygdaloids, tufas,
ochres, and porous lavas. The number of active volcanoes is, at present,
not great, but hot springs and mud volcanoes testify to the existence of
volcanic action along a line running from the extreme south west at Cape
Reykjanes to the north coast near Husavik. The only recent well ascertained
eruptions have been from Hecla, Aotlugja, Skaptar Vokul, and (in 1874-5)
from the mountains to the south-east of Myratu Lake. The eruption of
Skaptar in 1783 is the greatest anywhere on record in respect of the
quantity of lava and ashes ejected. Earthquakes are not unfrequent. The
greatest mountain group is the Vatna or Klofa Yukul, on the south coast, a
mass of snow and ice covering many hundred square miles, and sending down
prodigious glaciers which almost reach the sea. From one of these a torrent
issues, little more than a hundred yards long, and a mile and a half broad.
The line of perpetual snow ranges from 2,000 to 3,000 feet. The loftiest
summits of this great mountain mass have never been ascended, but the
highest point is believed to be the Orefa Yolcal, 6,405 feet. The other
considerable peaks in different parts of the island are Herdubreidr (an
5,965 feet, and Hecla, 5,095 feet.)
apud nos machinis bellicis, globi ejiciuntur, illinc lapides magni in

quibusdam putatur carcer sordidarum animarum. Item Zieglerus. Is locos

est carcer sordidarum animarum.

enim nostris hominibus prorsus ignota, nec hic vnquam, nisi prodidissent

vt huius rei periculum, ardente monte, facere ansit, vel quod scire licuit,

vnquam ausis fuerit. Quod tamen Munsterus asserit. Qui, inquit, naturam

tanti incendij contemplari cupiunt, & ob id ad montem propius accedunt, eos

ignota prorsus. Exstat tamen liber veteri Noruagorum lingua scriptus, in

si diis placet, in Papatu olim esse conscriptum: [Sidenote: Speculum

Regale.] Speculum Regale nomen dekerunt, propter vanissima mendacia, quibus

decedentes non inhumantur: sed ad aggerem seu parietem coemeterij, viuorum
sit. In dimidiam vero propter templum ibidem exstructum, iuris habeant
idque per naturam ita esse.

ripam lacus statis temporibus accedat, idque vt plurimum, diebus Dominicis,
pluribus simul, per fatum licere negat. Hanc vero Insulam septimo quoque
locum mox succedere alteram, priori, naturam, magnitudine & virtute
contingere.

adeo docti sint, vt asseres 8. vlnas longi, plantis pedum eorum
ealligati, tanta eos celeritate, vel in excelsis montibus, promoueant, vt

ille magister, in suum speculum collegit: Quibus, licet suis admirationem,
vulgo stuporem, nobis tamen risum concitauit.

luminibus aptissimam, adurit, nec aqua extinguitur. Atqui inquam, ex Schola
vestra Philosophica petitis rationibus hoc Paradoxon confirmari poterit.
Docent enim Physici, commune esse validioribus flammis omnibus vt siccis
vehementes accendere ignes: Quoniam humidum ipsum quod exhalat, pinguis


contextens fontem ignem fraxinum. Quin & repentina ignis in aquis

existere, vt Thrasumenum lacum in agro Perusino arsit totum, idem autor
corporibus humanis repentina ignis e micuisse, vt Seroio Tullio dormienti,

Scipionibus, concionem seu orationem ad milites habentem, atque ad vdionem

exhortantem, conflagrasse, Valerius Antias narrat. Meminit etiam Plinius

Item, Alterius campestris, que frondem densi supra se nemoris non adurat.
ea commune esset.

Eo impetu quo apud nos globi. Sic enim Munsterus. [Sidenote: Frisius.] Mons

ipscum furit, inquit, horribilia tonitura insonat, proijcit ingentia

proxunis 34. annis prorsus quieuit, facta videlicet vltima eruptione, An.

experimento apud nostrates cognitum.
miraculis, religionis incolarum particulam hanc, de opinione infernalis
carceris, confuderunt. Quare etiam vt hunc locum attingamus, quis non
miretur isthoc commentum ab homine cordato in Historia positum esse? Quis
auscultent, nedum sequantur? Vulgus enim extraneorum & hominum colluuiies
nautica (hic enim saniores omnes tam inter nautas quam reliquis excipio,)
carcere animarum, imaginationem fertur: Siquidem incendio nullam substerni
materiam videt, quemadmodum in domesticis focis fieri consueuit. Atque hac

elementaris & materiatus ac visibilis, animas, i. substantias spirituales

procedamus, libet hic referre fabulam perl epidam, huius opinionis
infernalis originem & fundamentum: Nempe cuidam extraneorum naui Islandiam

factam obuiam alteram similiter impigro cursu, sed contra vim tempestatum,
fertur: De Bischop van Bremen. Iterum rogatus quo tenderent? ait. Thom

pariat. Abeat igitur ad Cynosarges & ranas palustres: illud enim eiusde
rideatur, nedum refutetur. Sed nolo cum insanis Papistis nugari: Quin
potius ad scriptores nostros conuertamur.

Atque inprimis nequeo hic, clarissimi viri, D. Casparis Peucer, illud

inferni potius profunditate terribilis, eiulantium miserabili & lamentabili
ploratu personat, vt voce plorantium circumquaque, ad interuallum magni
milliaris audiantur. Circumnolitant hunc coruorum & vulturum nigerrima
descensum esse per voraginem illam ad inferos persuasum habet: Inde cum

incredibilem ad te vir doctissime perferre ausus fuit? Nec enim vultures

Plinius notauit & Pygarsum appellauit. Nec vlli sunt huius spectaculi apud

arceantur. Et nihilominus in huius rei testimonium, (vt & exauditi per

alias sentiat Munsterus.

[Sidenote: Munsterus Cosmograph. vniuersal. lib. 1. cap. 7.] Dubium non

est, inquit, montes olim & campos arsisse in orbe terrarum: Et nostra

quidem state ardent. Verbi gratia: In Islandia mons Hecla statis temporibus

circumcirca, vt terra ad vicesimum lapidem coli non possit. Vbi autem

montium incendia perpetua sunt, intelligimus nullam esse obstructionem

meatibus obturatis, eius viscera nihilominus ardent Superioris autem partis

incendia, propter fomitis inopiam, non nihil remittunt ad tempus. Ast vbi

spiritus vehementior, rursus reclusis meatibus ijsdem vel alij, ex carcere
vt illic ad causas infernales confugiat.

subijciam, ab Hieronimo Benzone Italo in Historiar noui orbis, lib. 2. his
verbis descriptam.

Nonnullis fuit opinio, intus liquefactum aurum esse, perpetuam ignibus
quatuor alijs Hispanis ascendens, catenam cum aheno ad centum quadraginta
liquefactum est. Monachus non leuiter iratus Legionem recurrit, fabrum
fabricatus. Faber aliam multo crassiorem excudit. Monachus montem repetit:
Catenam & lebetem demittit. Res priori incoepto similem exitum habuit. Nec
profundo exsiliens, propemodum & Fratrem & socios absumpsit. Omnes quidem
adeo perculsi in vrbem reuersi sunt, vt de eo incoepto exequendo nunquam
deinceps cogitarent &c.

perhibetur, non sunt imaginati scriptores? Cur no in Ephesi montibus, quos
Bactrorum monte, noctu semper conflagrante? Cur non in Hiera Insula, medio
aliquot accensa? Cur non in Babyloniorum campo, interdiu flagrante? Cur non
boatus, cum insolitis & inconditis cachinnis exaudiantur? Cur non in Neapolitanorum agro ad Puteolos? Cur non in illa superius commemorata


The same in English.

THE SEUENTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: Frisius. Munsterus.] The flame of mount Hecla will not burne towe (which is most apt for the wieke of a candle) neither is it quenched with water: and by the same force that bullets are discharged out of warlike engines with vs, from thence are great stones cast foorth into the aire, by reason of the mixture of colde, and fire, and brimstone.

This place is thought of some to be the prison of vnicleane soules. Item: Zieglerus. This place is the prison of vnicleane soules.
Will not burne towne. Where these writers should finde such matters, it is
not easie to coniecture. For our people are altogether ignorant of them,
neither had they euer bene heard of heere among vs, if they had not brought
them to light. For there is no man with vs so rashly and fondly curious,
that dareth for his life, the hill being on fire, trie any such
conclusions, or (to our knowledge) that euer durst: which notwithstanding
Munster affirmeth, saying: They that are desirous to contemplate the nature
of so huge a fire, & for the same purpose approch vnsto the mountaine, are
by some gulfe swallowed vp aliue, &c. which thing (as I sayd) is altogether
vnknowen vnsto our nation. [Sidenote: Speculum regale written in the
Noruagian tongue.] Yet there is a booke extant, written in the ancient
language of the Noruagians, wherein you may finde some miracles of earth,
water, fire, and aire, &c. confusedly written, few of them true, and the
most part vaine and false. Whereupon it easily appeareth that it was
written long since by some that were imagined to be great wise men in the
time of Popery. [Sidenote: Whence the fables of Island grew.] They called
it a royall looking glasse: howbeit, in regard of the fond fables,
wherewith (but for the most part vnder the shew of religion and piety,
whereby it is more difficult to finde out the cousinage) it doeth all ouer
swarme, it deserueth not the name of a looking glasse royall, but rather of
a popular, and olde wiues looking glasse. In this glasse there are found
certaine figments of the burning of Hecla, not much vnlike these which we
now entreat of, nor any whit more grounded vpon experience, and for that
cause to be reiect ed.

But that I may not seeme somewhat foolehardy, for accusing this royall
looking glasse of falshood (not to mention any of those things which it
reporteth as lesse credible) loe heere a few things (friendly reader) which
I suppose deserue no credit at all.

1. Of a certain Isle in Ireland, hauing a church and a parish in it, the
inhabitants whereof deceasing are not buried in the earth, but like liuing
men, do continually, against some banke or wall in the Churchyard, stand
bolt-vpright: neither are they subiect to any corruption or downefall:
insomuch that any of the posteritie, may there seeke for, and beholde their
ancestors.

2. Of another Isle of Ireland, where men are not mortall.

3. Of all the earth and trees of Ireland, being of force to resist all
poisons, and to kill serpents, and other venimous things, in any countrey
whatsoever, by the only vertue and presence thereof yea euem without
touching.

4. Of a third Isle of Ireland, that the one halfe thereof became an
habitation of deuils, but that the sayd deuils haue no iurisdiction ouer
the other halfe, by reason of a Church there built, although, as the whole
Isle is without inhabitants, so this part is continually destitute of a
Pastor, and of diuine seruice: and that it is so by nature.

5. Of a fourth Isle of Ireland floating vp and downe in an huge lake, the
grasse whereof is a most present remedy for all kinde of diseases, and that
the lland, at certeine seasons, especially on Sundayes, commeth to the
banke of the lake, so that any man may then easily enter into it, as it
were into a shippe: which notwithstanding (sayth he) destiny will not
suffer any more then one to enter at a time. Furthermore he reporteth that
this Island euery seuenth yere groweth fast to the banke, so that you
cannot discerne it from firme land: but that into the place thereof there
succeedeth another, altogether like the former, in nature, quantitie, and
vertue: which, from what place it commeth, no man can tell: and that all
this happeneth with a kinde of thundering.

6. Of the hunters of Norway who are so expert to tame wood (for so he
speaketh very improperly, whereas vnto wood neither life nor taming can be
ascribed) that wooden pattens of eight elnes long being bound to the soles
of their feet do cary them with so great celeritie euen vpon hie
mountaines, that they cannot be outrun, either by the swiftnes of hounds
and deere, or yet by the flying of birds. And that they will kill nine roes
or more at one course & with one stroke of a dart.

These and such like, concerning Ireland, Norway, Island, Gronland. of the
miracles of water, and aire, this master of fragments hath gathered
together into his looking glasse: whereby, although he hath made his owne
followers woonder, and the common people to be astonished, yet hath he
ministred vnto vs nothing but occasion of laughter.

But let vs heare Frisius. The flame of mount Hecla (sayth he) will not
burne towe (which is most apt matter for the wicke of a candle) neither is 
it quenched with water. But I say that this strange opinion may be 
confirmed by many reasons borrowed out of your schoole of Philosophy. For 
the natarall Philosophers doe teach, That it is common to all forcible 
flames to be quenched with dry things, and nourished with moiste: 
whereupon, euen blacksmithes, by sprinckling on of water, vse to quicken 
and strengthen their fire. For (say they) when fire is more vehement, it is 
stirred vp by colde, and nourished by moisture, both which qualities doe 
concurre in water. Item, water is wont to kindle skorching fires: because 
the moisture it selfe, which ariseth, doth proue more fattie and grosse, 
neither is it consumed by the smoke enclosing it, but the fire it selfe 
feedeth vpon the whole substance thereof, whereby being made purer, and 
gathering round together, it becommeth then more vehement by reason of 
colde. And therefore also wild-fires cannot be quenched with water. Item, 
There be places abounding with brimstone and pitch, which burne of their 
owne accord, the flame wherof cannot be quenched with water. The graund 
Philosopher also hath affirmed, that fire is nourished by water. Arist 3. 
de anim. And Plinie, in the second booke of his naturall historie cap. 110. 
And Strabo in his 7. booke. In Nympheum there proceedeth a flame out of a 
rocke, which is kindled with water. The same author sayth: The ashe 
continually flourisheth, couering a burning fountaine. And moreouer that 
there are sudden fires at some times, euen vpon waters, as namely that the 
lake of Thrasumenus in the field of Perugi, was all on fire, as the same 
Strabo witnesseth. And in the yeares 1226, and 1236, not farre from the 
promontorie of Islande called Reykians, a flame of fire brake forth out of 
the sea. Yea euen vpon mens bodies sudden fires haue glittered: as namely, 
there sprang a flame from the head of Seruius Tullius lying a sleepe: and 
also Lucius Martius in Spaine after the death of the Scipions, making an
oration to his soldiers, and exhorting them to revenge, was all in flame, as Valerius Antias doth report. Plinie in like sort maketh mention of a flame in a certaine mountaine, which, as it is kindled with water, so is it quenched with earth or haye: also of another field which burneth not the leaves of shadowy trees that growe directly over it. These things being thus, it is strange that men should account that a wonder in Hecla onely (for I will grant it to be, for disputacion sake, wheninde there is no such matter so farre forth as I could learne of any man) which is common to many other parts or places in the world, both hilly and plaine, as well as to this.

[Sidenote: Frisius.] And by the same force that bullets, &c. Munster saith the like also. This mountaine when it rageth, it soundeth like dreadfull thunder, casteth forth huge stones, disgorgeth brimstone and with the cinders that are blowen abroad, it covereth so much ground round about it, that no man can inhabit within 20. miles thereof, &c. Howbeit, they ought to have compared it with Aetna, or with other fierie mountaines, whereof I will presently make mention, seeing there is to be found in them, not onely a like accident, but in a manner the very same. Unlesse perhaps this be the difference, that flames brake seldomer out of Hecla, then out of other mountaines of the same kinde. For it hath now rested these 34. yeares full out, the last fierie breach being made in the yeare 1558. as we haue before noted. And there can no such wonders be affirmed of our Hecla, but the same or greater are to be ascribed vnto other burning mountaines, as it shall by and by appeare.

But that brimstone should be sent forth it is a meere fable, and neuer
known vnto our nation, by any experiment.

This place is the prison of vn cleane soules. Here I am constrained to vse a preface, and to craue pardon of the Reader, because, whereas in the beginning I propounded vnto my selfe to treat of the land, and of the inhabitants distinctly by themselues, I must of necessitie confusedly handle certaine matters in this first part, which do properly belong vnto the second. This is come to passe through the fault of these writers, who haue confounded this part of the inhabitants religion concerning the opinion of hell, or of the infernall prison, with the situation & miracles of the island. Wherfore that we may come to this matter, who can but wonder that wise men should be growen to this point, not onely to listen after, but euen to follow and embrace the dotings of the rude people: For the common sort of strangers, and the offskowring of mariners (here I do except them of better iudgement aswell mariners as others) hearing of this rare miracle of nature, by an inbred and naturall blockishnesse are earned to this imagination of the prison of soules: and that because they see no wood nor any such fewell layed vpon this fire as they haue in their owne chimneys at home. And by this perswasion of the grosse multitude, the report grew strong, especially (as they are too much accustomed to banning and cursing) while one would wish to another the firie torments of this mountaine. As though elementarie, materiall and visible fire could consume mens soules being spirituall, bodiless and inuisible substances. And to be short, who can but woonder, why they should not faine the same prison of damned soules, aswell in mount Aetna, being no lesse famous for fires and inflamations then this: But you will say, that Pope Gregorie fained it so to be. Therefore it is purgatorie. I am content it should be so: then there
is the same truth of this prison that there is of purgatorie. But before I
proceede any further I thinke it not amisse to tell a merie tale, which was
the originall and ground of this hellish opinion: namely that a ship of
certaine strangers departing from Island, vnder full saile, a most swift
pace, going diectly on her course, met with another ship sailing against
winde & weather, and the force of the tempest as swiftly as themselues, who
hailing them of whence they were, answere was giuen by their gouernor, De
Bishop van Bremen: being the second time asked whether they were bound: he
answered, Thom Heckelfeld tho, Thom Heckelfeld tho. I am affeard lest the
reader at the sight of these things should call for a bason: for it is such
an abominable lie, that it would make a man cast his gorge to heare it.
Away with it therefore to fenny frogs, for we esteeme no more of it, then
of their croaking coax coax. Nay, it is so palpable that it is not worthy
to be smiled at, much lesse to be refuted. But I will not trifle any longer
with the fond Papists: let vs rather come vnto our owne writers.

And first of all I cannot here omit a saying of that most worthie man
Doctor Caspar Peucer. There is in Islande (quoth he) mount Hecla, being of
as dreadfull a depth as any vaste gulfe, or as hell it selfe, which
resoundeth with lamentable, & miserable yellings, that the noise of the
cryers may be heard for the space of a great league round about. Great
swarmes of vgy blacke Rauens and Vultures lie houerning about this place
which are thought of the inhabitantes to nestle there. The common people of
that countrey are verily perswaded, that there is a descent downe into hell
by this gulfe: and therefore when any battailes are foughten else where, in
whatsoever part of the whole world, or any bloudie slaughters are
committed, they haue learned by long experience, what horrible tumults and
out-cryes, what monstrous skritches are heard round about this mountaine.  
Who durst be so bold (most learned Sir) to bring such an incredible report  
to your eares: Neither hath Island any Vultures, but that second kinde of  
Eagles, which Plinie noted by their white tayles, and called them Pygarsi:  
neither are there any with vs, that can beare witnesse of the foresaid  
spectacle: nor yet is it likely that Rauens and Eagles would nestle in that  
place, when as they should rather be driuen from thence by fire and smoke,  
being things most contrarie to their nature. And yet notwithstanding for  
prooфе of this matter, as also of a strange tumult heard within the hollow  
of the mountaine, they allege the experience of the inhabithants, which  
indeede testifieth all things to the contrarie. But whereabout should that  
hole or windowe of the mountaine be, by the which we may heare outcryes,  
noyse and tumults done among them, who inhabite the most contrarie,  
distant, and remote places of the earth from vs: Concerning which thing I  
would aske the author of this fable many questions, if I might but come to  
the knowledge of him: in the meane time I could wish that from henceforth  
he would learne to tell troth, & not presume with so impudent a face to  
enforme excellent Peucer, or others, of such vnknowne and incredible  
matters.

But to returne to Munster, who endeouering to search out the causes of the  
great and strange fire of that famous hill Aetna, is it not monstrous that  
the very same thing which he there maketh natural, he should here imagine  
to be preternaturall, yea infernal? But why do I speake of Aetna? Let vs  
rather consider what Munster in another place thinketh of the burning of  
Hecla.
It is without doubt (saith he) that some mountaines and fields burned in old time throughout the whole world: and in this our age do burne. As for example: mount Hecla in Island at certaine seasons casteth abroad great stones, spitteth out brimstone, and disperseth ashes, for such a distance round about, that the land cannot be inhabited within 20. miles thereof. But where mountaines do continually burne we understand that there is no stopping of the passages, wherby they poure forth abundance of fire sometime flaming, & sometime smoaking gas it were a streaming flood. But if betwene times the fire encreaseth, all secret passages being shut vp, the inner parts of the mountaine are notwithstanding enflamed. The fire in the vpper part, for want of matter, somewhat abateth for the time. But when a more vehement spirite (the same, or other passages being set open again) doth with great violence breake prison, it casteth forth ashes, sand, brimstone, pumistones, lumpes resembling iron, great stones, & much other matter, not without the domage of the whole region adjoyning. Thus farre Munster. Where consider (good Reader) how he cutteth his throat with his owne sword, consider (I say) that in this place there is the very same opinion of the burning of Hecla, & the burning of Aetna, which notwithstanding in his 4. booke is very diuerse, for there he is faine to run to infernall causes. A certaine fierie mountaine of West India hath farre more friendly censurers, & historiographers then our Hecla, who make not an infernall gulfe therof. The History of which mountain (because it is short & sweete) I will set downe, being written by Hieronimus Benzo an Italian, in his history of the new world, lib. 2. These be the words. "About 35. miles distant from Leon there is a mountaine which at a great hole belcheth out such mightie balles of flames, that in the night they
shine farre and neare, aboue 100. miles. Some were of opinion that within
it was molten gold ministring continuall matter & nourishment for the fire.
Hereupon a certain Dominican Frier, determining to make trial of the
matter, caused a brasse kettle, & an iron chain to be made: afterward
ascending to the top of the hill with 4. other Spaniards, he letteth downe
the chaine & the kettle 140. elnes into the fornace: there, by extreme
heate of the fire, the kettle, & part of the chaine melted. The monke in a
rage ran back to Leon, & chid the smith, because he had made the chaine far
more slender then himselfe had commanded. The smith hammers out another of
more substance & strength then the former. The Monke returns to the
mountains, and lets downe the chaine & the cauldron; but with the like
successe that he had before. Neither did the caldron only vanish & melt
away: but also, vpon the sudden there came out of the depth a flame of
fire, which had almost consumed the Frier, & his companions. Then they all
returned so astonished, that they had small list afterward to prosecute
that attempt, &c." What great difference is there betwenee these two
censures? In a fiery hill of West India they search for gold: but in mount
Hecla of Island they seeke for hel. Howbeit they wil perhaps reiect this as
a thing too new, & altogether vnknowne to ancient writers. Why therefore
hill in Lycia (which, by report, flameth continually day and night) that is
in mount Hecla of Island? Why haue they not imagined the same to be in the
mountaines of Ephesus, which being touched with a burning torch, are
reported to conceive so much fire, that the very stones & sand lying in the
water are caused to burne, & from the which (a staffe being burnt vpon
them, & trailed after a man on the ground) there proceede whole riuers of
fire, as Plinie testifieth? Why not in Cophantrus a mountaine of Bactria,
always burning in the night? Why not in the Isle of Hiera, flaming in the
midst of the sea? Why not in Aeolia in old time likewise burning for
certaine daies in the midst of the sea? Why not in the field of Babylon
burning in the day season? Why not in the fields of Aethiopia glittering
alwaies like stars in the night? Why not in the hill of Lipara opening with
a wide and bottomlesse gulfe (as Aristotle beareth record) whereunto it is
dangerous to approch in the night: from whence the sound of Cymbals and the
noyse of rattles, with vnwonted and vncotht laughters are heard? Why not in
the field of Naples, neare vnto Puteoli? Why not in the Pike of Teneriffa
before mentioned, like Aetna continually burning and casting vp stones into
the aier, as Munster himselfe witnessedeth? Why not in that Aethopian hill,
which Plinie affirmeth to burne more then all the former? And to conclude,
why not in the mountaine of Vesuuius, which (to the great damage of al the
countrey adioyning, & to the vter destruction of Caius Plinius prying into
the causes of so strange a fire) vomiting out flames as high as the clouds,
filling the aire with great abundance of pumistones, and ashes, & with
palpable darknesse intercepting the light of the sunne from al the region
therabout? I wil speake, & yet speake no more then the truth: because in
deede they foresaw, that men would yeeld no credite to those things as
being too well knowen, though they should haue feined them to haue beene
the flames of hell: but they thought the burning of Hecla (the rumour
whereof came more slowly to their eares) to be fitter for the establishing
of this fond fable. But get ye packing, your fraud is found out: leaue off
for shame hereafter to perswade any simple man, that there is a hel in
mount Hecla. For nature hath taught both vs & others (maugre your opinion)
to acknowledge her operations in these fire workes, not the fury of hell.
But now let vs examine a few more such fables of the common people, which
haue so vnhappily misledd our historiographers & cosmographers.
SECTIO OCTAUA.

[Sidenote: Frisius Zieglerus, Olauus Magn.] luxta hos montes (tres

montem Heclam potissimum, ne Lynceus quidem perspicere queat: Sed

exhalantes, qui amicis suis, vt ad propria redeant, hortantibus, magnis

euanescunt.

Ad confirmandum superius mendacium de Inferno terrestri ac visibili,

hominis ignaui, nec coelum ec infernum scientes. Quos scriptores isti, viri

vt non vereantur aniles quasuis nugas ijs inserere, atque ita aurum purum

infernali natitantes, & nihilominus cum notis & amicis confabulantes? Anne

nobis veterem Orphea, cum sua Euridice, in Stygias relabente vndas,

alij futilem huiusmodi ineptiarum leuitatem ac mendacium agnoscre, agnouit

Heclam ire respondentia, ait idem. Et addit. Nec in Islandia solum, sed
Peto, vt medicorum moris est, quo morbo exsesserit? Respondet ille:

lemurem nocte quadam insequentem: Quam cum effugere conaretur, ocyus citato

Exclamare nitebatur: Non poterat. Tandem, cum diu in terra cum larua

retulit. Ob id animam despondens, cum nec ab amicis, nec medicis, nec

perijt. Audiui postmodum & ab alijs, qui vicini essent illi, neminem ab

redidit satis probablem, dicens se tanquam cottum attrectasse, nec pondus

Cardanus. Inde tamen nemo concluseret, sicut de Islandia scriptores nostri

damnatorum.

apparitiones: (quod etiam omnes norunt, nisi eius rei ignorantiam nimis
affectent) nec illud mortuorum cum viuis, in hiatu Heclensi, colloquium,
nisi ementitis hominum fabulis, quausis ampulla vani oribus, niti, quibus

fuerant. Et quisquam est, qui illis scriptorum hiatibus, mortuorum
miraculis ad summum vsque refertis, adduci potest vt credat? Quisquam, qui

recte sumi aiunt: Nihil scilicet hac proiectius ac deterius esse vsquam,

hactenus, vt spero, satis labefactata est. Quare iam perge Lector, vltierius
hanc de secretis infernalibus Philosophiam cognoscere.

The same in English.

THE EIGHT SECTION.

[Sidenote: Frisius. Zieglerus. Olaus magnus.] Neare vnto the mountaines (the 3. fornamed Hecla &c.) there be three vaste holes, the depth whereof, especially at mount Hecla, cannot be discerned by any man, be he neuer so sharpe sighted: but there appeare to the beholders thereof certaine men at that instant plunged in, & as yet drawing their breath, who answere their friends (exhorting them with deepe sighs to returne home) that they must depart to mount Hecla: and with that, they suddenly vanish away.

To confirme the former lie, of an earthly & visible hell (albeit I will easily grant that Frisius in writing these things did not entend to reproch any, but only to blaze abroad new & incredible matters) certaine idle companions knowing neither hell nor heauen haue inuented this fable, no lesse reprochfull then false, and more vaine & detestable then Sicilian scoffes. Which fellowes these writers (being otherwise men of excellent parts, and to whom learning is much indebted) haue followed with an ouer hastie judgement.

But it were to be wished, that none would write Histories with so great a
desire of setting foorth nouelties & strange things, that they feare not, in that regard to broch any fabulous & old-wiues toyes, & so to defile pure gold with filthy mire. But I pray you, how might those drowned men be swimming in the infernal lake, & yet for al that, parletng with their acquaintance & friends? What? Will you coniure, & raise vp vnto vs from death to life old, Orpheus conferring with his wife Euridice (drawen backe againe down to the Stigian flood) & in these parts of the world, as it were by the bankes of snowey Tanais, & Hebrus descanting vpon his harpe? But in very deed although others will not acknowledge the falsbood, & vanity of these trifles, yet Cardane being a diligent considerer of al things in his 18. booke de subtilitate, doth acknowledge & find them out. Whose words be at certain seasons, & hereupon the comon people haue conceiued an opinion this long time, that soules are there purged: some, least they should seeme liars, heape vp more vanities to this fable, that it may appeare to be probable, & agreeable to reason. But what be those vanities? namely, they feine certaine ghosts answering them, that they are going to mount Hecla; as the same Cardane saith. And further he addeth. Neither in Island only, but euery where (albeit seldome) such things come to passe. And then he tells this storie following of a man-killing spright. There was (saith he) solemnized this last yeare the funerall of a comon citizen, in the gate neare vnto the great Church, by that marketplace, which in regard of the abundace of herbs, in our tong hath the name of the herbmarket. There meets with me one of mine acquaintance: I (according to the custome of Phisitians) presently aske of what disease the man died? he giueth me answere that this man vsed to come home from his labour 3. houres within night: one night among the rest he espied an hobgoblin pursuing him: which to auoid, he ran away with al speed: but being caught by the spright, he
was throwne down vpon the ground. He would faine haue made a shout, & was
not able. At length (when the spright & he had struggled together vpon the
ground a good while) he was found by certain passengers, & carried home
halfe dead. And when he was come to himselfe againe, being asked what was
the matter, he vp and tolde this strange relation. Hereupon (being utterly
daunted, & discouraged, when neither by his friends, nor by Phisitians, nor
by Priests, he could be perswaded, that these things were but his owne
conceits, & that there was no such matter) 8. daies after he died. I heard
also afterward of others which were his neighbors, that no man could more
constantly affirme himselfe to be wounded of his enemy, then this man did,
that he was cast vpon the ground by a ghost. And when some demanded what he
did, after he was tumbled on the earth? The dead man (quoth he) laying his
hands to my throat, went about to strangle me: neither was there any
remedy, but by defending my selfe with mine own hands. When others doubted
least he might suffer these things of a liuing man, they asked him how he
could discerne a dead man from a liuing? To this he rendered a very
probable reason, saying that he seemed in handling to be like Cottum, &
that he had no weight, but held him down by maine force. And presently
after he addeth. In like manner as in Island, so in the desert sands of
apparitions, the same sprights are wont to delude wayfaring men. Thus much
Cardane. Yet from hence (I trow) no man will conclude as our writers of
prison of damned soules.

I thought good to write these things out of Cardane, that I may bring euens
the testimony of strangers on our sides, against such monstrous fables.
This place of Cardane implieth these two things, namely that apparitions of
sprights are not proper to Island alone (which thing all men know, if they
do not maliciously feigne themselves to be ignorant). And secondly that
that conference of the dead with the living in the gulf of Hecla is not
grounded upon any certainty, but only upon fables coined by some idle
persons, being more vain than any bubble, which the brutish common sort
have used, to confirm their opinion of the tormenting of souls. And is
there any man so fantastical, that will be induced to believe these gulfs,
mentioned by writers, to be anywhere extant, although they be never so ful
of dead men's miracles? Yea doubtless. For from hence also they say, that
reproaches are justly used against our nation: namely that there is nothing
in all the world more base, & worthlesse then it, which containeth hell
within the bounds thereof. This verily is the good that we have gotten by
those historiographers, who have been so greedy to publish novelties. But
this opinion, bred by the sottishness of the common people hath hitherto (as
I hope) been sufficiently overthrown as a thing foolish & vain, and as
being devised for the vpbraying of our nation. Wherefore, proceede
(friendly Reader) and be farther instructed in this philosophy of infernal
secrets.

SECTIO NONA.

menses fluctuat glacies, miserabilem quendam gemitum, & ab humana voce

loca commutante. Vbi scilicet domi in foco montano delitescere piget, &
infernum intra limites habere, sed & scientes volentes ingredi, atque

seu vitulos marinos captum eant, ac vesperti incolmes redeant. Addite
etiam, in scrinijs & alijs vasis ab Islandis carcerem damnatorum asservari,

grauioe damno perrumpere atque effugere valeant, quod quidem ipsum ex iam
dictis efficitur: Et multos nostratium enumerare possum, qui in ipso
d dissipata, multa milliaria glaciei insidentes, tempestatis violentia
profligati, & aliquot dies ac noctes continuas crudelissimi pelagi

problemate consequitur) tormenta & cruciatus barathri glacialis experti

littora, cum hoc suo glaciali nauigio rursus adacti, incolmes domum
peruenerunt: Quorum aliqui etiam hodie viuunt. Quare hoc nouitatis auidi
arripient, indeque, si placet, iustum volumen conficiant, atque ad

seposito, vnde digressi sumus, reuertamur.

neque octo mensibus circa ipsam Insulam fluitare: Deinde etiam, glaciem
hanc, et si interdum ex collisione grandes sonitus & fragores edit,
interdum propter vndarum alluionem, raucum murmur personat, quicquam tamen

Quod autem dicunt, nos & in glacie, & in monte Hecla loca statuere, in
isti Historici, instituerit. Scimus & tenemus animas piorum non in

Scimus & tenemus de impiorum animabus, non in montanos focos & cineres, vel glaciam nostris oculis expositam, deflectere, sed in extremas mox abripi tenebras, vbi est fletus & stridor dentium, vbi est frigus, vbi est ignis ille, non vulgaris, sed extra nostram scientiam & subtilem disputationem spirituales, cruciantur. Huic extremo & tenebricoso carceri non Islandos

& reliqua tormenta, dante & iuuante Domino nostro Iesu Christo, cuius precioso sanguine redempti sumus, nonquam sumus visuri aut sensuri. Atque hic de orco Islandico disputationis colophon esto.

The same in English.

THE NINTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: Frisius and Munster.] But round about the Iland, for the space of 7. or 8. moneths in a yere there floateth ise, making a miserable kind of mone, and not vnlike to mans voice, by reason of the clashing together. The inhabitants are of opinion that in mount Hecla and in the ise, there are places wherein the soules of their countreymen are tormented.

No doubt, a worthy augmentation of the history, concerning the hel of Island, shut vp within the botome of one mountaine, & that no great one:
yea, at some times (by fits and seasons) changing places: namely, when it
is weary of lurking at home by the fires side within the mountaine, it
delighteth to be ranging abroad, & to venter to sea, but without a ship, &
to gather it selve round into morsels of yce. Come forth, & giue care all
ye that wonder at this secret. Lo, I will afford these historiographers
another addition of history very notable. Let them write therfore, that the
Islanders haue not only hel within their iurisdictction, but also that they
enter into it willingly & wittingly, & come forth againe vntouched the very
same day. How can that be? [Sidenote: Taking of Seales on the the ice.] Why
it is an ancient custome of the Island that they which inhabite neare the
sea shore do vsually go betimes in a morning to catch Seales, euen vpon the
very same ise which the historiographers make to be hel, & in the euening
returne home safe and sound. Set downe also (if ye please) that the prison
of the damned is kept in store by the Islanders in coffers and vessels, as
we shall anon heare out of Frisius.

But you had need wisely to foresee, lest the Islanders beguile all your
countries of the commendation of courage & constacy: namely, as they (for
so it pleaseth your writers to report) who both can and will endure the
torments of hell, & who are able to breake through & escape them, without
any farther hurt: which thing is necessarily to be collected out of that,
that hath bin before mentioned. [Sidenote: Westrerne winds disperse the
ice.] And I am able to reckon vp a great many of our countnmen who in the
very act of hunting, wandring somewhat farre from the shoare (the ice being
dispersed by westerne winds) & for the space of many leagues resting vpon
the ice, being chased with the violence of the tempest, & some whole daies
& nights being tossed vp & downe in the waues of the raging sea, & so (for
it followeth by good consequence out of this probleme of the
historiographers) haue had experience of the torments, & paines of this
hell of ice. Who at the last, the weather being changed, & the winds
blowing at the North, being transported again to the shoare, in this their
ship of ice, haue returned home in safety: some of which number are alieue
at this day. Wherefore let such as be desirous of newes snatch vp this, &
(if they please) let them frame a whole volume hereof, & adde it to their
history. Neither do these vaine phantasies deserue otherwise to be handled
& confuted, then with such like meriments, & sportings. But to lay aside
all iesting, let vs returne to the matter from whence we are digressed.

[Sidenote: Ice floateth not 7. or 8. moneths about Island.] First of all
therefore it is euident enough out of the second section, viz. ice floateth
not about this Iland, neither 8. nor 7. moneths in a yere then, that this
ice (although at some times by shuffling together it maketh monstrous
soundings & cracklings, & againe at some times with the beating of the
water, it sendeth forth an hoarse kind of murmuring) doth any thing at all
resound or lament, like vnto mans voice, we may in no case confess. But
whereas they say that, both in the Isle, and in mount Hecla we appoint
certaine places, wherin the soules of our countrimen are tormented, we
utterly stand to the deniall of that and we thanke God & our Lord Iesus
Christ from the botome of our hearts (who hath deliuered vs from death &

instructed vs more truely, concernmg the place, whether the soules of our
deceased countrimen depart, then these historiographers doe tell vs. We
know and maintain that the soules of the godly are transported immediatly
out of their bodily prisons, not into the Papists purgatory, nor into the
Elysian fields, but into Abrahams bosome, into the hand of God, & into the
heauenly paradise. We know & maintaine concerning the soules of the wicked,
that they wander not into the fires & ashes of mountaines or into visible
ice, but immediatly are carried away into vtter darknesse, where is weeping
& gnashing of teeth, where there is colde also, & fire not comon, but far
beyond our knowledge & curious disputation. Where not onely bodies, but
soules also, that is spirituall substances are tormented. And we do also
hold, that the Islanders are no whit nearer vnto this extreame & darke
prison, in regard of the situation of place, then the Germans, Danes,
Frenchmen, Italians, or any other nation whatsoeuer. Neither is it any
thing to the purpose, at all to dispute of the place or situation of this
dungeon. It is sufficient for vs, that (by the grace and assistance of our
Lord Iesus Christ, with whose precious blood we are redeemed) we shall
neuer see that vtter darknesse, nor feele the rest of the torments that be
there. Now let vs here shut vp the disputation concerning the hell of
Island.

SECTIO DECIMA.

reperiatur.

secundum Historicos, representatem, & damnatorom receptaculum existentem,
non esse, vt reliqua in vastissima hac vnuersitate omnia, ex Elementi
alciuis materia conflatam. Siquidem cum corpus esse videatur, corpus tamen
solida perrumpat, non secus ac, spectra & genij: Restat igitur cum non sit
quod ipsi forsan largiantur, infernalem. Infernalem tamen esse non
tamen omnia in hanc historicorum glaciem, quantumuis, secundum illos,
est, eam calore solis resolutam, ac in superficie sua stagnantem, siti
forte inde aliquis suspicetur, glaciem hanc barathrum, quod illi Historici
glacie, commune esse, atque ita carcer damnatorum cum Paradiso coelesti
loca commutasse, Historicorum culpa putetur.
est: Quod axioma vbi secundum idem, & ad idem, & eodem tempore, verum esse
secum dissidueant. Sed haud mirum, eum qui semel vulgi fabulosis rumoribus
abactam reliquam glaciem, nullis vectibus nullis machinis detentam, ad

The same in English.

THE TENTH SECTION.
[Sidenote: Frisius. Zieglerus. Saxo.] If any man shall take a great quantity of this ice, & shall keepe it neuer so warily enclosed in a coffer or vessel, it wil at that time when the ice thaweth about the Iland, utterly vanish away, so that not the least part thereof, no nor a drop of water is to be found.

Surely, this was of necessity to be added: namely, that this ice, which according to historiographers representeth mans voice, & is the place of the damned, doth not as all other things in this wide world, consist of the matter of some element. For whereas it seemeth to be a body, when indeed it is no body: (which may directly be gathered out of Frisius absurd opinion) whereas also it pierceth through hard & solide bodies, no otherwise then spirits & ghosts: therefore it remaineth, seeing it is not of an elementary nature, that it must haue either a spirituall, or a celestial, or an infernal matter. But that it should be infernall, we can not be perswaded, because we haue heard that infernall cold is farre more vnsufferable then this ise, which vseth to be put into a boxe with mens hands, & is not of force any whit to hurt euen naked flesh, by touching thereof. Nor yet will we grant it to be spirituall: for we haue learned in naturall Philosophy, that spiritual substances can neither be seene nor felt, & cannot haue any thing taken from them: all which things do notwithstanding most manifestly agree to this ise of the Historiographers, howsoever according to them it be supernatural. Besides also, it is most true, that the very same yse being melted with the heat of the sunne, & resolued into water, vpon the vpper part thereof, standeth fishermen in as good stead to quench their thirst, as any land-riuer would do, which thing can no way be ascribed to a
spiritual substance. It is not therefore spiritual, nor yet infernal.

Now none will be so bold to affirm, that it hath celestial matter, lest

some man perhaps might hereupon imagine, that this ise hath brought hell

(which the historiographers annex unto it) down from heaven together with

it selfe: or that the same thing should be common unto heaven, being of one

& the same matter with ise, & so that the prison of the damned may be

thought to have changed places with the heavenly paradise, & all by the

oversight of these Historiographers. Wherefore seeing the matter of this

historical ise is neither elementarie (as we have so often proved by this

place of Frisius) neither spiritual, nor infernal, both which we have

concluded evidently in short, yet sound and substantial reasons: nor yet

celestial matter, which, religion forbiddeth a man once to imagine: it is

altogether manifest, that according to the said historiographers, there is

no such thing at all, which notwithstanding they blaze abroad with such

astonishing admiration, & which we think to be an ordinary matter commonly

seene and felt. Therefore it is, and it is not: which proposition when it

shall fall out true, in the same respect, in the same part, and at the same

time, then will we give credite to these frozen miracles. Now therefore the

Reader may easily judge, that we need none other helpe to refute these

things, but onely to shew how they disagree one with another. But it is no

maruell that he, which hath once enclined himselfe to the fabulous reports

of the common people, should oftentimes fall into error. There was a like

strange thing invented by another concerning the sympathy or conioining of

this ise: namely, that it followeth the departure of that huge lumpe,

whereof it is a part, so narrowly, & so swiftly, that a man by no diligence

can observe it, by reason of the unchangeable necessitie of following. But

we have oftentimes seene such a solitarie lumpe of ise remaining (after the

other parts thereof were driuen away) and lying upon the shore for many
weekes together, without any posts or engines at all to stay it. Therefore
it is plaine that these miracles of ise are grounded vpon a more slippery
foundation then ise it selfe.

SECTIO VNDECIMA.

suo perpetuo ardore omne corpus sibi immissum raptim convertit in saxum,
pestilens, & virulentus.

has suas narrationes omnes miraculosas hauserit Geographus. Id enim dicere
montibus quatuor fontes indiscretae adscribit. Alioqui si non vicinos
statuisset, vni alicui horam duos fontes adscripsisset. Sed neque hi montes
contigui sunt (quippe multis milliaribus inuicem dissiti) neque iuxta hos
fontes illi quatuor reperiuntur: quod, qui credere nolit, experiatur.

contrarietas. Nam de duobas fontibas quidam Frisio his verbis contradicit.
frigiditate, alter feruore intolerabili exedit omnem elementarem vim. Hi
corpora, alteri fontium attributum, omissum sit. Atqui non simul possunt ex
ipso monte, & iuxta montem erumpere.

accepimus aquam esse elementum frigidissimum & humidum, atque adeo
fungidissimum, vt ad constituendas qualitates secundas, remitti sit necesse,

fundo, vera an falsa, nescio). Testis est vnum omnium, & pro omnibus,

igne nihil calidius, nihilque leuius: Sic terra nihil siccius, nihil

grauius: Aquam sinceram, nullius medicamenti vis gelida euincet, vt nec

Physicorum aggregare. Vnum profecto hic cauendum est, ne dum fontium

cuiquam miraculo esse debere existimamus, cum huiusmodi, vt a scriptoribus

ab Alpium radicibus. Nota est fama thermarum Badensium, Gebarsuiliensium,
Calbensium, in ducatu Wirtebergensi, & multarum aliarum quarum meminit
Fuchsius in lib. de arte medendi. Et non solum Germania, sed etiam Gallia,
& longe magis omnium bonorum parens Italia, inquit Cardanus. Et Aristoteles
narrat, circa Epyrum calidas aquas scaturire, vnde locus Pyrophlegeton

sed saporem etiam & virtutes alienas concipere. Docuit hoc Aristoteles

spiritus & ignis: Quidam amnium more fluunt, & vel ignescens ejiciunt

quos multis locis apertos tegit terra, aquam calescere, si subiecti sint

Baiano sed ne fumare in littore thermas

Mirere, aut liquidis fluitare incendia venis:

Vulcani fora sulphureis incensa caminis
Debacchari ignem, camposque exurere opertos.

Inde fluit, calidum referens ex igne vaporem,

Vnda fugax, tectis feruent & balnea flammis.

Hoc loco attingendum duxi quod tradit Saxo Grammaticus, Danorum

natura productos, ne quis hic monstr quippiam imaginetur. Hos autem

siccetur. Refert etiam de fonte quodam satis largo, qui singulis horis

intumeseat & residat. Nec id magis neglidendum: subire terras flumina,

rursusque redire; vt Lycus in Asia, Erasinus in Argolica, Tigris in

fonte Athenis immersa sunt, in Phaletico reddi. Et Seneca scribit esse

interuallum reuerti, recipereque & nomen & cursum priorem. Et iterum

debere, ostendunt.

feruore nempe, seu ardore vehementissimo, & virtute indurandi corpora,

primum suum fontem descript Frisius. Et fama quidem accepi, ipse non sum

Schalholt, apud villam nomine Haukadal. Habet simile Seneca, dicens, fontem

quendam esse, qui ligna in lapides convuertat, hominumque viscera

induresceret, qui aquam eius biberint: Et addit eiusmodi fontes in quibusdam
Flumen habent Cicones, quod potum saxea reddit
Viscera, quod tactis inducit marmora rebus.

falconibus cognominatum, integras cum corpore abietes in lapidem conuersas
esse, atque quod maius est, in rimis etiam Pyritidem lapidem continere. Et
Domitius Brusonius, in Sylare amne, qui radices montis eius, qui est in
agro vrbs Vrsentinorum olim, nunc Contursij lambit, folia & arborum ramos
in lapides transire, non fide aliorum, sed propria, vt qui incola sit
regionis, (cui rei etiam Plinius astipulatur) narrat, cortices aute

infusa, lapidescit. Plinius refert etiam, vt in Ciconom flumine, & in
Piceno lacu velino, lignum deiectum, lapideo cortice obduci.

Secundus algoris intolerabitis. Quantum ad secundum fontem attinet, nullus

frigidissima, &c.

Tertius vel melle dulcior. Neque id prorsus verum est. Non enim est vllus
apud nos, qui vel minima ex parte cum mellis dulcedine conferri possit.
Rectius igitur Saxo, qui fontes (quoniam plures sunt) in Islandia dicit
inueniri Cerealem referentes liquorem, vt etiam ibidem non diuersi saporis

Etsi autem tradunt Physici aquam naturaliter ex se neque saporem neque
odorem habere, tamen, vt superius attigimus, veri simile est, quod alij per
cuius venas transitum atque excursum habet: Atque hinc aquarum odores,
colores, sapores, alios atque alios existere, Cuiusmodi sunt, de quibus
narrat Seneca, quorum alij famem excitant, alij bibentes inebrient, alij

Andro Insula fons, in templo Liberi, qui Nonis Ian: vini sapore fluat. Et

olei instar supernatans: [Sidenote: Lib. 2. de Element.] Cuiusmodi etiam
narrat Cardanus in Saxonia esse, iuxta Brumonis oppidum, fontem oleo
perfusum: Et in Suezia, iuxta Coenobium, cui Tergensche nomen est. Item, in
valle mentis Iurassi. Causam huius rei putat esse bitumen valde pingue,
quod oleum sine dubio contineat. Idem, famam esse ait, in Cardia, iuxta
locum Dascbyli, in campo albo aquam esse lacte dulciorem. Aliam quoque
iuxta pontem, qua Valdeburgum itur. Iam aquarum vini saporem referentium
meminit his verbis Propertius, 3. lib. Elegiar.

En tibi per mediam bene olentia flumina Naxon,
Vnde tuum pota Naxia turba merum.

assignat Cardanus, quod hydromel vetustate transeat in vinum. Aristoteles

Taruisium, & in Thermopylis etiam talem puisse referunt: Nigerrima in
colores, sed tenuiores. Item Aristoteles: circa Iapygium promontorium, esse
fontem, qui sanguinem fundat, addens, eam maris partem suo foetore
in anno colorem mutet, cum sit colore nunc viridi, nunc albo, nunc
sanguineo, nunc lutulento.

perniciem, non solum piscium, sed etiam hominum. Iuxta Metonem in Messania,

Quartus plane exitialis. Autor est Isidoras, esse fontem quendam, cuius
(iuxta Cyllenem montem, ait Cardan. Sola equi vngula continebatur: referunt
ea sublatum Alexandrum magnum) nec odore differens, nec colore, epota
illico necat. Idem, In Beroso Taurorum colle sunt tres fontes sine remedio,

quartum Frisij fontem, cuius etiam Saxo meminit, vt antehac semper, itidem
etiam nobis hodie penitus ignotum testamur: Hocque igitur nomine, Deo
insectis venenatis, ac alijs pestiferis & contagiosis, esse nos immunes
voluerit.

fodinis distant. Quare cum iuxta hos montes fontibus quatuor, quos
tantopere miraculis celebrant, locum & situm faciant, necesse est eos

apud montem Heclam, vt Munsterus, nec apud hos Frisij fontes (quorum rumor
The same in English.

THE ELEVENTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: Frisius.] Not farre from these mountaines (the three forenamed) declining to the sea shoare, there be foure fountaines of a most contrary nature betweene themselues. The first, by reason of his continuall heat converteth into a stone any body cast into it, the former shape only still remaining. The second is extremely cold. The third is sweeter then honey, and most pleasant to quench thirst. The fourth is altogether deadly, pestilent, and full of ranke poison.

Euen this description of fountaines doth sufficiently declare howe impure that fountaine was, out of which the geographer drew all these miraculous stories. For he seemeth to affirme, that the three foresaid mountaines doe almost touch one another: for he ascribeth foure fountaines indifferently vnto them all. Otherwise if he had not made them stand neare together, he would haue placed next vnto some one of these, two of the foresaid fountaines. But neither doe these mountaines touch (being distant so many leagues a sunder), neither are there any such foure fountaines neare vnto them, which, he that wil not beleue, let him go try. But to confute these
things, the very contrariety of writers is sufficient. For another
concerning two fountaines gainsayth Frisius in these words. There do burst
out of the same hill Hecla two fountames, the one whereof, by reason of the
cold streams, the other with intollerable heat exceedeth al the force of
elements. These be Frisius his two first fountaines, sauing that here is
omitted the miracle of hardening bodies, being by him attributed to one of
the said fountaines. But they cannot at one time breake forth, both out of
the mountaine it selfe, and neare vnto the mountaine.

But here I would willingly demannd, by what reason any of the Peripateticks
can affirme, that there is some thing in nature colder then the element of
water, or hotter then the element of fire. From whence (I pray yon, learned
writers) proceedeth this coldnesse: From whence commeth this heate: Haue we
not learned out of your schole that water is an element most colde and
somewhat moist: and in such sort most cold, that for the making of
secundarie qualities, it must of necessitie be remitted, & being simple,
that it cannot be applyed to the vses of mankind: I do here deliuer these
Oracles of the naturall Philosophers, not knowing whether they be true or
false. M. Iohn Fernelius, lib. 2. Phys. cap. 4. may stand for one witnesse
amongst all the rest, & in stead of the all. So excessiue (satth he) be
these foure first qualities in the foure elements, that as nothing is
hotter then pure fire, & nothing lighter: so nothing is drier then earth, &
nothing heauier: and as for pure water, there is no qualitie of any
medicine whatsoeuer exceedeth the coldnes thereof, nor the moisture of
aire. Moreouer, the said qualities be so extreme & surpassing in them, that
they cannot be any whit encreased, but remitted they may be. I wil not
heare heape vp the reasons or arguments of the natural Philosophers. These
writers had need be warie of one thing, lest while they too much magnifie
the miracles of the fountains, they exempt them out of the number of things
created, as wel as they did the ice of the Islanders. We wil prosecute in
order the properties of these fountains set downe by the foresaid writers.

[Sidenote: Many hote Baths in Island.] The first by reason of his
continuall heat. There be very many Baths or hote fountains in Island, but
fewer vehemently hote, which we thinke ought not to make any man wonder,
when as I haue learned out of authors, that Germanie euery where aboundeth
with such hote Baths, especially neere the foot of the Alpes. The hote
Baths of Baden, Gebarsuil, Calben in the dutchy of Wirtenberg and many
other be very famous: all which Fuchsius doeth mention in his booke de Arte
medendi. And not onely Germanie, but also France, & beyond all the rest
Italy that mother of all commodities, saith Cardan. And Aristotle
reporteth, that about Epyrus these hote waters doe much abound, whereupon
the place is called Pyriplegethon. [Sidenote: The causes of hote Baths.]

And I say, these things should therefore be the lesse admired, because the
searchers of nature haue as wel found out causes of the heate in waters, as
of the fire in mountaines: namely, that water runneth within the earth
through certaine veines of Brimstone & Allom and from thence taketh not
onely heat, but taste also & other strange qualities. Aristotle in his
booke de Mundo hath taught this. The earth (saith he) conteineth within it
fountains not only of water, but also of spirite & fire: some of them
flowing like riuers, doe cast forth red hote iron: from whence also doeth
flow, sometimes luke-warme water, sometimes skalding hote, and somtimes

that Baths were made hote by fire, which the earth secretly conteineth in
many places, especially if the said fire bee vnder that ground where the
water passeth. And Pontanus writeth very learnedly concerning the Baian
Baths.

No maruell though from banke of Baian shore
hote Baths, or veines of skalding licour flow:
For Vulcans forge incensed euermore
doeth teach vs plaine, that heart of earth below
And bowels burne, and fire enraged glow.
From hence the flitting flood sends smokie streames,
And Baths doe boil with secret burning glemes.

I thought good in this placel to touch that which Saxo Grammaticus the most
famous historiographer of the Danes reporteth. That certaine fountains of
Island do somtime encrease & flow vp to the brinke: sometimes againe they
fall so lowe that you can skarse discerne them to be fountaines. Which kind
of fountaines, albeit they bee very seldome found with vs, yet I will make
mention of some like vnto them, produced by nature in other countries, lest
any man should think it somwhat strange. Plinie maketh a great recitall of
these. There is one (saieth he) in the Isle of Tenedos, which at the
Solstition of sommer doth alwaies flow from the third houre of the night,
till the sixt. In the field of Pitinas beyond the Apennine mountaine, there
is a riuer which in the midst of sommer alwaies encreaseth, and in winter
is dried vp. He maketh mention also of a very large fountaine, which euery
houre doeth encrease and fall. Neither is it to be omitted, that some
riuers run vnder the ground, and after that fall againe into an open
chanel: as Lycus in Asia, Erasinus in Argolica, Tigris in Mesopotamia, vnto
which Cardan addeth Tanais in Moscouia: and those things which were thrown
Seneca writeth that there are certaine riuers which being let downe into some caue vnnder ground, are withdrawen out of sight, seeming for the time to be utterly perished and taken away, and that after some distance the very same riuers returne, enjoying their former name and their course. And againe Plinie reporteth that there is a riuer receiued vnnder ground in the field of Atinas that issueth out twentie miles from that place. All which examples and the like, should teach vs that the fonutaines of Island are not to be made greater wonders then the rest.

Doth forthwith conuert into a stone any body cast into it. By these two properties, namely warmth or most vehement heat, & a vertue of hardening bodies doth Frisius describe his first fountaine. And I haue heard reported (though I neuer had experience thereof my selfe) that there is such a fountain in Island not far from the bishops seat of Schalholt, in a village called Haukadal. Seneca reporteth of the like, saying: That there is a certain fountain which conuerteth wood into stone, hardening the bowels of those men which drinke thereof. And addeth further, that such fountains are to bee found in certaine places of Italy: which thing Ouid in the 15. booke of his Metamor. ascribeth vnto the riuer of the Cicones.

Water drunke out of Ciconian flood
fleshy bowels to flintie stone doeth change:
Ought else therewith besprinckt, as earth or wood
becommeth marble streight: a thing most strange.

And Cardane. Georgius Agricola affirmeth, that in the territorie of
Elbogan, about the town which is named of Falcons, that the whole bodies of Pine trees are conveted into stone, and which is more wonderfull, that they containe, within certaine rifts, the stone called Pyrites, or the Flint. And Domitius Brusonius reporteth, that in the riuwer of Silar (running by the foote of that mountain which standeth in the field of the citie in old time called Vrsence, but now Contursia) leaues and boughs of trees change into stones, & that, not vpon other mens credite, but vpon his own experience, being borne & brought vp in that country, which thing Plinie also auoucheth, saying, that the said stones doe shew the number of their yeeres, by the number of their Barks, or stony husks. So (if we may giue credite to authors) drops of the Gothes fountain being dispersed abroad, become stones. And in Hungary, the water of Cepusius being poured into pitchers, is conuerted to stone. And Plinie reporteth, that wood being cast into the riuwer of the Cicones, and into the Veline lake in the field of Pice, is enclosed in a barke of stone growing ouer it.

[Sidenote: Riuwers of Island in sommer season lukewarme.] The second is extremely cold. As for the second fountaine, here is none to any mens knowledge so extremely cold: In deed there be very many that bee indifferently coole, insomuch that (our common riuwers in the Sommer time being luke-warme) wee take delight to fetch water from those coole springs. It may be that there are some farre colder in other countries: for Cardane maketh mention of a riuwer (streaming from the top of an hill in the field of Corinth) colder then snow, and within a mile of Culma, the riuwer called Insana seeming to be very hote is most extremely cold, &c.

The third is sweeter than honie. Neither is this altogether true. For there
is not any fountaine with vs, which may in the least respect be compared with the sweetnesse of honie. And therfore Saxo wrote more truly, saying, that certaine fountaines (for there be very many) yeelding taste as good as beere, and also in the same place there are fountains & riuers not onely of diuers tasts, but of diuers colours.

And albeit naturall Philosophers teach, that water naturally of it selfe hath neither taste nor smel, yet it is likely (as we haue touched before, which other call per accidens) that oftentimes it representeth the qualities of that earth wherein it is engendred, and through the veines whereof it hath passage and issue: and from hence proceed the diuers & sundry smels, colours and sauours of all waters. Of such waters doeth Seneca make mention, whereof some prouoke hunger, others make men drunken, some hurt the memory, & some helpe it, & some resemble the very qualitie and taste of wine, as that fountaine which Plinie speaketh of [Sidenote: In lib. de mirab.] in the Isle of Andros, within the temple of Bacchus, which in the Nones of january vsed to flow ouer with wine. And Aristotle reporteth, that in the field of Carthage there is a fountain which yeeldeth oile, & certaine drops smelling like Cedar. Also Orcus a rier of Thessalie flowing into Peneus, swimmeth aloft like oile. Cardane reporteth, that there is in Saxonie, neere vnto the town of Brunswic, a fountaine mixed with oile: and another in Sueuia neere vnto the Abbey called Tergensch. Also in the valley of the mountain Iurassus. He supposeth the cause of this thing to bee very fattie pitch, which cannot but conteine oile in it. The same author saieth: It is reported that in Cardia neere to the place of Daschylus, in the white field, there is water sweeter then milke. Another also neere vnto the bridge which we passe ouer going to the towne of
Valdeburg. Propertius likewise in the third booke of his Elegies mentioneth certaine waters representing the sauour of wine in these words.

Amidst the Isle of Naxus loe, with fragrant smels and fine
A freshet runs; ye Naxians goe fill cups, carouse, there's wine.

Cardane giueth a reason hereof, namely, because Hydromel or water-hony, in long continuance will become wine. Aristotle nameth a fountaine in Sicilia, which the inhabitants vse in stead of vineger. The same author maketh the cause of sauours in water to be heate, because the earth being hote changeth and giueth sauour vnto the water.

Now concerning the colours of water so saieth Cardane. There is the same reason (saith he) of the colours of water, that there is of the sauours thereof, for both haue their originall from the earth. For there is white water within two miles of Glanca a town in Misena: red water in Radera a rier of Misena not farre from Radeburg: & in old time neere vnto loppa in Iudea: greene water in the mountaine of Carpathus by Nensola: skie-coloured or blue water betweene the mountains of Feltrius & Taruisius: & it is reported that there was water of that colour in Thermopylis; cole-blacke water in Alera a rier of Saxonie, at that place where it dischargeth it self into the Weser. The causes of these colours are the colours of the soile. Also Aristotle saieth, that about the promontorie of Iapigia, there is a fountaine which streameth blood: adding moreouer, that Mariners are driuen farre from that place of the sea, by reason of the extreme stench
changing color four times in a year: for sometimes it is green, sometimes
white, sometime bloody, & sometimes muddy coloured.

Concerning the smells of waters, thus writeth Cardane. There is the like
reason of difference in smell. But for the most part the steam of waters
bee unpleasant, because the earth doeth seldom times smell well. The water
of the river Anigris in Aelis stanke, to the destruction, not only of
fishes, but also of men. About Meton in Messania, out of a certain pond
there hath been drawn most sweet smelling, and odoriferous water. I doe
recite all these examples to the end that no man should make a greater
wonder at the colours, smells, and savours of waters that be in Island, then
at those which are in other countreis.

The fourth is altogether deadly. Isidore affirmeth, that there is a
certain fountain whose water being drunk, extinguisheth life. And Plinie
saieth, That about Nonaris in Arcadia, the river of Styx (neere the
mountain of Cillene, saieth Cardane: it would be contained in nothing but
an horse-hoof: and it is reported that Alexander the great was poisoned
therewithal) not differing from other water, neither in smell nor colour,
being drunk, is present death. [Sidenote: The same Author saieth.] In
Berosus an hill of the people called Tauri, there are three fountains,
every one of them deadly without remedy, & yet without griefe. And (which
is the strangest thing of all the rest) Seneca maketh mention of a poole,
into which whosoever looke, do presently die. But, as for this fourth
fountain of Frisius, which Saxo doeth likewise mention, we Islanders, as
always heretofore, so even at this day do testifie, that it is utterly
unknown unto us: [Sidenote: Island free from snakes and other venemous
beasts.] and therefore in this regard, we render vnto God immortall thanks, because he hath vouchsafed to preserue our nation from such fountains, from serpents and venemous wormes, & from al other pestiferous & contagious creatures.

Furthermore about the foresaid mountaines there is such abundance of brimstone. The three mountains called by Munster and Frisius, Ferie mountains, do all of them stand an huge distance from our Mines. Wherefore, when as neere vnto these hils they haue found out a place for foure fountains, which they doe so mightily extoll for wonders, they must needs haue some Brimstone Mines also, standing a like distance from the said fountains. And assuredly, neither about mount Hecla, as Munster would haue it, nor by Frisius his fountaines (the report whereof how true it is, hath bene hitherto declared) is Brimstone digged vp at this day: nor I thinke euer was within the remembrance of our fathers. Neither is it true that Munster reporteth concerning the abundance of Brimstone namely, that it is almost the onely merchandize and tribute of the Iland. [Sidenote: Brimstone Mines onely in the North part of Island.] For whereas the Iland is deuided into foure partes, the fourth part onely towards the North (nay, but even the halfe thereof) doeth vse it for merchandize, and there is not one crumme of Brimstone paied for tribute the Iland.

SECTIO DVODECIMA.

[Sidenote: Munst] Piscium tanta est copia in hac Insula, vt ad altitudinem domorum sub aperto coelo vendedi exponantur.
Sub aperto coelo. Id quidem facere vidimus mercatores extraneos, donec
naues mercibus extraneis exonerarint, incipientque easdem rursus piscibus &
iam desijt, Islandis & istius boni, & aliorum penuria laborare

The same in English.

THE TWELFTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: Munster] There are so great store of fishes in this Iland, that
they are laid foorth on piles to be sold in the open aire, as high as the
tops of houses.

In the open aire. In deed we haue seen other country merchants doe so,
vntill they had vnladen their ships of outlandish wares, & filled them
againe with fishes & with other of our countrey merchandize. But whether
our men haue done the like at any time, it is not manifest. [Sidenote:
Abundance of fish about island diminished.] Certainly, that plentifull and
ancient abundance of fish is now decaied, and the Islanders now begin to be
pinched with the want of these and other good things, the Lord laying the
iust scourge of our impietie vpon vs, which I pray God we may duely
acknowledge.
SECTIO DECIMATERTIA.

[Sidenote: Frisius.] Equos habent velocissimos, qui sine intermissione 30. millaria continuo cursu conficiunt.

celeritatis & roboris bestias (Rangiferos appellant) scribit Munsterus non nisi 30. millaria 24. horarum spacio conficere.

The same in English.

THE THIRTEENTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: Frisius.] They haue most swift horses, which wil run without ceasing a continual course for the space of 30. leagues.

A Certaine Cosmographer in his Map of Island reporteth concerning the horses of one parish, that they will run 20. leagues at once in a continued race. But we account both to bee impossible. For Munster writeth that those beasts which excell all other in swiftnesse & strength of body, called Rangiferi [Marginal note: Raine deere], cannot run aboue 36. leagues in 24. houres.

SECTIO DECIMAQUARTA.
Cete grandia instar montium prope Islandium aliquando
missis in mare rotundis & vacuis vasis, quorum lusu delectantur,
lingua Trollwal, Tuffelwalen. i. Diabolica cete.

Quorum tropicas hyperboles assumet? Quid conabitur persuadere, aut quo pertrahere Lectorem, siquidem nihil nisi simplicem rerum expositionem sibi proponit?

Non itidem Historicis.

mendacio quodam, vt antiquo, ita ridiculo et vano, cuius ego fidelitatem non emam. Est autem tale: Missos fuisse olim Legatos cum sodalitio monastico, ab Episcopo Bremensi (Brandanus veteribus Noruagis,
vbi immensum iter Septentrionem versus nauigando consumpsissent ad insulam quandam peruenisse: ibique iacta anchora descensum in Insulam fecisse,
focos accendisse: (Nam verisimile est nautas in ipso mari glaciali frigore non parum esse vexatos) et commeatum naualem ad reliquum iter expeduiisse. Ast vbi bene ignibus accensis incaluerant foci, Insulam hanc submersam cito
tandem est animi nautis, qui in mari procelloso videntes scopulum, vel, vt
Munsterus, Insulam perexiguam emergere, non vitent potius omni studio,
tentent? Sed vbi anchora figenda? Solent enim, vt plurimum deesse nautis
dorsis cetorum, respondet Munsterus. Oportet igitur, vestigium vnci prius

nauclerus transfretaret. Equidem hoc loco, vt et superius, de miraculis

supplementum studet: Vbi tamen nihil nisi ctnmentitia tantum venari
potest.

Vocantur autem lingua eorum Trollwal. Ne ultra peram, Munstere: Nullam
virum, rem ignotam alios velle docere: Est enim eiusmodi incoeptum
erroribus obnoxium complurimis, vt vel hoc tuo exemplo docebimus. Dum enim
deligo: vnde val, &c. At balena Hualur nobis vocatur: Vnde tu Trollhualur

Gigantes quosdam montanos significat. Vides igitur, quomodo in toto
vocabulo turpiter, quod haud tamen mirum, erres. Leuis quidem illa in
non noras.
1585. In Academia Haffniensi vixerunt, quomodo singula legi ac scribi

voluntaria deprauatione, (qua factum est, vt ipsi ea legentes, paucissima

elegantiam retinentem, non leuiter peccasse reputamus.

attigerunt, sicvtcunque examinauimus. Sed tamen priusquam alio diuertamur,

nigras, albo inficiat. Quod quidem vbi acceperit, aut vnde habeat, scire

equidem non possimus: Nec enim apud nostrates, nec apud extraneos
scriptores, reperire licuit. Sed vndecunque est, fabula est, nec veritatis
micam habet. Quamuis autem sit incredibile, Lanas nigras albo infici
colore, cum traditum sit a Plinio, Lanarum nigras nullum imbibere colorem:

oues nigras, albas reddat. Et illa, cuius etiam superious memini, rapsodia

in lingua peregrina, pro R, S, legenti.

Non maiorem fidem meretur, quod Historicus quidam habet. Esse in Islandia

natiuaque motione peruolitet: Id qui credere volet, quid incredibile ducet?
Est enim commentum tam inauditum, vt nullum eius simile, fabulatos fuisse

sentit Historicus rupes quasdam circuisse, vel circumreptasse. Quod, etsi
ridiculum est in Historiam miraculosam referre, hominem scilicet moueri vel
ambulare, tamen ad saluandam Historici fidem, simulandum: ne figmentum
illud, per se satis absurdum, nec dignum quod legatur, durius
perstringamus.
coruos albos, nunquam Islandia habuit.

sunt, (quod etiam prius testatus sum,) vt scriptorum de terra ignota
errores, et quorundam etiam affectata vanitas, patefierent: Neque enim
valde exiguum mereri, necesse habui ostendere: ac ita mihi viam ad
sequentia de Incolis sternere.

The same in English.

THE FOURTEENTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: Munster] There be seen sometimes neere vnto Island huge Whales
like vnto mountains, which ouerturne ships, vnlesse they be terrified
away with the sound of trumpets, or beguiled with round and emptie
vessels, which they delight to tosse vp and downe. It sometimes falleth
out that Mariners thinking these Whales to be Ilands, and casting out
ankers vpon their backs, are often in danger of drowning. They are called
in their tongue Trollwal Tuffelwalen, that is to say, the deuilish Whale.
Like vnto mountains. Loe here once againe (gentle Reader) Munsters falsifying ecoho, and (as the prouerbe saieth) his blind dreame. Such a false and sencelesse ouer reaching doeth exceedingly disgrace an historie, and that by so much the more, by how much the lesse necessary it is. For to what purpose should an Historiographer make leasings, if history be a report of plaine trueth? Why should he vse such strange surmountings? What is it that he would perswade, or whither would he rauish the reader, if he propoundeth vnto himselfe nothing but the simple declaration of things:

Poets and Painters had leaue of old,  
To feigne, to blaze, in all things to be bold.  
But not Historiographers.

The backs of Whales which they thinke to be Ilands. This fable, like all the rest, was bred of an old, ridiculous and vaine tale, the credite and trueth whereof is not woorth a strawe. [Sidenote: Certain letters sent by Brandan bishop of Breme, to preach Christian faith in the North.] And it is this that foloweth, namely, that the bishop of Breme (called by the ancient Norwaies Brandan, and by Krantzius, if I be not deceiued, Alebrandus) in old time sent certanie Legates with a Couen of Friers to preach and publish in the North the popish faith, which was then thought to bee Christian, and when they had spent a long iourney in sailing towards the North, they came vnto an Iland, and there casting their anker they went a shore, and kindled fiers (for it is very likely that the Mariners were not a little vexed with the nipping cold which they felt at sea) and so prouided victuals for the
rest of their iourny. But when their fires grew very hote, this lland sanke, and suddenly vanished away, and the Mariners escaped drowning very narowly with the boate that was present. This is the foundation of the matter, but how incredible it is, I appeale to the Reader. But what ailed these Mariners, or what meant they to doe, who in a tempestuous sea, seeing a rocke before their eyes, or (as Munster saieth) a little lland, would not rather with all diligence haue avoided it for feare of running a shore and shipwracke, then to rest in such a dangerous harbour? But in what ground should the anker be fastened? for Mariners for the most part are destitute of such long cables, whereby they may let downe an anker to the bottom of the maine sea, therfore vpon the backs of Whales, saith Munster. But then they had need first to bore a hole for the flouke to take hold in. O silly Mariners that in diggng can not discern Whales flesh from lumps of earth, nor know the slippery skin of a Whale from the vpper part of the ground: with out doubt they are woorthy to haue Munster for a Pilot. Verily in this place (as likewise before treating of the land-miracles of Island) he gathereth fruits as they say, out of Tantalus his garden, and foloweth hard after those things which will neuer and no where be found, while he endeououreth to proule here and there for miracles, perusing sea and land to stuffe vp his history where notwithstanding he cannot hunt out ought but feigned things.

But they are called in their language Trollwal. Go not farther then your skil, Munster, for I take it you cannot skill of our tongue: and therefore it may be a shame for a learned man to teach others that which he knoweth not himselfe: for such an attempt is subiect to manifold errours, as we will shew by this your example. For while you take in hand to schoole
others, & to teach them by what name a Whale-fish is to be called in our
tongue, leaving out through ignorance the letter H, which almost alone
maketh up the signification of the word, you deliver that which is not
ture: for val in our language signifieth not a Whale, but chusing or choise
of the verbe Eg vel, that is to say, I chuse, or I make choise, from whence
val is derived, &c. But a Whale is called Hualur with vs, & therefore you
ought to have written Trollhualur. Neither doeth Troll signifie the deuill,
as you interprete it, but certaine Giants that liue in mountaines. You see
therefore (and no maruel) how you erre in the whole word. It is no great
injurie to our language being in one word onely: because (doubtlesse) you
knew not more then one.

Others also do offend in the same fault, for it is not to be allowed that a
certaine man being about to publish a Map of Island received from Islanders
themselves, had rather marre the fashion of all, or in very deed of the
most names of Capes, Baies, mountaines, springs, riuers, homocks, valleis,
hils & townes (because that being ignorant of our language, he was not able
to read those things aright, which he receiued from our countreymen) he had
rather (I say) depraue & corrupt them all, then learne of the Islanders
themselves, which at that time, namely in the yeere 1585, liued in the
vniuersitie of Hafnia, or Copen Hagen, how euery thing ought to be read and
written. And we esteeme him for this his wilfull marring of our native
names and words, (where vpon it came to passe that we reading the same,
could acknowledge very few to be oure owne) that he is no slight offender
against our tongue, otherwise retaining the pure and the ancient propertie.

But now we haue after some sort examined most of the myracles of Island,
which our writers haue mentioned. Notwithstanding before we enter into any
further matter, we thinke it good in this section to touch that which the
last forenamed man (in this Map of Island, that he caused to be put forth
in the foresaid yeere vnder his own name) hath giuen out concerning two
other fountains besides the former: whereof the one should die white wooll
black, & the other blacque wooll white. [Sidenote: Who be the Islandish
writers?] Which thing where he receiued it, or whence he had it, we can by
nomeans imagine: for it is not to be found in our own writers, nor in the
writers of other countries. But whence soeuer it be, it is but a tale, &
hath not one iote of trueth in it. And although it be incredible That black
wooll may be died of a white colour, seeing it is affirmed by Plinie, that
blacque wooll (of all other) will receiue no colour: notwithstanding there
is some such thing reported by Theophrastus: namely, that there is a rier
in Macedonia which maketh blacke sheepe white. [Sidenote: Speculum regale.]
Also that Norway pamphlet called the Roiall looking-glasse, which I
mentioned before, doth attribute these fountains to Ireland, which is also
called Hybernia, and not to Island. Which peraduenture deceiued the Reader,
reading in a strange language S in stead of R.

That likewise deserueth no better credite which another Author writeth:
That there is a certaine great stone in Island which runneth vp and downe
the crags and clifs of mountaines by no outward force, but by the owne
proper and natural motion. Hee that will beleeeue this, what will he not
beleeeue? For it is such a rare deuise that the Epicures themselues (who yet
seemed to Lucian to haue fained many incredible things) I am sure neuer
inuented the like: vnlesse perhaps the sayd Author doeth imagine (that a
man who is called of the Islanders by the proper name of Stein) should
compass about, and clime vp certaine rockes: which although it be
ridiculous to put into a story of wonders, namely, that a man should mooe
or walke, yet is it so to bee supposed to saue the credite of the Author,
that we may not more seuerely condemne that fable, which is so sencelesse
of it selfe and not woorthy to be read.

[Sidenote: Vultures, beares and crows come vpon the drift Ice into Island.]
They are gulltie of the same crime also who haue found out rauens, pies
[Footnote: Magpies.], hares and vultures, all white in Island for it is wel
known that vultures come very seldome together with the Ise of the sea,
vnto vs, as beares also (but they seldomer then vultures) and a certaine
kind of crowes called by the Islanders Isakrakur. But as for white pies,
hares, and rauens Island neuer had any. [Footnote: All modern writers,
however, ascribe white hares to Iceland.]

And these in a maner be the things which, in regard of our daily busines,
we were able at this present to affoord, as touching the former part of our
treatise, which were penned by me for this purpos (as in the beginning I
did protest) that the errors of Authors concerning an vnknowen land, and
the affected vanitie also of some men might be disclosed, for I am not
desirous to diminish any mans good name: but because I consecrated these my
labours to trueth and to my countrey, I could not chuse but shew, that
those things which hitherto haue bene reported by many concerning our
Island deserue very little credite: and so to addresse my selfe vnto the
matters folowing concerning the Inhabitants.
Here endeth the first part of the Commentarie.

sumom, non satis teneo. Tanta enim sunt in nos ultimos Islandos, et tot quorundam ludibia, tot opprobria, tot scommata, tot dicteria, (Atque inter Krantzius, Munsterus, Frisius, et alij, nimis audacter multa de gente nostra scripserint: Tamen suis monumentis de studijs liberalibus alioqui est, eos res quasdam tam absurdas, impossibiles et ridiculas proposuisse, mendaciorum horrendas, cuiusmodi iam sequentur aliquot, in historias retulisse. Ast aliji, quicunque; sunt, qui quotidians conuicijs nationem Islandorum incessunt, responsio, quam merentur, parata esse debet: Ex contumeliam, Germanica lingua editis, nomen suum immortali dedecori consecravit.

Quapropter, vt instituti nostri ratio exigat, dum scriptorum de hac re
annotabimus: tum si quid veri interea attulerint, id nequaquam


The same in English.

Of Island the second part, concerning the Inhabitants.

Hauing hitherto finished the miracles of Island with certaine other particulars belonging to the first part, the which while writers doe wonder at and diversly extoll as it were the fountains of Agamemnon, yea, as things besides and against all nature, they haue bene very carelesse both of trueth it selfe, & of their owne credite. Now the course of the present speach doeth admonish mee to make haste vnto the other part of the treatise concerning the Inhabitants wherein what I should first say, or where I should begin, I am altogether ignorant. For there be such monstrous, and so many mocks, reproches, skoffes, and taunts of certaine men against vs poore Islanders dwelling in the utmost parts & the world (and amongst these also, some things of theirs who take vpon them to professe most simple trueth, namely Historiographers) insomuch, that to reckon vp the particulars were nothing els but to tell the drops of the Icarian sea. But as I said in the beginning, we will not deale alike seuerely with all. For although Krantzius, Munsterus, Frisis & others haue written many things too boldly
of our nation yet having otherwise deserved well of learning by their
monuments, they shall be still in the same reputation with us that they are
worthy of. Howbeit in the mean time, although a man would free them from
the mark of slanderers, yet is it no small matter that they should broach
certain senseless, impossible & ridiculous things, such as those are
which we have hitherto laid down as also that they should record in
histories profane and horrible untruths, some of which kind shall now
immediately be discussed. As for others, whatsoever they be, who vnblame
the nation of Islanders with daily reproaches, they are to have that answer in
a readiness which such men deserve. In the number of whom, that scoffer
is to be accounted, who by a company of rimes published in the German tongue, to the disgrace of our countrey, hath brought his name into
everlasting ignominie.

Wherefore as our present businesse requireth, while we are in hand with the
writings of Authors concerning this matter, although we meet with some
things containing little reproch, notwithstanding we will examine most of
them, noting the errors as hitherto we have done in the mean time also
when they shall allege any truth, we will in no case dissemble it. And
after this manner, first we will heare Munster, Krantzius and Frisius, and
others also, if there be any more, what they have to say, rejecting that
Paro and his Dutch rimes infected with fell slander, as he is worthy unto
the last place. First therefore the sayd Authors write concerning the faith
or religion of the Islanders and secondly, of their Maners, Customes, and
course of life in manner following.

SECTIO PRIMA.
Adalbertius Metropolitanus Hamburgensis, Anno Christi
1070. Vidit ad Christum conuersos Islandos: licet
ante susceptam Christi fidem, lege Naturali vuuentes,

illis, ordinavit quendam virum sanctum, primum
Episcopum, nomine Isleif.

dignatatem Islandis videntur adscribere: Facerentque et se, et veritate
dignum, nisi eandem alias nobis adimerent. Nam (vt de Krantzio infra)
captum excedere: Non enim reperitur de hac re quicquam in literis sacrarum,
adeoque damnatis omnibus animabus destinati, determinatur, aut
circumscribatur: Nullam inquam, infra terram, seu in ea, aut vlla alia
huius mundi parte, corporalem seu localem situm illi damnatorum carceri
pagina sacra assignat: quinimo, terram hanc interituram, et terram nouam et
coeles nouos, iustorum et sanctorum habitacula, creanda affirmat: Apoc. 2.
sacras testimonijs stabilita, velut certa et vera recipere, aut alia

Deinde etiam pugnat acriter cum Religione Christiana, quo Munsterus &
Krantzius Islandos ornant, encomium: Eos videlicet, catulos ac pueros suos

Munst. dum quos Christianos assent, inferni architectos alias facit: Item,
Krantzius et Munsterus, dum quos fide Christo insertos affirmant, eosdem

Habuit etiam nostra patria inter multos alios quendam insignem pietate humanarum experientia, circumspecta animi prudentia, sagacitate et consilio, habebatur insignis. Cum enim, eius seculo, indomitis Islandia nullis se factionibus immiscuit: Plurimas cauta animi virtute ac industria
composuit. Nunquam vim fecit, nec passus est, si vltimum tantum in vita

fortunarum penculo deflexit. Tam certum ab eo oraculum petebatur, vt valde
mirandum sit, vnde homini tanta futurorum eventuum, et tam certa coniectura
et consilium esse potuerit, quanta in ipso deprehensa est. Vnde ipsius
cauta, prouidens et consilij plena sapientia, apud nostrates in prouerbium
abijt: Nials biita raden: quasi dicas, Niali consilium; vel, Niali consilio
gestum est.

tamen inscio, patratam cingeretur, et inimicis domum vndique igni

Christo sitam habeo, nos (de se et vxore loquens) licet corpus hoc nostrum

solatium arguens.

initio Christianismi (vt sic loquar) apud nos recepti, non fuisset tam

collegas, et pios successores, salutis doctrinam illustriorem reddidit,

digito, hoc est, spiritu Sancto, (Matth. 12. vers. 28.) cordis nostri
auriculas vellicauit, ac oculos, quibus saluificam ipsius veritatem
cerneremus, nobis aperuit: Nos omnes et singuli credimus et confitemur Deum
omnipotentem (Gene. 17. 1. Apocal. 1. 8.) Vnum essentia et natura: Vnum prouidentia: vnum efficentia rerum et administratione (Deut 6. 5. Ephes. 4. 5.) At personis diuinitatis, proprietatisque distinctum, Patrem, Filium et spiritum Sanctum (Matth. 28. 19. & 3. 17.) Deum Patrem quidem, primam 1. & sequent.) Sustentatorem et gubernatorem (Psal. 115. 3. Heb. 1. 3.) Patrem Domini nostri Iesu Christi (Psal. 2. 7. & sequent:) et nostrum per Iesum Christum, secundam diuinatatis personam, filium Dei patris (Iohan. 1. 13. Iohan. 1. 1.) Deum verum (Iohan. 1. 2. &c.) ante omnia creata promissum Messiam (Gen. 3. 15.) Sanctis Patriarchis identidem promulgatum, promissionibus confirmatum (Genes. 49. 9. Esa. 11. 1. 10.) Sacrificij Prophetarum testimonio proclamatum (Esa 7. 14. &c.) ac tandem in Galat. 4.) mortuum pro peccatis nostris: resuscitatum propter iustificationem nostri (Rom. 4. 25. &c.) Ascendentem in coelum (Act. 1. 9. &c.) ac pro nobis ad dexteram patris sine intermissione interpellantem (1. Iohan, 2. 1. &c.) per spiritum Sanctum suum qui tertia est diuinatatis persona patri et filio compar et consubstantialis. (Actor. 5. 4.) Ecclesiam sibi verbo et Sacramentis colligentem (Matth. 16. 18. Roman. 10. 14. &c) Et redemptorem (Mat 1. 21.) Caput (1. Corinth. 12. 27.) et Dominum nostrum (Ephes. 4. 5.) agnoscimus: Nosque illi nomen in sacro baptismo dare ac dedisse (Actor. 2. 38.) Et per baptismum illi insertos esse (1. Cor. 12.
alius, quicunque aliud nomen sub coelo datum esse hominibus, per quod salui

12.) Verbum ipsius sanctissimum unicum salutis normam statuimus, illudque

Ezech. 20.) Quod duplicis Testamenti, veteris et noui appellatione complectur. (Hebr. 8.) traditum per Prophetas et Apostolos (Ephes. 2.
20.) singulari et immensa Dei bonitate in hunc usque diem semper in
Ecclesia conservatum et conservandum in posterum. (Matth. 28. vlt. Psalm.
7. 18. 1. Cor. 11. 26.)

ultimas mundi partes habitantes, lumen hoc suum, concessum, ad revelationem
gentium, et paratum ante faciem omnium populum, olim pio Simeoni benign

totam nostram gentem radiis suis salutificis illuminat ac fouet, pertingere

et nostra religio, quaro monstrante Spiritu Sancto, et ipsius in vinea

[Sidenote: Krantzius.] Anno Domini 1070. vidit ad Christum conversos

Islandos.

Dubium nobis est, utrum his verbis dicere voluerit Krantzius, Islandos

affirmet, tamen fidem ipsius hoc loco suspectam reddunt annales et

rerum historia peregrino, sit penes tuum, candide Lector, arbitrium. Ego
profecto multis adducor vt nostris potius assentiar. Nostrates emm nota tantum et fere domestica asserunt: ille peregrina et ignota. Hi suas Chronologias sine aliarum omnium nationum labe, macula et sugillatione

Islandia ad Christum conuersa, et de Episcoporum in nostris Ecclesijs sunt ad nostrarum rerum veritatem, aduersus Krantzium et alios asserendam: Sic igitur habent.

[Sidenote: 874. Islandia primum inhabituta.] Anno Christi 874. prius orientalis Ingulffs hoffdi appellatitionem traxit) occupata est Islandia.

occupauerint et incoluerint, et quomodo primi inhabitatores, fretis, sinibus, portubus, Isthmis, porthmis, promontorij, rupibus, scopulis, montibus, collibus, vallibus, tesquis, fontibus, fluminibus, ruius, ac

[Sidenote: Fredericus Saxo.] Commemorantur autem duo Episcopi extranei, qui cum aliis, in conuertenda ad fidem Christi insula, diligenter laborarint: Prior Fridericus, Saxo natione, qui anno 981. ad Islandos venit, atque
Hinc post 26, annorum disceptationem de
religione, tandem Anno 1000. in conuentu generali omnium incolarum decreatum
est, uiiuersali eorum consensu, vt Ethnicorum numinum cultu seposito,
religionem secentur Christianam.

Rursus in solenni incolarum conuentu Anno 1050. sanctum est, vt leges
Vflliotus, Anno 926. Islandis communicat) vbique cederent iuri Canonico
seu diuino.

ordinandus.

Redit ordinatus in Islandiam, et Cathedram Schalholtensem adit Anno 1057.

tam minuta erunt, quin contra Krantzij et aliorum errores conuincendos,
Chronologiarum, constat Saxonem Grammaticum non parum illis tribuisse:
enim Islandos appellat) industria silentio oblitteranda: qui cum ob natiuam
conferre soleant, inopiam ingenio pensant. Cunctarum quippe nationum res
Hamburg in the yeere of Christ 1070. saw the Islanders concerted Christianitie: albeit, before the receiuing of Christian faith, they liued according to the lawe of nature, and did not much differ from our lawe: therefore at their humble request, he appointed a certaine holy man named Islief to be their first Bishop.

Krantzios in these words, and Munster other where, doe seeme to attribute vnto the Islanders the prerogatiue of Christian faith and they should deale both beseeming themselues and the trueth, if they did not in other places deprivie vs of the same. For (to speake of Krantzras anone) that which Munster before reported concerning our faith or opinion about the place and situation of hell, is very farre from Christian pietie: namely to be desirous to prie into those secrets which God hath kept close vnto himselfe alone, and which his pleasure is, should exceed our capacitie: for there is not any thing found in the holy Scriptures of this matter, where the place
and situation of hell, or of eternall fire prepared for the deuill and his
angels, and so for all damned soules, is bounded or compassed about. The
holy Bible (I say) assigneth no locall or bodily situation beneath the
earth, or vpon the earth, or in any other place of this world, to that
prison of the damned: but it affirmeth that this earth shall perish, and
that a new earth, and new heauens shall be created for the habitation of
wherefore a Christian man willingly giueth ouer to search into such hidden
secrets and he accounteth it vnlawful to receiue or deliuer vnto others,
opinions (grounded vpon no plaine and manifest places of Scripture) for
certainties and trueths, Deut. 4. and 12. Esay 8. Matth. 27. 2. Tim 3.

Further also that commendation wherewith Munster and Krantzius doe grace
the Islanders, is meerly contrary to Christian religion: namely that they
make al one reckoning of their whelps and of their children. But more of
this matter anone in the 7. section. So therefore Munster disagreeeth with
himselfe, whereas those whom he affirmeth to be Christians, afterward, he
maketh to be master builders of hell. Also Krantzius and Munster both
together, when as those whom they affirme to be engraffed by faith into
Christ, they except from all sense of piety and honesty, in that they write
that their sonnes are not dearer vnto them then their whelpes.

But to returne to the matter: In very deed we haue no great thing to say
concerning our religion, what, or of what sort it was when Gentilisme was
first put to flight. No more (I thinke) haue other Northern nations neere
vnto vs to say concerning the beginning of their faith. For (alas) we must
needs confesse and bewaile with deepe sighes, that vntil that day which
shined vnsto vs like the beginning of immortalitie, and brought vnsto vs the
pure doctrine of the gospel, our countrymen, as likewise other churches of
the North, were ouerspread with more then Cimmerian darkenesse. But we may
iustly and religiously thinke thus muche, that among vs and our neighbours
of Norway (for I will not range out of my bounds, nor affirme any thing of
vnknown people) after heathenish idolatry was rooted out, Christian faith
and religion did florish far more sincere, and simple, as being lesse
infected with the poison of poperie, at that time, then afterward, when as
the pestiferous leauen of the see of Rome being augmented, and the
contagious mischiefe growing ripe, the poison thereof was dispersed through
the whole world: for, as it shal afterward appeare, Island embraced Christ
many yeeres before the new idolatry of the papists began to preuaile, and
did sound foorth nothing but faith in God the Father, the Sonne and the
holy Ghost, like vnsto those two most renouned kings of Norway, who as they
had one common name, so had they one common care and profession to advance
the gospel of Christ. [Sidenote: The first christian king of Norway] I
meane Olaus the sonne of Thryggo, who was borne in the yere of Christ 968.
attaining to the kingdom of Norway in the 27. yeere of his age, and was the
first, as we haue heard, that offred Chnst vnsto the Norwegians, ouer whom
hee reigned fiue yeeres and another of that name called Olaus Sanctus the
sonne of Harald, who in the yeere of Christ 1013. or there about, gourned
with more seueritie, and for the space of 17. yeeres did boldly deliuer the
doctrine of Christ. In the yere of Chnst 1030. being vniustlie slaine by
wicked murtherers, he shed his blood for the name of Christ in a town of
Norway called Sticfla Stodum.

[Sidenote: Nialus the first knowne professour of Christian faith in
Island. Our country also had, among many other, one man of excellent piety whose name was Nialus, who about the year of Christ 1000. lived in the village of Berthorshuol situate in the parish of Island called Landehum: who also for his experience in humane affairs, for his great wisedome and sage counsell was accompted famous. For whereas in his time Island was turmoiled with many fierce mutinies, the inhabitants being in subjection to no superior magistrate, he intermedled not in any quarels, sauing that by his discreet vertue and diligence he set through and brought to composition a great number: hee never did nor suffered violence, but onely upon the last day of his life. So carefully auoyded he al seditions and strifes: and gaue good assistance to others, who were desirous also to auoyd and escape them: neither did any man euer put in practise his counsel, but it turned to his especiall good: nor euer any did swerue therefrom, but with the danger of his life and possessions. The wordes or rather the oracles that came from him were so certaine, that it was wonderful from whence any man should haue so great and so sure forecast and counsell of things to come, as was found to be in him. Whereupon his discreet and prouident wisedome, joyned with counsell became a prouerbe amongst vs, "Nialys byta raden:" That is to say, the counsel of Nialus or, the thing is done, or succeedeth by Nialus his counsell: when any business was atchieued prudently, and with admirable discretion. This man, when, for a slaughter committed by his sonne without his knowledge, he was in his owne house beset with a 100. men, who had conspired his death, and when his enemies began on all sides to set his house on fire, seeing his ende approach, at length he brake into these words. "Doubtlesse these things happen by fate, that is, by the will of God. Howbeit, I put my hope and confidence in Christ, that we (meaning his wife and himselle) although this our fraile body shal vndergoe the corruption of death, in the fire of our
enemies, yet, that it shalbe deliuered from eternal flames." And so in the midst of these voyces, and in the fury of the flames, he with his wife and the manslayer his sonne, in the yere of Christ 1010. ended his life. A voyce undoubtedly full well beseeming the sonnes of God, arguing the notable comfort of his soule amidst the very pangs of death.

I therefore added those things to shew by what reason I was moued to thinke that in the very beginning of Christianitie receiued amongst vs, mens minds were not so beguiled and ouerwhelmed in the darkenes of errors, as of late, a little before these our times they haue bene.

[Sidenote: A summe of the Islanders Religion.] But after the Lord God by Luther, and Luthers fellow-labourers in the vineyard of the Lord, and by godly successours, did make the doctrine of saluation more manifest, and shaking off the heauie slothe, and thicke miste of our minds by the finger of his right hand, that is by his holy spirit (Matth. 12. v. 28.) did pluckle the eares of our hearts, and opened our eyes that we might behold his sauing health: We all, and euery of vs do belieue and confesse that God is a spirit (Iohn 4. v. 24.) eternal (Esay. 40. v. 28.) infinite (lere. 23. v. 24. Psalm 139. v. 7. 8. 9.) most good (Matth. 19. v. 17.) almighty (Gen. 17. 1. Reuel. 1. 8.) one in being, and nature: one in prouidence, one in the making and gouerning of all things (Deut. 6. 5. Ephe. 4. 5.) But distinguished by the persons of the Godhead and their properties, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost (Matth. 28. 19. and 3. 17.) God the Father the first person of the Godhead creator of heauen and earth, and all other things (Gen. 1. v. 1. and in those that folow) the vpholder and gouernor of all (Psa. 115. 3. Heb. 1. 3.) Father of our Lord Iesus Christ
(Psal. 2, 7. and verses following) and our Father through him (Rom. 8. 15.) keeper of our souls and bodies (Luke 12. 12.). And that Jesus Christ the second person of the Godhead is the son of God the Father (John 1. 18. &c.) only begotten (John 1. 29. Hebrew 1. 2.) equal to his Father (1. Chronicles 17. 13.) true God (John 1. 2. &c.) foreappointed before the creation of all things (1. Peter 1. 20, Revelation 13. 8. &c.) and presently after man fell promised to be the Messiah (Genesis 3. 15. &c.) published eftsoones unto the holy Patriarchs, as unto Abraham (Genesis 12. 3. &c.) Isaac (Genesis 26. 4.) and confirmed by promises (Genesis 49. 9. Isaiah 11. 1, 10.) prefigured by the sacrifices of Moses (Leviticus 1. 2. &c.) and by other types, as namely by the offering of Isaac (Genesis 22.) by the lifting up of the brazen serpent (Numbers 21.) by Jonas (Jonah 2. &c.) proclaimed by the testimony of the Prophets (Isaiah 7. 14.) and at length in the fulness of time truly exhibited: true man (John 1. 14. &c. Galatians 4.) that he died for our sins, and was raised again for our justification (Romans 4. 25. &c.) Ascending into heaven (Acts 1. 9. &c.) and making intercession for us at the right hand of his Father without ceasing (1. John 2. 1. &c.) by his holy Spirit (which is the third person of the Godhead, coequal, and consubstantial to the Father and the Son, Acts. 5. 4.) gathering the Church to himselfe by the word, and Sacraments (Matthew 16. 18. Romans 10. 14. &c.) and sanctifying it to eternal life, (Acts. 9. 31. &c.) And that one day at the end of the world he will come from heaven (Acts 1. 11.) to judge the quick and the dead (1. Thessalonians 4. 15.) that he will render unto the wicked according to their works, and that he will judge men to eternal pains (Matthew 13. 42. and 25. 4.) but that he will reward them, with eternal life, who believe in his Name (Matthew 25. 34.) This Jesus Christ (I say) we acknowledge to be our Redeemer (Matthew 1. 21.) our head (1. Corinthians 12. 27.) and our Lord (Ephesians 4. 5.) And that we
in our holy baptisme do giue, and haue giuen our names vnto him (Acts. 2. 38.) and that wee are engraffed into him by baptisme (1. Corin. 12. 13.)

And this we do plainly, ingenuously, freely, and willingly confesse and witnesse: And as for all others who inuent any other name in heauen giuen vnto men by which they may be saued, we doe earnestly detest, cursse, and condemn them (Acts. 4. 12.) We holde his most holy Word to be the onely rule of our saluation: and that alone (al mans deuises being cast away and contemned) we propound vnto our selues as an infallible rule, and leuel of our faith (Galat. 1. 8. Esai 29. 13. Ezech. 20.) which we conteine vnder the name of the olde and newe Testament (Hebr. 8.) deliuered by the Prophets and Apostles (Ephe 2. 20) by the singular and infinite goodnesse of God, presented euer vnto this day and to be preserued here after alwayes in the Church (Matth 28. last verse. Psal 71. 18. 1 Cor 11. 26.)

Therefore we render thankes vnto our most gratious and Almighty God from our soule, and from our whole heart, because that euen vnto vs being separatved an huge distance from the rest of the body of his Church, and inhabiting the farthest parts of the world, hee would that this light graunted for the revelation of the Gentiles, and prepared before the face of all people, and in olde time fauourably shewed to holy Simeon (for in Christ are all the treasures of wisedome hidden) which now doeth enlighten and cherish with the sauing beames thereof our whole nation, that hee would (I say) this light should come vnto vs. This in briefe (running ouer the very summe) is our faith, and our Religion, which by the direction of the holy Spirt and of his Ministers in the vineyard of Christ, we haue drawen
[Sidenote: Kranzius] In the yeere of our Lord 1070. saw the Ilanders converted vnto Christ, &c.

It is doubtful vnto vs whether in these words Kranzius would haue said, that the Islanders were first converted vnto Christ in the yeere of our Lord 1070. or whether he doth not deny that they were indeed before converted, but saith that it was knowne first vnto Adalbert that yeere.

[Sidenote: The most ancient Chronicles of Island.] But whethersoeuer of these he affirmeth: notwithstanding the yeerely records, and most auncient Chronicles of our nation testifying the contrary do make his credite to be suspected in this place, vnto which records and Chronicles, whether you had rather giue assent concerning our owne proper and domesbcal affaires, done within the bounds of our Island, or to Krantzaus or any other being ignorant in the story of our countrey, I appeale (friendly reader) vnto your owne discretion. For my part I am enforced by many reasons to agree rather vnto our owne writers. For our countreymen affirme those things onely that be knownen, and in a maner domesticall he writeth matters forreine and vnknownen they haue compiled their histories without the diffaming, disgracing or reprehending of any other nations, onely that they might assigne vnto their owne acts and exploits the true time or age thereof: he hath intermedled in his historie certaine things contrary to the trueth, and that to the vpbraiding of our nation being most vnknownen vnto him, as it shall immediatly appeare: they describe the names, yeres, order, succession of all the Bishops of Island: he mentioneth onely one, and that farre otherwise then the trueth. Furthermore that I may make good the credite of our Countreymen, I wil impart with strangers a fewe things which I found in our most ancient records of the conversion of Island vnto
Christ, and of the succession of Bishops in our Churches. Which although they be of little moment, and not altogether worthy to be written, yet must they of necessitie bee set downe for the defence of the trueth of our affaires against Krantzius and others: thus therefore standeth the certaintie thereof.

[Sidenote: Island first inhabited.] In the yeere of Christ 874. Island (being indeed discouered before that time, as is aboue mentioned) was then first of all inhabited by certaine Noruagians. Their chiefetaine was one Ingulphus from whose name the East cape of Island is called Ingulffs hoffdi. These planters are reckoned vp by name in our recordes more then to the number of 400 together with those of their blood and kinred, and great families besides neither onely is their number described, but it is also plainely set downe, what coasts, what shores, and what inland places eche of them did occupie and inhabite, and what names the first inhabitants did giue vnto Streights, bayes, harbboroughs, necklands, creekes, capes, rockes, cragges, mountaines, hilles, valleys, homockes, springs, floods, riuers. And to be short, what names they gaue vnto their graunges or houses, whereof many at this day are reteined and vsed. Therefore the Norwayes with their company peopled all the habitable parts of Island now occupied by them for the space of 60. yeeres or thereabout but they remayned Ethnickes almost 100. yeres, except a very fewe which were baptised in Norwaie. But scarce a 100. yeres from their first entrance being past, presently Christian religion began to be considered vpon, namely about the yeere of our Lord 974. Which thing aboue 20. yeres together, was diversly attempted of many not without notable rebellion: amongst the rest there are mentioned two outlandish Bishops, who with others diligently laboured in conuerting
the Island to Christian faith: [Sidenote: Saxo, the first preacher of the
Christian faith in Island. Anno Domini 981.] the former was one Fridericus
a Saxon borne, who in the yeere 981. came into Island, and behaued himselfe
couragiously in the office of preaching, and preuailed so much, that in the
yeere 984. Churches were use in Island.

But the other outlandish Bishop or preacher whom they called Thangbrandt
came first into Island in the yeere 997.

[Sidenote: Anno Domini 1000.] And then after 26. yeeres consulting about
Religion, at length in the yeere 1000, it was decreed in a generall
assembly of all the inhabitants by their whole consent, that the worship of
heathenish Idoles being abandoned, they should embrace Christian Religion.

Againe, in the yeere 1050, it was decreed in a solemne assembly of the
inhabitants, that temporall or politique lawes (the constitutions whereof
being brought out of Norwaie were communicated vnto the Islanders by one
Vfliot in the yeere 926.) should every where giue place to the Canon or
diuine Lawe.

In the yere 1056. one Isleif went beyond the seas out of Island to be
consecrated bishop of Island.

He came home consecrated into Island, and entred into the bishopricke of
Scalholt in the yeere 1057. He died 1080. in the yeere of his age 74. The
4. of the Kalends of Iuly.

These things perhaps wil seeme trifling, short and base, not sufficiently worthy to be mentioned, together with many other matters which follow: but neither doe wee compile the Romane history, neither yet shall these things be so trifling, but that they may be of sufficient force to conuince the errours of Krantzius and others, according to our purpose. [Sidenote: A notable testimonie of Saxo concerning the Islanders.] And vndoubtedly as touching the trueth of our histories, it is euident that Saxo Grammaticus attributeth very much vnto them: whose words in his preface of Denmarke be these: Neither is the diligence of the Thylenses (for so he calleth Islanders) to be smothered in silence: who when as by reason of the natieue barrennes of their soile, wanting nourishments of riot, they do exercise the duties of continuall sobrietie, and vse to bestow all the time of their life in the knowledge of other men's exploits they supply their want by their wit. For they esteeme it a pleasure to know and commit vnto memory the famous acts of other nations, reckoning it no lesse praiseworthy to discourse of other mens vertues, then to practise their owne. Whose treasures replenished with the monuments of historical matters, I more curiously searching into, haue compiled no smal part of this present worke by following of their relation neither despised I to haue those men for my iudges, whom I knew to be skilful in so great knowledge of antiquitie. Thus farre Saxo.

Wherefore I thinke it not amisse to proceede in the recitall of the Bishops of Island, that the order and descent of them all, being so farre foorth as is possible, diligently put together out of our yeerely records, may make
good that which we haue alledged against Krantzius concerning Isleif the first Bishop of Island.

Anno Episcopi Schalholtenses

Christi

I.

Isleif.

1057 Redit et Schalholtensem cathedram adit

II.

Gysserus.

1083 Redit in Islandiam cum Episopatu.


III.

Thorlacus Runolphi. F.

Anno

32: Gysserus vita excessit, sed tamen ante illius obitum 30. die

1133 Moritur.

IV.

Magnus
1134 Ordinatur.

comuiuans, coenaculo fulmine percusso, cum viris 70. flammis
absumptus est.

V.
Klaingus.
1151 Eligitur.
1152 Cathedram adit.
1176 Moritur.

VI.
Thorlacus.
1178 Ordinatur.
1193 Moritur.

VII.
Paulus.
1195 Ordinatur.
1211 Moritur.

VIII.
Magnus.
1216 Ordinatur.
IX.

Siguardus.

1239 Cathedram adit.
1268 Moritur.

X.

Arnerus.

1269 Cathedram adit.
1298 Moritur.

XI.

Arnerus Helgonis F.

1304 Ordinatur.
1305 Cathedram adit.

fulmine tactum conflagrarat.
1310 Redit ex intinere.
1320 Moritur.

XII.

Ionas Haldorus.

1321 Eligitur.
1322 Ordinatur Kal. Augusti.
1323 Cathedram adit.
1338 Moritur.
XIII.
Ionas Indridi F. Roruages
1339 Cathedram adit.
1341 Moritur.

XIV.
Ionas Siguardi F.
1343 Cathedram adit.

XV.
Gyrthus.

XVI.
Thorarinnus.
1362 Cathedram adit.
1364 Moritur.

XVII.
Oddgeirus.
1366 Cathedram adit.

Saluatoris.
XVIII.

1385 Cathedral adit.
1388 Resignat profectus in Daniam.

XIX.

Wilhelmus Danus.
1394 Cathedram adit. Moritur.

XX.

Arnerus.

Holensem.
1420 Objit.

XXI.

Ionas Gerichso.

de Modruvallum (vt fama est) captus, & aligato ad collum saxo in strangulatus est.

XXII.

Gosuinus.
XXIII.
Sueno.

XXIV.
Magnus Riolphi F.

XXV.
Stephanus.
1494 Cathedram adit.
Deinde Godtschalco episcopo Holensi, qui crudelis nomen meritus laudem reportauit.
1519 Moritur: aut circiter.

XXVI.
Augmundus.
Eligitur anno obitus Stephani
1522 Cathedram adit.
Hoc episcopo, prefectus regius cum comitibus aliquot Scalhotiam purgarat in Daniam transuectus, Obijt.

XXVII.
Gysserus.

1540 Eligitur viuente Augmundo

1541 Cathedram adit, Papisticarum traditionum abrogator circa coniugium

XXVIII.

Martinus.

XXIX.

Gislaus Ionas.

rabiei cedere coactus, Hamburgum se contulerit, vnde Haffniam
tum temporis Episcopi, familiaritate et gratia viuebat.
1556 Postea, inde in patriam reuerso, Martinus sponte cessit.

1587 Moritur et hic 31. annos plus minus Euangelium Iesu Christi
professus: nec tantum viua voce, sed et quocunque demum potuit
modo, docendo, dicendo, scribendo, re et consilio Ecclesiam Dei
iuuit et promouit.

XXX.

Otto Knerus
Vir grauis, pius et eruditus.

1588 Electus abit patria.

1589 Ordinatur.

Redit et cathedram adit, susceptique muneres laores aggreditur.

* * * * *

Anno Episcopi Holenses.

Christi

I.

Ionas Augmundi F.

Isleifi discipulus.


II.

Ketillus siue Catullus.

1122 Ordinatur.

1145 Moritur.

III.

Biorno.

1147 Ordinatus venit in Islandiam.

1162 Moritur.
IV.
Brandus.
1163 Ordinatur.
1165 Cathedram adit.
1201 Moritur.

V.
Gudmundus, cognomento Bonus.
1203 Eligitur et ordinatur.
1237 Moritur.

VI.
Botolphus.
1239 Redit ordinatus.
1246 Moritur.

VII.
Henricus.
1247 Cathedram adit.
1260 Moritur.

VIII.
Brandus.
1263 Cathedram adit.
1264 Moritur.

IX.
Iorundus.
1267 Cathedram adit.
1313 Moritur.

X.
Audunnus.
1314 Cathedram adit.
1322 Moritur.

XI.
Laurentius.
1324 Eligitur & ordinatur.
1331 Moritur Idib. April.

XII.
Egillus.
1332 Cathedram adit.
1341 Moritur.

XIII.
Ormus.
1343 Cathedram adit.
1355 Moritur in festo omnium Sanctorum.

XIV.

Ionas Erici F. _cognomento_ Skalle

1358 Cathedram Holensem aditurus venit in Islandiam. Hic Ionas, olim in
Episcopus impetrauit, vt liceret sibi Episcopatum Holensem adire, qui
1356 tunc temporis vacabat. Vnde cum confirmationem huius dignitatis

Regis componeretur. Rege igitur ipsius partibus fauente
Cathedram Holensem obitnuit.
1391 Moritur.

XV.

Petrus.

1392 Cathedram adit Holensem.
Moritur.

XVI.

Ionas Wilhelmus.

XVII.

Godschalcus.
1457 Moritur.

XVIII.

Olaus Rogwaldi F.

1497 Moritur.

XIX.

Godschalcus.

De mortus Olai nepos ex fratre, et ille Noruagus, eligitur eodem anno quo patruus decessit.

1500 Cathedram adit, ac per totos 20. annos multos ex subditis duriter exercuisse fertur.

Anno 1520. cum inter pocula et voluptates conuiuales versaretur subditos vsus est vim cum miserabili morte commutauit.

XX.

1525 Cathedram adit: etiam hic papisticarum superstitionum vltimus et acerrimus assertor. Qui, cum Gyssero et Martino episcopus

1548 tertio iubetur sub poena exiliaj protinus in Daniam aduentare.
prius ut fertur, lacesiiuerat, captus, ac Schalholtiam adductus,
decollatorum olim famulis, nefarie occisus est.

XXI.
Olaus Bialterus.
1552 Abit patria.
1553 Cathderam adit.
eandem doctrinam Episcopus apertius docuit et propugnauit.
1568 Moritur.

XXII.
Gudbrandus Thorlacius.
deduxit, (dico labores et diligentiam in asserenda veritate
Euaneglica, et papisticis superstitionibus abrogandis) etiam in
hac patria sua officinam Typographicam primus Islandorum
aperuit. Cui idcirco patria inter libros complures in linguam
vernaculam translatos, etiam sacrosancta Biblia, elegantissimis
debebit.
1570 Abijt.
1571 Redit Cathedram Holensem ingreditur.
The same in English.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE BISHOPS OF ISLAND.

The Bishops of Schalholt. In the yeere
of Christ
I.
Isleif.
Consecrated beyond the seas. 1056
Returneth and entereth the Bishops sea of Schalholt. 1057
Dieth in the yere of his age 74. the 4. of the 1080
Kalends of luly.

II.
Gysserus.
Consecrated beyond the sea. 1082
Returneth into Island with his Bishopricke. 1083
Dieth the 5. of the Kal. of May being tuesday. 1118

III.
Thorlacus sonne of Runulphus.
Consecrated the same yeere, wherein his predecessor. In the year
Gysserus deceased, but yet 30. dayes before of his age 32
his death. Dieth. 1133
IV.
Magnus.
Consecrated. 1134
On the morrowe after the feast of all Saints, in his 1148 parish towne of Hiitardal, the house being striken with lightning, hee, and 70. men with him were consumed with fire.

V.
Klaingus.
Chosen. 1151
Entreth the see. 1152
Dieth. 1176

VI.
Thorlacus.
Chosen two yeres before the death of his predecessour.
Consecrated. 1178
Dieth. 1193

VII.
Paulus.
Consecrated. 1195
Dieth. 1211

VIII.
Magnus.
Consecrated. 1216

IX.
Siguardus.
Entreth his see. 1239
Dieth. 1268

X.
Arnerus.
Entreth his see. 1269
Dieth. 1298

XI.
Arnerus sonne of Helgo.
Consecrated. 1304
Entreth the see. 1305
Saileth into Norwaie, to craue timber of the king of Norway, 1309
wherewith the Church of Schalholt might be reedified, which the
same yere being toucht with lightning, was burnt downe.

Returneth home. 1310
Dieth. 1320

XII.
Ionas Haldorus

Elected. 1321

Consecrated the first of August. 1322

Entreth his see. 1323

Dieth. 1338

XIII.

Ionas, sonne of Indred, a Noruagian borne.

Entreth his see. 1339

Dieth. 1341

XIV.

Ionas sonne of Siguardus.

Entreth his see. 1343

Dieth on S. Magnus euen. 1348

XV.

Gyrthus.

Consecrated at Aslo in Norway by Salomon bishop of Aslo. 1349

Going beyond the seas he was drowned. 1356

XVI.

Thorarinnus.

Entreth his see. 1362

Dieth. 1364
XVII.

Oddgeirus.

Entreteth his see. 1366

Dieth vpon the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, in the port of 1381 Bergen in Norway, falling downe from a packe of wares into the botome of the ship. He was buried at Bergen in the Church of our Saviour.

XVIII.

Michael a Dane.

Entreteth his see. 1385

Resigneth, and saileth into Denmarke. 1388

XIX.

William a Dane.

Entereth the Bishopricke. 1394

Dieth.

XX.

Arnerus.

Arnerus sirnamed Mildur, that is to say Liberall. He was at one time Lord President of all Island, bishop of Schalholt, and vicebishop of Holen. He died. 1420

XXI.
Ionas Gerichson.

Sueden either sirnamed or borne is made Bishop ouer the Church of 1432

Schalholt and afterward for certaine bolde attempts being taken

by one Thorualdus de Modruuollum (as it is reported) and a great

stone being bound to his necke, hee was cast aliue into the

riuer of Schalholt, (which taketh name of the bridge) and was

there strangled.


XXII.

Goswinus.

Bishop of Schalholt. 1445


XXIII.

Sueno.

Called the wise, bishop of Schalholt. 1472


XXIV.

Magnus sonne of Riolphus.

Bishop &c. 1489


XXV.

Stephen.

Entreth the See. Then (liuing at one time with Godschalchus bishop 1494

of Holen, who seemed worthy to be sirnamed cruell) he had the
same commendations for mercy and justice, that Godschalchus had.

He died: or thereabout. 1519

XXVI.

Augmundus.

Chosen in the yeere wherein Stephen deceased.

Entreth the see. 1522

While he was Bishop, the kings Lieutenant with some of his followers being invited to Schalholt, in the time of the banquet was slain by certaine conspirators because hee had in all places wickedly wasted the inhabitants and their goods. But Augmundus as the author of that murder (although he purged himselfe with an othe) being transported into Denmarke there ended his life.

XXVII.

Gysserus.

Elected, Augmundus yet living. 1540

Entred the see. 1541

He was the abolisher of Popish traditions about Priests marriages:

his owne marriage being solemnized at Schalholt. 1544

XXVIII.

Martinus.

Bishop &c. And the yeeres following. 1547
XXIX.

Gislaus Ionas.

This man presently, in the time of bishop Augmund began in his youth to be enflamed with the loue of true pietie, & of the pure doctrine of the Gospel, & being pastour of the Church of Selardal, diligently to aduance the same, by which meanes he did so procure vnto himselfe the hatred of Papists, as being constreined to giue place vnto their craft & crueltie, he departed ouer to Hamburg, from whence comming to Copen Hagen in Denmarke & painefullu proceeding in his former study of diuintie, he liued in the familiaritie, and fauour of many, but specially of D. D. Peter Palladius: who was at that time bishop there. Afterward returning into his countrey, Martine gaue place 1556 vnto him of his owne accord. This man died also, hauing for the 1587 space of 31. years or there abouts, professed the Gospel of Iesus Christ: neither did he helpe & further the Church of God by the sound of his voice much, but by all other meanes to the utmost of his abilities, by teaching, preaching, writing, by his wealth & his counsel.

XXX.

Otto Knerus.

A graue, godly, and learned man. Being Chosen he departeth his 1588 country. Hee is consecrated returneth, and entreth the sea, 1589 endeuouring himselfe in the labours of his function.
The Bishops of Holen in the yeere
of Christ

I.
Ionas sonne of Augmundus.
Isleif his disciple. 1106
Consecrated beyonde the seas in the yeere of his age 64, his
surname was Sanctus, vnto whose memorie the 3. of March was by
the inhabitants in old time dedicated.
Dieth the 11. of the Kalends of May. 1121

II.
Ketillus or Catullus.
Consecrated. 1121
Dieth. 1145

III.
Biorno.
Being consecrated came into Island. 1147
Dieth. 1162

IV.
Brandus.
Consecrated 1163
Entreth his Episcopall see. 1165
Dieth. 1201

V.
Gudmundus sirnamed Bonus.
Elected and consecrated. 1203
Dieth. 1237

VI.
Botolphus.
Returneth consecrated. 1239
Dieth. 1246

VII.
Henricus.
Entereth the see. 1247
Dieth. 1260

VIII.
Brandus an Abbat.
Goeth beyond the seas. 1262
Entereth the Bishopricke. 1263
Dieth. 1264
IX.
Iorundus.
Entreth his see. 1267
Dieth. 1313

X.
Audunnus.
Entreth his see. 1314
Dieth. 1322

XI.
Laurentinus.
Elected and consecrated. 1324
Dieth in the Ides of April 1331

XII.
Egillus.
Entreth his see. 1332
Dieth. 1341

XIII.
Ormus.
Entreth his see. 1343
Dieth upon the feast of all Saints. 1355
XIV.
Ionas Sonne of Ericus, sirnamed Skalle.

Being to enter his sea of Holen came into Island. This Ionas 1358
being before time consecrated bishop of Gronland, obtained a Bishop
licence of the bishop of Rome to enter the See of Holen, which Gronland
was at that time vacant. Whereupon coming and not bringing 1356
with him the confirmation of this dignitie and function,
received from the Pope hee began to be suspected among the
priests of the diocesse of Holen. Wherefore he was sent backe
by them into Norway that the matter might bee set through by
the judgement of the king. The king therefore fauouring his
part, he obtained the bishopricke of Holen.

He dieth. 1391

XV.
Peter.
Consecrated the same yeere wherein his predecessour departed out
of this present life.
Entreth the see of Holen. 1392
Dieth

XVI.
Ionas Wilhelmus. An Englishman
Bishop of
English, either borne or sirnamed. Island.

Entred the see. 1432

XVII.

Godschalcus.

Died. 1457

XVIII.

Olaus.

Son of Rogwaldus nephew to the forenamed Godschalcus by the sisters side, both of them being Noruagian.

He was established. 1458

He died. 1497

XIX.

Godschalcus.

The nephewe of Olaus deceased, by the brothers side: also hee being a Noruagian was elected the same yeere wherein his vncle deceased.

He entreth the see. And for the space of 20. whole yeres is 1500 reported cruelly to haue entreated many of the subiects. In the yeere 1520. when he was in the midst of his cups, and banqueting dishes, and heard that Ionas Sigismundus was
departed out of this life (whom with his wife and children, he had for many yeres most cruelly oppressed) he presently fell into a sudden disease, and so not long after changed that violence for miserable death, which in his whole life he had used against his distressed subjects.

XX.

Entreth the see. 1525

This man was the last and most earnest mainteiner of Popish superstitions. Who stoutely withstanding Gysserus and Martinus bishops of Schalholt, was commanded by the most religious king Christian the 3. vnder paine of banishment to come with all speed into Denmarke. But neglecting the king's commaundement, hee tooke Martine bishop of Schalholt, and committed him to ward. At length he himselfe also being taken by a man of great name (whom before that time, it is saide, he had prouoked) and being brought to Schalholt, was, together with his two sonnes, by the authoritie of the kings Lieutenant beheaded. In reuenge 1551 whereof not long after, the saide Lieu-tenant with some of his company, was villanously slaine by certaine roysters, which were once seruants to the parties beheaded.

XXI.

Olaus Walterus.

Departed his countrey. 1552

Entreth the see. 1553
This man (being as yet in the life time of his predecessour fellow-labourer with him) was the first that kindled the loue of sincere doctrine at Holen in the hearts of many: and then being bishop did openly teache and defend the said doctrine. He died. 1568

XXII.

Gudbrandus Thorlacius.
The ornament, not onely of his age, but of posteritie also who besides that, by the direction of the holy spirit, he hath most notably brought the worke begunne, and left vnto him by his predecessour Olaus to that perfection which it hath pleased God to vouchsafe: (namely his labours and diligence in maintayning the trueth of the Gospel, and in abolishing of Popish superstitions) euen in this his countrey hee is the first that hath established a Printing house. For which cause his countrey (besides, for many other books translated into our mother tongue) shalbe eternally bounded vnto him, that the sacred Bible also, by his meanes, is fairely printed in the language of Island. (I say) being at this present, Hee Bishop, when he was about to take his charge:

Departed his countrey. 1570

Returned and entred the see of Holen. 1571
In these times therefore light is restored unto our souls from heaven, and
the gate of the kingdom of heaven is opened unto us by the sincere
preaching of Christian doctrine. For in either of the Bishops seats there
is a free school founded by the liberality and piety of that most
renowned King of Denmark Christian the third: and afterward the sonne
following the godly steppes of his most Christian father, the said Free
schools by Lord Friderick the second, our most religious King, being
called up to his heavenly country in the year 1588, have been increased
and furthered: which at this day also do prosper and flourish by the
favour and authority of the most gracious King and our Prince, Christian
the fourth, wherein the youth of our Island being instructed in the
rudiments of liberall artes, and sacred diuinitie, are trained vp to knowledge and true godlinesse, that from hence ministers of Churches may proceede.

We are come at length in the register of the Bishops of Island downe to this present day, wherein the forenamed excellent men Gudbrandus Thorlacius, and Otto Enerus, the one at Holen, and the other at Schalholt are Bishops of our Cathedrall Churches both of which men, that it would please God long to preserue vnto his Church in health and life, for the glorie of his most holy name, we all doe earnestly and with feruent prayers beseech him.

SECTIO SECVNDA.

montium latera in excauatis mansiunculis. Et mox: Templa habent multa et domos ex ossibus piscium et balenarum constructas. Item: Multi etiam ad pellendam frigoris asperitatem in cauernis latitant, quemadmodum Africani et ossibus balenarum, domos suas construunt, &c.

Hic membrum secundum initium sumit, de incolarum viuendi ratione et Munsterum, Krantzium, Frisium, &c. Specubus et montium cauernis. Quamuis
dare, aut propter gregem excubare opus habent. [Sidenote: Negotiatio cum constructa, vsque ad illud tempus, quo illis cum Noruagis, qui ligna

fluctuum maris beneficio iam vt olim ad littora, quod minima ex parte

Vnde plurima rura ignobiliora ab antiqua illa integritate multum

alta 20. Tum reliquas domus, vt coenaculum, hypocaustum, penuarium &c. huic vasta, nec in speciem deformia, nec ob artis structuram et sumptuosam firmitudinem, seu robur, contemnenda cum aliquot delubris, siue sacris

extractis commemorare: Cuiusmodi est templum Cathedrale Holense atrium tum trabes ac tigna, et reliquum culmen, huic substructioni proportionaliter respondens. Ligna ad hoc ipsum atrium Anno 1584. horrenda tempestate collapsum, clementissimus Rex noster D. Fridericus cuius nobis templum atrium suum omni quantitate manifeste excedit: tum templi intima

prolixiorum eius rei descriptionem euager. Vt enim Domus et edificia nostra
THE SECOND SECTION.

[Sidenote: Munsterus. Krantzius. Frisius.] They inhabite for the most part in caves, or hollow places within the sides of mountaines. And againe, They haue many houses and Churches built with the bones of fishes, and Whales. Againe. Many of them also to auoide the extremitie of colde, doe keepe themselves close in their caves, even as the people of Africa doe to auoyde the heate of the sunne. Also Munster sayth: Many in Island at this day build their houses with the ribbes and bones of Whales.

Here the second member taketh his beginning concerning the course of life, and the manners of the inhabitants. And first of all what buildings or houses they doe use namely according to Munster, Krantinus, Frisius &c. Holes and caves of mountaines. But although in gorgeous buildings, and such other worldly braueries there is very little helpe to the attayning of a life truely happie: notwithstanding, wee can not in this place conceale the truth and we plainly affirme that Cosmographers and Historiographers also doe erre in this point. For such habitations as they write to be common vnto the whole nation, are but in verie fewe places, and are either sheepe-cots for shepheardes, or cottages and receptacles for fishermen at that time of the yeere onely when they goe a fishing, and the others stande in neede to watch their flocke. [Sidenote: Traffike with the people of Norway ceaseth.] But for their houses themselves, and the verie dwelling places of men, the Islanders haue had them built from auncient time stately.
and sumptuously enough, according to the condition of the Countrey, with
timber, stones, and turves, vntill such time as traffike and exchange of
wares beganne to cease betwenee them and the Noruagians, who were wont to
supply them with timber, and for that cause nowe our houses beginne to
decay whenas neither we haue woods of conuenient for building, [Sidenote:
Drift wood not so plentifull now as in times past] nor yet there are nowe a
dayes, as there were in olde time, trees cast vpon our shores by the
benefite of the sea, which may in any sort relieue vs: neither doe
outlandish Merchants succour our neccessities; whereupon many of our
meanest countrey villages are much decayed from their auncicnt integritie,
some whereof be fallen to the ground, and others bee very ruinous.
Notwithstanding there be many farmes and villages which I cannot easily
reckon vp, the buildings whereof doe resemble that auncient excellencie,
the houses being verie large both in breadth and length, and for the most
part in height also As for example farmes or granges which conteine
chambers in them, more than fiftie cubites in length, tenne in breadth, and
twentie in height. And so other roomes, as a parler, a stoue, a butterie,
&c. answering in proportion vnto the former. I could here name many of our
countrey buildings both large and wide neither ilfaoure in shewe, nor
base in regarde of their workemanship and costly firmenesse or strength,
with certaine Churches also, or religious houses, built of timber onely,
according to auncient and artificiall seemelinesse and beautie: as the
Cathedrall Church of Holen hauing a bodie the fiue pillars whereof on both
sides be foure elnes high, and about fiue elnes thicke, as also beames and
weather-bourdes, and the rest of the rooфе proportionally answering to this
lower building. Our most gracious King Lord Frederick, whose memory is most
sacred vnto vs, in the yere 1588. did most liberally bestowe timber for the
reedifying of this body being cast downe in the yere 1584. by an horrible
tempest. But the Church it selfe doth manifestlie exceed the body thereof in all quantity: also the inner part of the Church, which is commonly called the quier is somewhat lesse, both then the middle part of the Church, and also then the bodie.

The Church of Schalholt was farre greater as I haue heard in olde time, then this our Cathedrall, which hauing now beene twise burnt, is brought to a lesser scantling. Likewise there be some other Churches of our Island, although not matching, yet resembling the auncient magnificence of these. But here the matter seemeth not to require that I shoulde runne into a long description of these things. For as wee doe not greatly extoll our houses and buildings, so are we nothing ashamed of them, because being content with our pouertie, we render vnto Christ immortall prayse who despiseth not to be receiued of vs vnder a base roofe, and contemneth not our temples and houses (which Munster, Krantzius, and Frisius doe not truely affirme to be built of fishes and Whales bones) more then the marble vaults, the painted walles, the square pauements, and such like ornamentes of Churches and houses in other countries.

SECTIO TERTIA.

caput retorquere.

apud nos annos egerant, et veritati plus quam gentem nostram calumniandi affectui tribuunt, experientia; qui ipsi domos et habitationes nostras

domus: nempe in abiectissimis et vilissimis 7. vel 8. in maioribus, nunc

iumentis vtantur Islandi, cum singuli rustici in hac domuum varietate, peculiaria bouilia, ouilia, equitia, agnilia, debitis interuallis dissita

subinde repetunt.

eodem tecto homines, canes, sues et oues, viuere, partim falsum, partim

suibus (cum illa prouincia sues non habeat) falsum: De canibus haud mirum,

Victum, inquit, cum iureconsultis, ita exponemus, vt victus verbo

homiini sunt necessana. Et Vlpianus, de verborum significat. Ijsdem verbis

victum appellant.
fatentur, Islandos piscibus, butyro, carnibus, tum bubulis, tum ouillis,
etiam frumento, licet pauco et aduentitio viuere. Non igitur cibum habent
cum brutis communem, quod tamen iadem his verbis asserunt. Communi victu
pastu, et nunc captura piscium victitantes. Quid autem est pecorum pastus,
pasium, ipsa pecora ad pastum hominum mactata appellet: cui, vt existimo,
vsus Romanorum refragatur, qui, vt homines vesci, ita pecora pasci docuit:
existimem tam dementes fuisse Munsterum et Krantzium vt senserint Islandos
frumento et panibus hordeaceis pascuntur: iadem lac (quemadmodum etiam
hominis communi victu cum canibus et iumentis gaudere?

alicuius consuetudine in historiam referri non debent. Vt non licet nobis

annonas charitate inualescente immissa, id factitarint.

comprehendimus) nequaquam hic cum iumentis communis est. Illa enim pilis et
villis natura (quod Munsterum et Krantzium nouisse iurarim) vestiuit:
eundem. Vtuntur etiam extranei pannis ex ouilla lana confectis, licet artificio subtiliore. Sed de indumentis nihil: Stultum enim est, ex eo arguit.

Statu. Restat ille status quem cum brutis habere communem dicimur. Qui sursum erecto incedimus) alium item ordinem et conditionem nostram ducimus.

vana et in Deum creatorem nostrum tam contemptibilia irridemus, nec prolixiore tractatu dignamur.

largiamur: Dicam quid sit quod huic infami scriptorum conuicio occasionem destituuntur. In istis paroechijs habitantes et si qui sint vicini, quamuis plures eorum, vt de omnibus rebus ad rem familiarem pertinentibus, ita prospicient: Tamen sunt inter eos quidam sed infirma tantum sortis coloni, qui quoniam estis rebus domi destituantur, nec aliunde petere eas valeant horrida ingruit, coloni isti miseri ad suum bouile refugiunt illic scilicet focos habere nequeant, calorem mutuantur, quemadmodum mihi ab alijs
Paroechiolis quorundam sors et inopia, quorum conditio idcirco etiam apud

Theologis res est illud Saiomonis ijs reponam. [Sidenote: Prouerbi 14.] Qui
calummatur egenum, deridet factorem eius.

mendicus inter diiuites, tot extraneorum probra et scommata tulit. Sed
tamen omnes ex ijsdem constamus elementis, et vnus et idem omnium Pater,
Deus.

The same in English.

THE THIRD SECTION.

[Sidenote: Krantzius Munsterus.] They and their cattell vse all one house,
all one food or victuals, one state (here Krantzius hath it lodging.)
Also. They liue onely by feeding of cattell, and sometimes by taking of
fishes.

Those be the things together with those that followe, which Krantzius hath
champed, and put into Munsters mouth, so that Munster shall not neede so
much as once to chewe them, which may appeare by comparing them both
together. For Munster, as hee swallowed these reproches, taking them out of
Krantzius his preface vpon Norway, so he casteth vp the verie same morsels
vndigested and rawe against our nation, in his fourth booke of Cosmographie
cap. 8. Those things which have beene hitherto, although they have sufficiently grieued us yet will we let them seeme more tollerable: but this most malitious devise, and those which follow we cannot easily brooke. It is our part therefore in this place also to auouch the trueth, and to turne the leasing vpon the authors owne head.

House, &c. First, that which they say concerning the same common house (as also liuing, and state) with our cattell, we plainely affirme to be false and erronious, not onely the truth it selfe being our witnesse, if any man would make triall, but also the experience of manie strangers, that haue liued some yeeres amongst vs, and haue more minde to speake the trueth then to reuile our nation: who haue seene our house and habitations with their owne eyes, and knewe that in euery particular farme or graunge there were many seuerall roomes namely, in those that were most simple and base, seuen or eight: In others which were greater, sometimes tenne, and sometimes twentie. In the greatest sometimes fortie, and sometimes fiftie. Which for the most part being seuered, both by roofes and walles, doe serue for the dayly and household affaires of one owner or master, seldome of two or three, but almost neuer of more: whereupon the Reader may easily iudge, howe true it is that the Islanders and their cattell haue all one house to lie in, when euery husbandman in this varietie of roomes hath seuerall oxe stalles, sheepe-cotes, stables lambes-cots separated in different spaces one from another, which the seruants goe vnto so oft as neede requireth, and from thence returne backe to the dwelling houses.

But whereas one noted in his Mappe of Island, concerning the prouince of Skagefiord, that vnder the same rooфе, men, dogges swine and sheepe liue
altogether, it is partly false, and partly no maruell: for sheepe, as it
hath been sayde, and especially for swine (when as that prouince hath no
swine at all) it is utterly false: for dogges it is no maruell, when is not
kings courts were euer, or at this day are destitute of them, as it is well
known to all men. But as touching dogges afterward in the seuenth section.

Victuals, &c. Whither beasts meate may fitly be termed by the name of
Victus, a man may lustly doubt: When Doletus interpreting a peece of
Tullie, saith: As for Victus (sayth he) wee will so expound it with the
Ciuiians, namely that we comprehend vnnder the word of Victus all things
necessarie for the life of man as meate, drinke, attire of the bodie, &c.
And Vlpianus de verborum significatione defineth Victus in the very same
words. But in this place the saide authors call beaste meate by the name of
Victus.

But let vs see what trueth and plaine dealing is to be found in these men.
We haue no labouring cattel besides horses and oxen: these haue grasse and
hay (except where haye is wanting) for their fodder, and water to drinke.
Now, the very same writers confesse, that the Islanders liue by fish,
butter, flesh both beefe and mutton, and corne also, though it bee scarce,
and brought out of other countries. Therefore they haue not the same foode
with brute beasts, which notwithstanding the sayde writers affirme in these
wordes: They and their cattel vse all one victuals or food. What Munsters
meaning is in this clause, he himselfe a little before hath plainly
taught.
Island (saith he) containeth many people living only with the food of cattell, and sometimes by taking of fishes. But what else is the food of cattell, but the meat of cattell, saith Doletus? Unlesse perhaps Munster calleth the food of cattell, cattell themselves slain for the food of men: whom, as I thinke, the use of the latine tongue doth gaine say, which hath taught vs that as men doe eate, so beasts do feede, and hath termed the victuals of men, and the food or fodder of cattell. But may I thinke that Munster and Krantzius were so mad as to imagine that the Islanders live upon grass and hay: To this passe of misery was Nabuchodonozor brought vndergoing the yoke of Gods vengeance Daniel 4. vers. 30. We will easilly graunt that beasts and cattell will not perhaps refuse many things, which men not onely of our countrey but of yours also eate, if the said beasts be destitute of their usuall food: as horses are fedde with corne and barley loaues: they will drinke milke also (like vnto calues and lambes) and ale if it be proffered them, and that greedily. And dogges in like manner will devour any deinty dishes whatsoeuer. May any man therefore say that men use the same common victuals with dogges and horses?

Now, whatsoeuer things haue happened in the time of grieuous famine ought not to be recorded in historie for the generall custome of any countrey. As it is not lawfull for vs to write concerning other nations, that the people of this or that countrie, doe usuall liue by eating of dogs, mise, cats, although perhaps in the time of famine or seige or dearth of corne, they haue often bene constrained so to doe.

But that the same drinke is sometimes common to many men with beasts we will not greatly gainsay: namely most pure water, that naturall drinke
created by God for all living creatures: which also in some respect
Physicians do commend, yea, neither the Patriarches themselves, nor our
saviour Christ despised it.

As touching apparel (for we comprehend apparel also under the name of
Victus) it is no wise common to us with beasts. For nature hath clad them
with hairs and bristles (as I dare say Munster and Krantzius cannot be
ignorant) men, being otherwise naked stand in need of clothes to cover
their bodies. But I had not thought it might therefore have properly beene
sayd that sheepe and we haue all one apparell. Men of other countries also
weare cloth of sheepe's wooll, although it be more finely wrought. But no
more concerning the attire of the bodie. For it is a meere folly to seeke
for praise, and ambitious reputation by that, which argueth the infirmitie
of our nature.

State, &c. Now, it remaineth that we should speake of that state, which we
are sayd to haue common with beasts; but of what kinde or maner it should
be, or our writers would haue it to be I cannot easily discerne. State
(sayth Doletus) is either of the body, or of causes, or of order and
condition. Doubtlesse, that there is another state of our bodies then of
beasts (for besides our two feet, we haue hands also, and go with our
bodies, and countenances lift vp right) and that we be of another order and
condition from them, we are verily perswaded. As for these good fellowes,
if they know any such matter by themselues or others, let them disclose it.
We doe altogether scorne these, being so vaine things, and breeding so
great contempt against the Maiesty of God our creator, neither do we
vouchsafe them any larger discourse.
But because it is our duty not so highly to regard either the love of our country, or of any other thing whatsoever, but that we may be ready at all times and in all places, to give truth the preheminence: I will say in a word what that was which perhaps might minister occasion to this infamous reproach of writers.

There be near unto Schalholt, upon the South shore of Island three small parishes standing between two most swift rivers Thiorsaa and Olffwis Aa, being in a manner destitute both of wood and turfe, which is the accustomed fewell of the countrey. And although most of the inhabitants of these parishes and some of their neighbours, as they do in time of year provide all things necessary for householde, so especially those things which belong to fires and bathes: notwithstanding there be certaine among them of the basest sort of people, who because they want those things at home, and are not able to provide them from other places, are constrained to use straw for the dressing of their meat. But when the sharpe rigor of snowy Winter commeth on, these poor people betake them to their oxe stalles, and there setting vp sheds, and doing their necessary businesse in the day time, when they are not able to make fires, they borrow heat from their oxen, as it hath beene reported to mee by others: And so they onely being verie fewe in number, doe not willingly enjoye, but are constrained to use the same common house with their oxen. But for their liuelihood and state it is farre otherwise with them then with their oxen, of which thing I haue entreated before. This is the lot, & pouertie of certaine men in those pettie parishes, the condition whereof is therefore made a common byworde of the people amongst vs, though somewhat iniuriously. Where I would
willingly demaund with what honestie men can impute that advert unto the whole nation, which is hard and skantly true of these fewe poore men? I am wearie to stay any longer in this matter: onely, because I haue to doe with Diuines, let that of Salomon suffice, Proverbs 17, verse 5. Hee that mocketh the poore, reprocheth him that made him.

And in very deede, because this our nation is nowe, and heretofore hath been poore and needie, and as it were a begger amongst many rich men, it hath susteined so many taunts and scoffes of strangers. But let them take heede whom they vpbraide. Verely if there were nothing else common vnto vs with them, yet we both consist of the same elements, and haue all one father and God.

SECTIO QUARTA.

[Sidenote: Krantzius Munster] In simplicitate sancta vitam agunt, cum nihil inuidet. Sed mercatores Anglici et Dani quiescere gentem non sinunt, qui ob piscaturam vehendam terram illam frequentantes cum mercibus omnigenis nostris admirantur.

ingens deprauatio, ac magna anarchia, quam multorum scelerum myriades nequaquam suprmi Magistratus, hoc est, Regis nostri clementissimi, sed
deferimus.

vt nunc, ita olim terram nostram, non ob piscaturam sed pisces euehendos

Et quidem ante Danorum, Germanorum, Anglorumue frequentes ad nos

Cereris munera produxit.

The same in English.

THE FOURTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: Krantzius. Munster.] They leade their liues in holy simplicitie, not seeking any more then nature doeth afforde. A happie Nation, whose pouertie no man doth enuie. But the English and Danish merchants suffer not the nation to be at rest, who frequenting that countrey to transport fishing, haue conueighed thither our vices, together with their manifolde wares. For nowe, they haue learned to brew their water with corne, and beginne to despise, and loath the drinking of faire water. Now they couet golde and siluer like vnto our men.

Simplicitie, &c. I am exceedingly glad, that the commendation of holy
simplicitie is giuen vn to vs. But it grieueth vs that there is found so
great a decay of iustice, and good lawes, and so great want of gouernement
amongst vs, which is the cause of many thousande haynous offences which all
honest and godly men doe continually bewayle. This inconuenience doth not
happen through the negligence of the highest Magistrate, that is of our
most gracious King, but rather by our owne fault, who doe not present these
things vn to his Maiestie, which are disorderly committed without his
knowledge, and which are wanting in the inferiour Magistrate.

Merchants. Moreouer, Merchants, not onely of England and Denmarke, but
especially of Germanie, as at this time, so heretofore frequenting our
countrey, not to transport fishing, but fishes, taught not Islanders the
arte of brewing corne with water. For the Noruagians themselues, the first,
to our knowledge, that inhabited this Island, from whom ye Islanders are
lineally descended, brought with them out of Norway that arte, as also
golde and siluer coine, so that in old time there was no lesse vse of
siluer and golde with vs, then there is at this day.

[Sidenote: Corne of old time growing on Island.] And it is certaine that
before the often nauigations of Danes, Germans, and English men vn to vs,
our land was much more fertile then nowe it is (feeling the inconueniences
of the aged and decayed worlde, both from heauen and earth) and brought
foorth, in certaine choyse places, corne in abundance.

SECTIO QUINTA.
Anno Domino 846. natus est Haraldus Harfagre (quod auricomum vel mutuit. Nam antea in minutas provincias diuisum (quas Fylki vocabant, et

inuentam, at desertam tamen, colonias, dicto Superius Anno 874.

diu, nullius imperium agnoscentes, annis scilicet 386. plus minus. Et tentarat tributarios sibi facere Islandos, constanter tamen semper restiterunt, donec tandem circa annum Domini 1260. homagium ipsi

The same in English.

THE FIFTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: Munsterus. Krantzius.] The King of Denmarke and Norway sendeth every yeere a Lieutenant into the Countrey.

In the yeere of our Lord eight hundred fortie and sixe Harold Harfagre
(which is to say, golden haires or faire lockes) was borne. Who afterward
in the yeere eight hundred fiftie and eight, being chosen king of Norway,
when he was growen to age, and full strength, chaunged the forme of the
Noruagian gouernment. For whereas before it was diuided into pettie
Prouinces (which they called Fylki, and the pettie kings that gouerned
them, fylkis konga) he reduced it by force of armes vnto a Monarchie.
[Sidenote: The occasion of the first inhabiting of Island by the people of
Norway.] But when some inhabitants of the countrie, being mightie, and
descended of good parentages, could not well brooke this hard dealing, they
chose rather to be banished their countrey, then not to shake off the yoke
of tyranny. Whereupon, they in the yeere aboue named eight hundred seuentie
and foure, transported colonies into Island being before discouered by some
men and found out, but vnpeopled as yet: And so being the first founders of
our nation, they called themselues Islanders, which name their posteritie
reteineth vnto this day. And therefore the Islanders liued a long time,
namely, three hundred eightie and sixe yeeres, more or lesse, acknowledging
no submission to any other Nation. [Sidenote: Haquinus coronatus.] And
although Haquinus that crowned King of Norway who reigned longest of any
Noruagian king, namely, about sixtie sixe yeares, did oftentimes attempt by
Ambassadours to make the Islanders become tributaries vnto him,
notwithstanding at all times they constantly withstoode him, till at length
about the yeere of our Lord 1260. they performed homage vnto him. And
afterward continued always in their promised loyaltie, being subiects to
the king of Norway. But now at this day, since the Empire of the Noruagians
was translated by Margaret Queene of Denmarke, Suedeland, and Norway vnto
the Danes, they doe honour as their soueraigne Lord and King the most
gracious king of Denmarke.
SEXIO SEXTA.

ingenium, ad asserendum res incompertas nimis procliue, cupidinem suspiciendi.

quebus res omnes sunt communes? Testes sunt, tot de bonis mobilibus et supplicibus Islandorum, ad componendas istas de possessionibus distinctiones in nostra gente locum habuisse oportet: Quanquam autem in delinquitur tamen et Ecclesia et Ethnici iustissimam et optimam esse semper fassi sunt.

The same in English.
THE SIXTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: Krantzius. Munsterus.] All things are common among them except their wives.

Here Krantzius in the first place beginneth with such a gybe. There be many notable things in their manners, &c. Moreover, your wit being too hasty in affirming things unknown, doth here also diminish your credite. The experience as well of all things as of persons and times proveth your over greedy desire of novelty, of fame and vain glory, and argueth your great negligence in maintaining the truth. O worthy writers.

But whether the aforesaid things bee true or no, wee call the lawes of our Countrey to witnesse, which the Islanders from the beginning have used all one with the Norwayes: of the King and his subjects: of the seate of justice, and of law cases which come to be decided there, of inheritances: of adoptions, marriages, theft, extortions, lending, bargaines, and the rest: all which, to what purpose should they be enjoyned vnto them with whom all things are common? We call to witnesse so many broyles and contentions in our courts, and places of judgement in Island concerning goods moveable, and immoveable: we call to witnesse our kings now of Denmarke, aforetime of Norway, who by so many billes of supplication out of Island in old time, and of late haue beene often interrupted, for the setting through of controversies concerning possessions. Wee call Krantzius himselfe to witnesse against himselfe, whose words in the first section were these: Before the receiuing of Christian faith the Islanders liuing
according to the lawe of nature did not much differ from our lawe &c. If by
the lawe of nature, then doubtlesse by that lawe of iustice, which giueth
to evey man his owne: If by the lawe of iustice, then certainly
distinctions of properties and possessions must needes haue taken place in
our Nation: and although this very lawe is often transgressed, and that
haynously euen in the Church: notwithstanding both the Church, and also
heathen men doe acknowledge it to be most iust and good.

SECTIO SEPTIMA.

Quamuis principio huius commentarioli censuerim, Munsterum et alios magni
quocunque fieri possit, non satis video. Quid enim mouit tantos viros, vt
Nautarum maleuolas nugas et mendacia securi, tam atroci et contumelioso
nisi secura ridendi et contemnendi gentem pauperem et ignotam, licentia, et

hoc mendacium. Cum enim illud, et plurima etiam alia in historiam suam

Illudque quod ait Aristoteles lucrantur, vt cum vera dixerint, illis sine

suspiratione non credatur.
Docuerunt hactenus Krantzius et Munsterus: Islandos esse Christianos. Item:
Islandos ante susceptam Christi fidelitatem lege naturali vixisse. Item: Islandos

eos in sancta simplicitate. Adesdum igitur Lector, et quas Christianismi,

requirant, et in Islandis monstrant ac depingant, perpende. Vna fuit supra,
circumscribant Islandi: de quo vide Sect. i. huius: et sect. 7. prior.

precij sint apud illos canes et filii, aut hi etiam viltoris. Siccine nobis

proximum diligat velut se ipsum. Iam nemo est, puto, qui se ipsum non plus

habere iussit (Exo. 12. 24. Ephe. 6, 4.) ut siclicet sint in sancto

Vult Ecclesiolum quamlibet esse domum.
Sed et hic in prolem dulcissimam affectus naturalis in Ethnicis etiam satis esse negaueris. Monstrant id matres Carthaginenses, cum tertio bello Punico

everis eti coloris, ex Creta redeuntem cerneret, perijisse filium ratus,
vitam in proximis vndis finiuit. Sabellic. lib. 3. cap. 4. Monstrat

filij, vitam suspendio clausit. Campofulgos. lib. 5. cap. 7. Monstrant idem

locasta Creontis filia, Auctolia Sinonis F. Anius Tuscorum Rex, Orodes Rex Parthorum, et alij numero innumero. De quibus vide stat. lib. 2.

Christianos scriptores nostri fassi sint, hunc amorem et affectum in filios

arctissimo amore tenentur, deprimant.

Non addam contra hoc impudens mendacium exempla etiam nostratium satis illustria: Tacebo leges nostras plagiaras ipsis Islandis antiquiores,

Mannhelge: cap. 5. Si quis hominem liberum (quemuis nedum filium) extraneis vendat, &c.

extranei alicuius potestati, vel fame vel extrema quacunque vr gente necessitate, aut periculo, permittat, ne familicum *media deficientem

Islandi, siue extranei quilibet.

missus ad Islandos, Anno Domini 1552. Qui vt audiui, 15. pueros pauperculos assumpsit et secum in Daniam auexit: Vbi postea ipsius beneficio singulos est.

si emptorem non habet, ipse mactet et comedat? Nota sunt huius rei exempla:


reseruat &c. Eusebius libro 3. capite 6. lam quis est, qui non credat
misserrimam hanc matrem filium hunc suum, domini alicuius, si se obtulisset, apud quem credidisset seruatum iri, aut emptoris possessioni

Cneio Pompeio obsessam opprimens (Val. libro septimo cap. 7.) cuius attriuit, vt etiam pater filium suum deuorare voluerit. Notum etiam est, post mortem Henrici septimi Imperat fame per triennium continuata, quomodo

quidam alimentorum inopia adacti immanissimo Christianorum hosti proprios liberos vendiderint, et in perpetuum seruitutis iugum manciparint: quidam paruulos suos, quos ulterior tolerare non sustinebant, crudeli misericordia liberos in escam propriam mactare *consuetisse, Turcis libenter vendere, mendici apud Islandos, extrema vrgente necessitate, cuius durissimi sunt morsus, filios suos libenter amittant, toti genti, et quidem probri loco, candor, humanitas, veritas exulent.

eos vel in plateis, ne dicam in sacris concionibus, sinum gestent, quem

voluptas Islandorum gentem, nunquam cepit aut habuit. Quare iam Munstere et

The same in English.
THE SEVENTH SECTION.

They make all one reckoning of their whelpes, and of their children: except that of the poorer sort you shall easier obtaine their sonne then their shalke.

Although in the beginning of this Treatise I thought that Munster and other men of great name in those things which they haue left written concerning Islande, were not to bee charged with slander, yet whether that fauour may here be shewed by any man whatsoeuer (be he neuer so fauourable, and neuer so sincere) I doe not sufficiently conceiue. For what should moue such great men, following the despightful lyes, and fables of mariners, to defame and staine our nation with so horrible and so shamefull a reproch? Surely nothing else but a carelesse licentiousnesse to deride and contemne a poore and vnknownen Nation, and such other like vices.

But, be it knowne to all men that this vntrueth doth not so much hurt to the Islanders, as to the authors themselues. For in heaping vp this, and a great number of others into their Histories, they cause their credite in other places also to be suspected: And hereby they gaine thus muche (as Aristotle sayth) that when they speake trueth no man will beleue them without suspition.

But attend a while (Reader) and consider with me the grauitie and wisedome
of these great Clarke: that we may not let passe such a notable commendation of Island. Krantzius and Munster haue hitherto taught, that the Islanders are Christians. Also: that before receiuing of Christian faith they liued according to the lawe of Nature. Also: that the Islanders liued after a law not much differing from the lawe of the Germanes. Also, that they liued in holy simplicitie.

Attend I say (good Reader) and consider, what markes of Christianitie, of the lawe of nature, of the Germanes law, of holy simplicitie, these authors require, and what markes they shew and describe in the Islanders. There was one of the sayd markes before: namely, that the Islanders doe place hell or the prison of the damned, within the gulf and bottome of mount Hecla: concerning which, reade the first section of this part, and the seuenth section of the former. The seconde marke is, that with the Anabaptists they take away distinctions of properties and possessions: in the section next going before. The third and most excellent is this: those singular and natural affections, that loue and tender care, and that fatherly and godly minde of the Islanders towards their children, namely, that they make the same accompt of them, or lesse then they doe of their dogges. What? Will Munster and Krantzius after this fashion picture out vnto vs the lawe of Christ, the lawe of nature, the lawe of the Germanes, and holy simplicitie? O rare and excellent picture, though not altogether matching the skill of Apelles: O sharpe and wonderfull inuention, if authenticall: O knowledge more then humane, though not at all diuine.

But wee Islanders (albeit the farthest of all nations and inhabiting a frozen clime) require farre other notes of Christianitie. For we haue the
commandement of God, that every man should love his neighbour as himselfe.

Nowe there is none (I suppose) that doeth not love or esteeme more of himselfe then of his dogge. And if there ought to bee so great fauour, so great estimation, so great love vnto our neighbour, then how great affection doe we owe vnto our children? The most neare and inseparable love of whom, besides that nature hath most friendly setled in our mindes, the love of God also commandeth vs to haue speciall regard in trayning them vp (Exod 12. 24. Ephes. 6. 4.) namely that there may be in holy marriage certaine seminaries of Gods Church, and exercises of all pietie and honestie according to the excellent saying of the Poet--

God will haue each family,
A little Church to be,

Also,

Of humane life or mans societie,
A Schole or College is holy matrimonie

That it may be manifest, that among Christians their sonnes are more to be accompted of and regarded, then their dogges: and if any doe no otherwise esteeme of them, that they are no Christians.

But this naturall affection towards our most deare of-spring is plainly seene in the heathen themselues: that whomsoever you totally deprive of
this, you denie them also to bee men. The mothers of Carthage testifie this
to be true, when as in the third Punic warre the most choyse and gallant
young men in all the Citie were sent as pledges into Sicilia, whom they
followed vnto the shippes with most miserable weeping and lamentation, and
some of them being with griefe separated from their deare sonnes, when they
saw the saules hoysed, and the shippes departing out of the hauen, for
very anguish cast themselues headlong into the water: as Sabellicus

sonne Theseus, returning out of Creete with blacke sayles, thinking that
his sonne had perished, ended his life in the next waters: Sabell lib. 3.
cap 4. Gordianus the elder, Proconsul of Africa, doth testifie this, who
likewise, vpon rumours of the death of his sonne, hanged himselfe. Campoful
lib 5. cap. 7. Also, locasta the daughter of Creon, Auctolia daughter of
Simon, Anius King of the Thuscans, Orodes King of the Parthians, and an
infinite number of others. Concerning whom reade Plutarch stat. lib. 2. and
other authors, &c. To these may be added that sentence, Loue descendeth,
&c. So that you see, it is no lesse proper to a man entirely to loue his
children, then for a bird to flie: that if our writers at any time haue
confessed the Islanders to be men (muche lesse to be Christians,) they
must, will they nill they, ascribe vnto them this loue and affection
towards their children: if not, they doe not onely take from them the
title and dignitie of men, but also they debase them vnder euery brute
beast, which euen by the instinct of nature are bound with exceeding great
loue, and tender affection towards their young ones.

I will not adde against this shamelesse vntruth most notable examples of
our owen countreymen: I will omit our lawes of man-stealing, more ancient
then the Islanders themselues, being receiued from the Noruagians, and are
extant in our booke of lawes vnder the title Manhelge cap. 5, Whosoeuer selleth a free man (any man much more a sonne) vnto strangers, &c.

Now if any man be driuen to that hard fortune, that he must needs commit his own sonne into the hands of some inhabitant or stranger, being vrged thereunto by famine, or any other extreame necessity, that he may not be constrained to see him hunger-starued for want of sustenance, but keepeth his dogge still for his owne eating, this man is not to be sayd, that he esteemeth equally or more basely of his sonne then of his dogge: whether Islanders or any other countreymen do the same.

[Sidenote: The occasion of this slander.] The Germane or the Danish mariners might perhaps find amongst vs certaine beggars laden with children (for we haue here a great number of them) who in iesting maner, for they are much giuen to trifling talke, might saye: Giue me this, or sell me that: and when the stranger should aske, What will you giue me for it? the beggar might answere: I haue ten or foureteene children, I will giue you some one or more of them, &c. For this rabble of beggars vseth thus fondly to prate with strangers. Now if there be any well-disposed man, who pitying the need and folly of these beggers, releaseth them of one sonne, and doth for Gods sake by some meanes prouide for him in another countrey: doth the begger therefore (who together with his sonne being ready to die for hunger and pouerty, yeeldeth and committeth his sonne into the hands of a mercifull man) make lesse account of his sonne then of his dogge? Such works of loue and mercie haue bene performed by many, as well Islanders themselues as strangers: one of which number was that honourable man Accilius Iulius, being sent by the most gracious King of Denmarke into
Island in the year of our Lord 1552, who, as I have heard, took, and
carried with him into Denmark fifteen poor boys: where afterward it was
reported unto me, that, by his good means every one of them being bound to
a severall trade, proved good and thriftie men.

What if some man be driven to that passe, that he doth not only sell his
son but not finding a chapman, his own selfe killeth and eateth him?
Examples of this kinde be common, namely of the unwilling and forced
cruelty of parents towards their children, not being pricked on through
hate, or want of natural affection, but being compelled thereunto by
urgent necessity. Shall any man hereupon ground a general reproach against
a whole nation? We read that in the siege of Samaria, two mothers slew
their sons, and eat them sodden: 4. King, chap. 6. We read in the siege
of Jerusalem, how lamentable the voice of that distressed mother was, being
about to kill her tender child: My sweete babe, sayth she (for I will
report Eusebius owne words, concerning this matter, though very common,
that the affection of a mother may appear) borne to misery and mishap,
for whom should I conveniently reserve thee in this tumult of famine, of
war, and sedition? If we be subdued to the government of the Romans, we
shall wear out our unhappy days under the yoke of slavery. But I think
famine will prevent captivity. Besides, there is a rout of seditious rebels
much more intolerable than either of the former miseries. Come on
therefore, my son, be thou meat unto thy mother, a fury to these rebels,
and a byword in the common life of men, which one thing only is wanting to
make up the calamities of the hebrews. These sayings being ended, she killeth
her son, roasting and eating one halve, and reserving the other, &c.
Eusebius lib 3. cap. 6. Now, what man will not believe that this unhappy
mother would full gladly have passed over this her sonne into the possession of some master or chapman, if she could have happened upon any such, with whom she thought he might have been preserved: That famine is well known which oppressed Calagurium, a city of Spain, when in old time Cneius Pompeius layed siege thereunto (Valerius lib. 7. cap. 7.) the citizens whereof converted their wives and children into meat for the satisfying of their extreme hunger, whom doubtless they would with all their heartes have solde for other victuals. That famine also is well known which in the yeere of our Lord 851. (Vincent lib. 35. cap 26.) afflicted Germany, insomuch that the father was glad to devour his owne sonne. It was well known after the death of the Emperor Henry the seveth, in a famine continuing three whole yeres, how the parents would devour their children, and the children their parents, and that especially in Polonia and Bohemia. And that we may not onely allege ancient examples: it is reported that there was such a grievous dearth of corn in the yeeres 1586, and 1587, throughout Hungary, that some being compelled for want of food were faine to sell their children unto the most bloody and barbarous enemy of Christians, and so to enthrall them to the perpetuall yoke of Turkish slavery: and some are sayd to have taken their children, whom they could no longer sustaine, and with cruel mercy to have cast them into Danubius, and drowned them. But should these stories and the like make any man so mad as to affirme that this or that nation accustometh to kill their children for their owne food, and to sell them willingly unto the Turks, or to drowne and strangle them willingly in the water? I cannot thinke it. So neither (because beggers in Island being enforced through extreme and biting necessitie, do willingly part with their sons) is this custome generally to be imputed vnto the whole nation, and that by way of disgrace, by any man, except it be such an one who hath taken his leaue of all
modesty, plaine dealing, humanity, and trueth.

But I could wish that the loue of dogges in Islanders might be more sparingly reprehended by those people, whose matrons, and specially their noble women, take so great delight in dogs, that they carry them in their bosomes thorow the open streeetes. I will not say in Churches: which feshion yoong apes and whelpes in their armes, asking them this question: Whether women in their countrey brought foorth children or no? signifying heereby, that they do greatly offend who bestow vpon beasts these naturall affections, wherewith they should be inuited to the loue of mankinde, and specially of their owne ofspring, which strange pleasure neuer ouertooke, nor possessed the nation of the Islanders. Wherefore now (Munster and Krantzius) you must finde vs out other marks of Christianity, of the law of nature, of the Germans law, and of holy simplicity.

SECTIO OCTAVA.

[Sidenote: Krantzius Munsterus] Episcopum suum colunt pro Rege ad cuius nutum respicit totus populus. Quicquid ex lege, scripturis, et ex obseruantia; sed nunquam tanta vt exteris legibus aut consuetudini cederent

Episcopi, anathematis fulmine terribiles, alios in suam potestatem
dispulsis tenebris Papisticis, alia ratione homines Satan aggreditur,

The same in English.

THE EIGHTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: Krantzius, Munsterus] They honour their Bishop as their King
unto whose command all the whole people haue respect. Whatsoeuer he
prescribeth out of the law, the scriptures, or the customes of other
nations, they do full holily obserue.

There was indeed at the beginning, about the time of the reformation of
religion, great reverence had vnto the bishop; but neuer so great, that our
politique lawes at the bishops command should giue place to outlandish
lawes and customes. Neither in the time of Albertus Krantzius, much lesse
of Munster (of which two the first deceased in the yere of our Lord 1517,
and the second 1552) the bishops of Island had the authonty of kings, when
as many of the country which were of the richer sort, would not doubt to
rebell against them; which thing is too well knowen in our countrey. Yet in
the meane time, the bishops being terrible with their authority of
excommunication, reduced some vnder their subiection, and others at that
time they cruelly persecuted.
Moreouer, albeit at that time the bishop was had in great, yea, in exceeding great reverence, yet now adayes, the darkenesse of popery being dispelled, the deuill assaulteth men after another sort, and euen here amongst vs, he is not slacke to arme their minds with contempt, and peruerse stubburnnesse against God, and his holy ministry.

SECTIO NONA.

[Sidenote: Munster.] Illic victitant plerumque piscibus, propter magnam inde cum magno lucro pisces exportant. Item Munsterus. Illic piscibus induratis vtuntur loco panis qui illic non crescit.

ignota nihil scribere possit, quod coloris aliquid habeat, vel falsa

The same in English.

THE NINTH SECTION.
[Sidenote: Munsterus.] They liue there for the most part vpon fishes, 
because of their great want of corne, which is brought in from the port 
townes of other countreys: who cary home fishes from thence with great 
gaine. Also Munster sayth, they do there vse stockefish in stead of 
bread, which groweth not in that countrey.

Consider (friendly reader) how Munster is delighted to harpe vpon one 
string, that when he can write nothing of an vnknownen nation which may cary 
any shew with it, he is faine either to bring in falshood, or often to 
repeat the same things, and so to become tedious vnto his reader: for he 
sayd a little before, that the Islanders liue vpon fish. His words aboue 
recited were these: Island conteineth many people liuing onely with the 
food of cattell, and sometimes by taking of fishes. And that I may omit the 
rest in which some trifle might be noted whereas he sayeth that bread 
growth not in Island: it is most true: which I thinke is common therewith 
to Germany also, because bread growth not there neither, except it be in 
Munsters field where naturall vineger also doth marueillously encrease. But 
these toyes, by the liberty of rethoricke forsooth, shall be out of danger. 
Howbeit, vnto these reproches, which strangers do gather from the meats and 
drinks of the Islanders, we will hereafter briefly answere, Sect. 15.

SECTIO DECIMA.

celebrant cantibus et insculpunt scopulis, atque promontorij, vt nulla,
irretiant et capiant.

[Sidenote: Veterum gesta apud Islandes conseruata.] Quin veterum gesta aliquot cantibus et poematibus nostratium, vt et soluta oratione, apud nos scopulis vel promontorijs insculpta sunt, eam non licet nobis, vt neque Statuimus enim animi esse generosi ac veracis, vt crimina falsa refellere, ita laudem imмерitam sibi haud vendicare, nec, etsi quis tribuat, agnoscere.

The same in English.

THE TENTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: Munsterus. Krantzius.] The inhabitants do celebrate the actes of their ancestours, and of their times, with songs, and they graue them in rocks and promontories, that they may not decay with posterity, but onely by the defect of nature.

[Sidenote: Frisius.] There be diuers found amongst them that be minstrels, and can play vpon the lute, who with their delectable musicke ensnare and take both fowles and fishes.
[Sidenote: The Islanders preserve in writing the acts of their ancestors.]

We deny not but that some worthy acts of our forefathers be reserved in the songs and poems of our countrymen, as also in prose: but that the same things have been engraven by us, or by our ancestors in rocks or promontories, we may in no case acknowledge that praise be due unto us, nor yet the other of minstrels, and taking of birds and fishes. For we hold it to be part of an honest and ingenuous mind, as to refute false crimes, so not to challenge undeserved praise unto himself, nor to accept it being offered.

SECTIO VNDECIMA.

intersrerunt, actionis finis esto.

Etiam magna mei pars est exhaosta laboris:

tamen constate volo, quonam hoc animo faciam, videlicet, non vt cum illius pestifera virulentia, conuicijs aut maledicentia certem (Nam vt est in triuali paroemia,
Hoc scio pro certo, quod si cum stercore certo,
Vinco, seu vincor, semper ego maculor:

Sed vt bonis et cordatis omnibus, etiam extraneis, satisfaciam qui
maledicentiam istam Germanicam lecturi vel audituri sunt, aut olim

opprobrium vtuntur, et inde dicteria et comumeliosas subsannationes ad
despiciendos Islandos petunt, ab ilia mordendi licentia in posterum, si
fieri possit, abducamus.

Quem etiam sua de Islandis carmina Encomiastica recitantem in his pagellis
maledictis turgidum, omnibus bonis nauseam mouere posse, ac sua spurcitie
ab ijs legendis absterrere.

est in animo putida ipsius calumnia et conuiciorum sentina, has chartas

Germanicus hic noster, si Dijs placet, Historicus: Multos ex pastoribus

priore editione, huius pasquilli legitur, quod tamen posterior editio
eiusdem refutat: Dicens, eosdem pastores in integro anno tantum quinquies

consentit; Falsum nec vero nec falso.
Sed com nostrum non sit veritatem vspiam dissimulare, nos haud negandum ducimus conciones sacras circa id tempus, quo iste Sycophanta in Islandia caligine illa exempti sumus, aliter se rem habere, Deo imprimis gratias agimus: Licet quorundam pastorum nostrorum tardam stupiditatem, segniitem

The same in English.

THE ELEVENTH SECTION.

But now, let this be the end of our controversie with the authours aforesayd, being otherwise men of excellent learning, and of great renoume, who notwithstanding so inconsiderately haue entermedled these things in their writings. And now the better part of my labour is finished.

But yet there remaynes that viperous German brood, the mother whereof would haue come to light, as it were at a second birth, without name, that it might so much the more freely wound the fame of the Islanders with venomous sting.

Moreouer, although I be not afrayd to encounter with this beast, yet would I haue all men to know with what minde I vndertake this enterprise, namely,
not that I meane to contend with his pestiferous rancour, by reproches, and
railing speeches (for as it is in the common prouerbe:

I know, that if I striue with dung most vile,
How ere it be, my selfe I shall defile);

but that I may satisfie all honest and well affected men, euen strangers
themselves, who shall hereafter reade or heare, or haue heretofore heard
that Germane pasquill, least they also should thinke that we woorthily
sustaine so monstrous a disgrace: and also that I may from henceforth, if
it be possible, restraine others (who vse those venomous Germaine rimes to
the vpbrading of our nation, and from hence borrow their scoffes, and
reproachfull taunts to the debasing of vs Iselanders) from that libertie of
backbiting.

Therefore, that I may not be tedious to the reader with long circumstancies,
I will come to the rehearsing of those things which that railing Germane
hath heaped vp in his leud pasquill: whom also I could bring in, repeating
his friendly verses of the Ilanders, within the compasse of this my booke,
but that I doe foresee that the sayd slanderous libell being stuffed with
so many and diuers reproches, might breed offence to all honest men, and
deterre them from reading it, with the filthinesse thereof.

I will therefore repeat the principall matters (omitting those things which
he hath common with others, or, that heretofore haue been examined) but
farre more modestly then he, least (as I sayd) I cause good and learned
mens cares to tingle at his leud and vnseemely rimes: that they are desirous to see or heare him let them enquire at the Stationers. It is no part of our meaning (I say) to defile these papers with his stinking slanders, or with the filthy sinke of his reproches.

[Sidenote: The first obiection or reproch.] First therefore, this our goodly Germaine Historiographer obiecteth that there be many Pastours in Island, which preach not to their people once in two yeres, as it is read in the former edition of this pasquill, which notwithstanding the latter edition doth refute: saying that the sayd Pastours vse to preach but fiue times in an whole yeere which two, how well they agree together, let the reader be iudge, seeing it is manifest that the authour himselfe, presently after the first edition, had scarce seen Island. So oftentimes one he betrayeth another, according to that saying: Trueth agreeth vnto trueth; but falshood agreeth neither to trueth nor to falshood.

But sith it is our part not to dissemble the trueth in any place, we will not denie that holy sermons, about the time wherein this sycophant liued in Island, namely in the yere 1554, were seldomer in vse then they are at this day, namely, the darkenesse of popery being scarsely at that time dispelled. Which also is to be vnderstood concerning the Psalmes of Dauid mumbled by the common people in Latine, as he casteth vs in the teeth: for the Papists grounding all the hope of their saluation in the Masse, did little regard the sermon or doctrine. But after we were freed from that mist, it hath bene (God be thanked) farre otherwise with vs: although we cannot altogether excuse the dulnesse, slouth, and preposterous care of certeine of our Pastours. Which, whether it agreeth to any of their
countreymen or no, let other nations judge.

SECTIO DUODECIMA.

sed ab ijs pro scelere ne haberi quidem.

notauit.

cum coniuge alterius commiserit, confiscatis suis bonis, capite etiam

statutum tempus non soluerit vel vades dederit, in exilium proscibendum

viro legitime deprehensum, si euaserit, homicidij mulctam expendere iubent?

eundem insontem interfecisset, expendere teneretur, redimere iubent?

Adulterium et scortationes in Islandia peccati aut sceleris nomen non
mereri. Nam licet politici quidam hoc vel illud scelus impunitum omittant,
non debet tota gens, non leges, non boni et pij omnes, eo nomine in ius vocari, aut male audire.

The same in English.

THE TWELFTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: The second reproach. ] Secondly, the trifler shamefully reporteth, that adulteries and whoredomes are not onely publique, and common vices amongst Islanders: but that they are not accounted by them for vices.

Although indeed these most filthy abominations, euen in our common wealth, be not altogethe vnusuall: notwithstanding, since al men know that they are farre more common in other nations, where be greater multitudes of people, he did vndeseruedly, and maliciously note the Islanders rather with this reproch, then other people and nations, who are more infamous with this crime then our countreymen.

And albeit I wish with all mine heart that vices and enormities were much lesse wincked at in our countrey, then we see they are, yet notwithstanding this iugler by reason of his naturall inclination to backbiting, hath added this in his last reproch: namely that these vices by the Iselanderes are not accounted for vice. For, in what common wealth dare the impudent companion affirme this to be true? What? in that common wealth which hath sworne to
obserue the law contained in our statute booke vnnder the title of Manhelge
chap 28, whereby it is enacted, that whosoeuer committeth adultery with
another man's wife the second time, his goods being confiscate, he shall be
punished with death? Or in that common wealth, which not long since hath
inflicted the penalty of 80 dollers vpon a seruant committing adultery with
his masters wife? Or in that common wealth which hath decreed that if he
doeth not pay, nor lay in sureties at the day appointed he shalbe banished
the country? Or in that common wealth the politike lawes whereof doe
streightly command that whosoeuer be according to law found in adultery
with another man's wife, by her husband, if he escape, he shall vndergoe
the punishment of manslaughter? Or in that common wealth, the politike
lawes whereof do also enioyne a man that is taken in carnall copulation
with the mother, daughter, or sister, by the sonne, father, or brother, to
redeeme his life with the one halfe of that which he oaght to haue payed,
if he had shed the innocent bloud of the sayd party? Or in that common
wealth the politike lawes whereof haue noted and condemned adultery vnnder
the name of a most heinous offence? And do straightly command that he which
is taken the third time in that beastly act shalbe punished with death?

You see therefore (friendly readers) what an iniurious Notary we haue,
affirming that adultery and whoredome in Island deserueth not the name of
sinne and wickednesse for although some officers let slip this or that vice
vnpunished, yet ought not the whole nation, nor the lawes, nor all good and
godly men, in that regard, to be accused or euill spoken of.

SECTIO DECIMATERTIA.
erga Germanos Islandis notam inurit. Fuit autem procul dubio famosi huius

Vnde cum ipse mala fide cum mulus egerit (plerumque enim fraus et mendacia coniunguntur, et mendacem se fuisse, hac ingenij sui experientia sat is

Germanorum, quibus annua est navigatio ad Islandos, cum nostris hominibus agant. Ea autem querela, cum non alios conuiciari, sed aliorum in gentem

The same in English.

THE THIRTEENTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: The third reproach] The third reproach is, whereby he doth brand the Islanders with the marke of deceit and trechery toward the Germans.

Doubtles the author of this libell was some vagabond huckster or pedler, and had gone particularly into many corners of Island to vletter his trumpery wares, which he also testifieth of himselfe in his worthy rimes, that he had travailed thorow the greatest part of Island, whereupon when he had played the cousining mate with others (for often times deceit and lying are joyned together, and he hath sufficiently proued himselfe to be a liar, by this triall of his wit) peraduenture himselfe was beguiled by them whom he before time had defrauded.
From hence proceedeth this slander, against our whole Nation: dissembling in the meane time with what honestie certaine Germans, making yerely voyages into Island, deale with our men. But seeing by this complaint I haue not determined to reproch others, but to lay open the undesered reproches of others against our nation, I do here of purpose surcease.

SECTIO DECIMAQUARTA.

[Sidenote: 4. 5. 6. & 7. Conuitia.] Quarto: negat in conuituijs quemquam

Cubandi et prandendi ritus obijcit: quod decem plus minus in eodem lecto

Sexto. Calumniatur eosdem faciem et os vrina proluere.

Septimo. Nuptiarum, sponsalium, natalitiorum celebritatem et funerum ritus
de his respondere prorsus dedignemur. Nam vt demus (quod tamen non damus) aliquid huiusmodi apud homines sordidos, et ex ipsa vulgi colluie infimos,
instituit) Tamen manifestiorem etiam hoc loco iniuriam nobis facit, vnius

ipsi extranei in nostra Insula non parum versati, locupletissimi testes
esse possunt.

in ipsius natione deprehensas colligere. Sed odi facundiam caninam, nec in
aliorum opprobrium disertum esse iuuat: nec tam tenet esse volo, vt
verbulis transuerberer. Id tantum viderint boni et pij omnes, cuius sit

scelera ac mores pessimos, furta, homicidia, parricidia, scortationes,
adulteria, incestus luxuriem, rapinas et reliquas impietates et
obscoenitates in vnum coactas, omnibus Germanis, aut alioqui alteri cuiuis

inquam, Rhythmista, naturam et ingenium suum eiusmodi loidoria prodiderit?

rosas aut flores alioqui pulcherrimos et suauissimos decerpere: Sed rostro
in coenum prono, quicquid est luti et stercoris volutare, vertere et

eruant, vbi demum solida voluptate pascuntur.

aptissima, vt se esse, qui dicitur, re ipsa probaret, corrasis; vnde
posthoc porci nomen ex moribus et ingenio ipsius factum, sortitor.
The same in English.

THE FOURTEENTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: The 4. 5. 6. & 7. reproches.] Fourthly, he sayth that in bankets none of the ghests use to rise from the table: but that the good wife of the house reacheth to every one a chamber pot, so oft as need requireth. Moreouer, he noteth much vnmanerliness of eating and drinking at bankets.

Fiftly, he obiecteth customes of lying in bed, and of dining: namely that ten persons, more or lesse, men and women be altogether in the same bed, and that they eat their meat lying in bed: and that in the meane time they do nothing but play at dice or at tables.

Sixtly, he reporteth that they wash their hands or their faces in pisse.

Seuenthly, he despightfully abaseth our solemnizings of marriages, spousals, birth-dayes, and our customes at burials.

These, and a number of such like reproches hath this impure slanderer, spued foorth against an innocent nation, yea and that nation which hath deserued right well of him and his countrimen. Which are of the same kind with these, in so much that we altogether disdeigne to make answere vnto
them. For, that we may graunt (which notwithstanding we will in no case
yelde vnto) that this worthy Germane notarie obserued some such matter
among base companions, and the very of-scouring of the common people, with
whom he was much more conuersant than with good and honest persons (for he
had liued, as his rimes testifie, somewhat long vpon the coast of Island,
whither a confused rout of the meanest common people, in fishing time do
yerely resort, who being naught aswell through their owne leudnesse, as by
the wicked behauiour of outlandish mariners, often times doe leade a badde
and dishonest life) notwithstanding we are in this place more manifestly
wronged through the knauery of this one varlet, and desperate sycophant by
his defaming of the whole nation (as others also vsually do) then that it
should neede any refutation at all. Of which thing strangers themselues,
who are not a little conuersant in our Iland, may be most sufficient
witnesses.

I could also gather together many such filthy, vnmannerly, and baudie
fashions noted by others euen in his own countrey. But I detest this dogged
elocuence, neither take I any pleasure to be witty in the disgracing of
others: and yet I will not shew my selve such a milke-soppe as to be
daunted with light words. Onely, let all honest and good men consider, what
disposition it argueth, for one to obiect against a whole nation certaine
misdemeanours committed by some one or other particular man. If any man
should trauell thorowout all the cities and townes of Germanie or any other
nation, and heaping together the offences, and most leud maners, the
robberies, manslaughters, murthers, whoredomes, adulteries, incests, riots,
extortions, and other prophane, and filthy actes, should affirme them to be
common to all Germans, or otherwise to any other whole nation, and should
exaggerate all these things with notorious lies, is he to be accounted one
that spends his time in a good argument? But what maruaile is it, though a
varlet, and, that I may giue him his true title, a filthy hogge, that imer
(I say) hath bewrayed his nature and disposition in reproches? For it is
well known that swine, when they enter into most pleasant gardens, do not
pluckle lilies or roses, or any other most beautiful and sweet flowers; but
thrusting their snouts into the ground, doe tumble and toss vp and downe
whatsoever durt and dung they can finde, vntill they haue rooted vp most
uncleane things, namely such as are best agreeable to their nature,
wherewith they greedily glut themselues: Euen so this hoggish Rimer lightly
passeth ouer the best and most commendable things of our Common wealth, but
as for the woorst, and those which haue been committed by none, or by very
few, namely, such things as best fit his humour and disposition (that he
might indeed show himselfe to be the same which we haue termed him) those
things (I say) hath he scraped vp together: whereupon hereafter by my
consent, for his maners and disposition let him enjoy the name of a swine.

SECTIO DECIMAQUINTA.

extraneis piscium genera illis sint ensui, et aquam ac serum lactis in potum

objiciunt, pauc a hoc loco addenda videbantur.
qui et se et cum aliis etiam mendicos alunt. Mendicorum, et eorum qui ad

est, nec quod illos edere, aut edisse, extrema aliquando coegit necessitas,

suffocatis quidem non comedendis legem habemus inter canones, quorum

seruantissima videri voluit antiquitas.

sed morticinam quoque carnem ex mortuorum ossibus in mortario contusis

et de alijs quoque populis notum est, qui simili vrgente inopia, etiam

murium, felium et canum esu victi tarint. Sic etiam Islandis aliquando vsu

venit (quanquam a canina, munum et felium, vt et humana carne hactenus,

ad victum necessaria ex terra marique petant, et ab extraneis nihil

vexare incolas, necesse est. Vnde fit, vt illos qui in diem viuere soliti

relinquo.

solent, potissimum de carne, piscibus, butyro, absque sale inueteratis,

Germanorum more, quantum quidem castis et temperatis animis ad

mediocritatem sufficere debet, licet magna condimentorum varietate, vt et
ipsis Pharmacopolijs, destituimur, mensam instruere et frugaliter viuere

victus genera, passim sine salis condimento vsitata esse. Et insuper
tamen extraneos apud nos, non sine voluptate, manducare solitos. [Sidenote:
omnibus suppetit: docuit tamen Deus opt. max. etiam nostros homines
appareat, Deum in alendis Islandis non esse ad panem vel salem alligatum.

boni et conuenientis alimenti, [Greek: kai tes euchrasias] esse indicia)
concedere dignetur, cum ingenio etiam non prorsus tam crasso ac sterili,

Ni nos (vt inquit ille) paupertas inuidia deprimeret.

vidit, mare mediterraneum esse aliquod, non possit adduci vt credat: Sic
gente, cui Mandrorum nomen Clytharcus et Magestanes dederunt, teste
Agatarchide, didicimus; aut ranis, aut cancris mannis, aut squillis gibbis,
quibus tamen edulijs, in totum nostra consuetudo abhorret.
THE FIFTEENTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: The ninth reproch.] Wee will heere rehearse the ninth reproch, which that slanderous hogge hath drawen from the maner of liuing, and specially from the meat and drinke of the Islanders, and that not in one or a few wordes, but in a large inuectiue: namely, that they eate olde and vsauoury meates, and that, without the use of bread. Also that they eate diuers kinds of fishes which are vnknowen to strangers: and that they mingle water and whey together for drinke. All which this venemous pasquill, with eloquent railing and wittie slander hath set out at the full.

And albeit we doe scarse vouchsafe to stand longer about answering of him, yet in regard of others, who at this day partly woonder at the matter, and partly obiect it to our nation, we thought good to adde some few things in this place.

First therefore we will diuide this our nation into two parts: into beggers, and those that susteine both themselues, and amongst others, beggers also. As touching all kinds of meats wherewith beggers and other poore men satisfie their hunger, it is no easie matter to rehearse and examine them; neither, because extreame necessity hath at some times compelled them to eate this or that, therefore it is meet to prescribe certeine kindes and number of meats to the rest of the nation. For we haue
also a law among the canons apostolicall, which forbiddeth to eat things
strangled: in the observing of which canons, antiquity hath seemed to be
very devout.

Moreover, we will make a distinction of times also, that it may seeme no
strange accident in the time of famine, though many things are, and haue
bene vsed by a great number of men to satisfie their hunger, which at other
times are scarce meat for dogges. As very lately in the yeere 1590 we heard
concerning the citizens of Paris, being enuironed with the most streite
siege of Henrie the fourth, King of Navarre, suffering (as Petrus
Lindebergius speaketh) the famine of Saguntum; insomuch that they did not
onely eate their horses, but also taking the flesh of dead men, and beating
their bones to powder in a morter, they mingle therewith a bandfull or two
of meale, esteeming it dainties. And it is well knowen also of other
nations who in the like vrgent necessities haue liued by eating of mise,
cats and dogs. In like maner sometimes are we Islanders constrained to doe,
not being besieged by our enemies (although hitherto we haue abstained from
mans flesh, yea, and to our knowledge, from dogs, mise, and cats) for
whereas we prouide things necessary for food out of the land and sea, and
no sustenance, or very little is brought vnto vs by strangers: so often as
God withheldeth his gifts of land and sea, then must follow and ensue a
dreadfull scarcity of victuals, whereupon the inhabitants are sometimes
vexed with grievous famine. And therefore it is likely that they amongst vs
which vsed to liue from hand to mouth, and had not some prouision of former
yeeres remaining, haue beene druuen to great extremities, so often as need
hath enforced them thereunto. But whether this thing ought woorthily to
minister occasion to a publike and perpetuall reproch against the
Islanders, more then other nations, I referre it to the judgement of indifferent and honest mindes.

Moreouer, whereas diuers vse to object concerning the proper and accustomed fare of our country, especially of flesh, fish, butter being long time kept without salt, also concerning white-meats, want of corne, drinking of water, and such like: in most places of Island (for there be many of our countrimen also, who, after the maner of the Danes and Germans so farre forth as ought in a meane to suffice chast and temperate minds, although we haue not any great variety of sauce, being destitute of Apothecaries shops, are of ability to furnish their table, and to liue moderately) we confesse it to be euen so: [Sidenote: Want of salt in Island.] namely that the foresaid kind of victuals are vsed in most places without the seasoning of salt. And I wil further adde, that the very same meats, which certaine strangers abhorre so much as to name, yet strangers themselues, when they are among vs do vse to eat them with delight. [Sidenote: The Islanders means of preseruing their meates without salt.] For albeit for the most part we haue no corne, nor meale, nor yet salt the prouocation of gluttony, for the seasoning of our victuals, is common to vs all, yet notwithstanding almighty God of his goodnesse hath taught our men also the waue how they should handle, and keepe in store those things which belong to the sustentation of life, to the end it may appeare, that God in nourishing and susteining of vs Islanders, is not tyed to bread and salt.

But whereas strangers boast that all their victuals are more pleasant and wholesome: yet we denye that to be a sufficient reason, why they should vpbraid vs in regard of ours: neither do we thinke God to be a debter vnto
our deinity mouthes: but rather we giue him thanks with our whole hearts,
that he vouchsafeth without this delicate and nice fare, which is esteemed
to be so pleasant and wholesome, to grant euen vnfo the men of our countrey
many yeeres, and a good age as also constant health, and flourishing
strength of body; all which we account to be signes of wholesome and
conuenient nourishment and of a perfect constitution. Besides, our wits are
not altogether so grosse and barren, as the philosophers seeme to assigne
vnfo this our aier, and these nourishments, which perhaps many of our
countreymen could much rather verifie in deeds then in words, if (as the
Poet sayth) enuious pouerty did not holde vs downe.

But here the iudgement of the common people, as often in other matters,
doeth too plainly deceiue (I except all good and well experienced men) some
of them which would seeme to be wise, namely, that whatsoever their vse
doeth admit, or that they haue not seene, nor had trial of beforetime, they
presently condemne. As for example, he that neuer saw the sea will not be
persuaded that there is a mediterrane sea; so doe they measure all things
by their owne experience and conceit, as though there were nothing good and
profitable, but that onely wherewith they mainteine their liues. But we are
not growen to that pitch of folly, that because we haue heard of certaine
people of Aethiopia, which are fed with locusts, being therefore called by
Diodorus, Acridophagi, and of a certaine nation of India also, whom
Clitarchus and Megasthenes haue named Mandri, as Agatarchides witnesseth,
or of others that liue vpon frogs or sea-crabs, or round shrimps, which
thing is at this day commonly knowen, that (I say) we should therefore
presume to make them a laughing stocke to the common people, because we are
not accustomed to such sustenance.
SECTIO DECIMASEXTA.

[Sidenote: 10. Conuicium.] Decimo. Hospitalitatem nostris hominibus inhumanissimus porcus obijcit. Marsupium inquit, non cirumferunt, nec hospitiari aut conuiuari gratis pudor est. Nam si quis aliqud haberet, quod cum alijs communicaret, id faceret sane in primis ac libenter. His

Scilicet, quia nihil cum Amaricino, sui:

conuiciatore dicatur, id quod vel ex his ultimis duabus obiectionibus constare poterit.

de Islandia composuit, et nos tam aliquot proximis distinctionibus

et maledicentia in nostram gentem scribere non erubuit, nos tamen referre pigrat: Tanta eius est et tam abominanda petulantia, tam atrox calumnia.

DEVVS BONE: Hoc conuiciorum plaustrum (paucissima namque attigimus: Nolui enim laterem lauare, et stulto, vt inquit ille sapientissimus, secundum stultitiam suam respondere, cum in ipsius Rhythmis verbum non sit quod conuicio careat) qui viderit, nonne iudicabit pasquilli istius autorem
contemptorem, sine pietate, sine humanitate?

exportatis affatim nostratium quibusuis commodis, pecudum, pecorumque

commercia diu fuerunt. Sed a nullis vnquam tale encomium, talem gratiam

Islandia vix, ac ne vix quidem, nomine tenus, alioqui innotuerat, ad huius

caveant: cum tales editiones pugnet cum iure naturali: Ne alteri facias,

irrogatur poena grauissima ijs, qui tales libellos componunt, scribunt,
proferunt, emi vendiue curant, aut non statim repertos discerpunt.

et verbi cupiditate flagres: Sacrum ministerium et ministros, non parum

cures, non contemnas aut odio prosequeris: sed rueearis, foueas, ames.
Contra facientes, pro impijs et profanis habeas: vt omnia ad pietatis et

ordines Ecclesiastici et Politici, in vniversum obtemperent: In vtroque
istas virtutes, reliquas huc pertinentes coniungant, ad gubernacula

probe curetur, vt videlicet, qui munus publicum gerunt, ex bonis omnibus

optimi quique delightur, improbi et huic rei inepti, procul inde

contentione honoris, ruunt: si idem criminum aut improbitatis, vel

suspecti vel convicti sint, aut suspensorum et convictorum protectores, vel

regendam commiseris, qui quod in ijs est, licet sint et ipsi ex tuis,

tamen cum VELLE SIT INSTAR OMNIVM, nolui idcirco desistere, quod pro tuo

tandem, quod ad tui patrocinium pro mea tenui parte afterre possem,

nequaquam supprimendum putaui nec enim illos laudare soleo,

Qui, quod desperent invicti membra Glyconis,

Nodosa nolunt corpus prohibere Chiragra.
nequaquam poenitebit. Quod si ad laudem vel aliquale patrocinium tui
meos conterraneos, arte et industria superiores, ad causam tuam, vel nunc,
vel in posterum suscipiendam, hoc conatu tenello excitauero, quid est cur
reputabimus.

Kalendas Maias.

The same in English.

THE SIXTEENTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: The tenth reproch.] Tenthly, that vnxiuill beast casteth our men
in the teeth with their good hospitality. They do not (sayth he) carry
about money with them in their purses, neither is it any shame to be
enterteined in a strange place, and to haue meat and drinke bestowed of
free cost. For if they had any thing which they might impart with others,
they would very gladly. Moreouer, he maketh mention of certeine churches or
holy chappels (as of a base thing) which many of the Islanders haue built
in their owne houses: and that first of all in the morning, they haue
recourse thither, to make their prayers, neither do they suffer any man
before they haue done their deuotion to interrupt them. These be the things
which he hath set downe as some notable disgrace vnto the Islanders. And no maruell:

For filthy swine detest all cleanly ones,
And hogs vnclene regard not precious stones.

Which I feare, least it may be too truely affirmed of this slanderer, as it is manifest out of these two last obiections.

Howbeit, sithens he himselfe is a most sufficient witnesse of his owne vertues, we will referre the reader, who is desirous to know more of him vnto his booke of rimes against Island, which we haue now examined in our former sections at whose railing and filthy speeches we haue bene ashamed on his behalfe: insomuch that those things which he with satyrical, satyrical? nay sathanicall biting and reuiling of our nation, hath not blushsed to write, are irksome for vs to repeat: so great and abominable is his insolency and his reproches so heinous. Good God! whosoeuer shall view this cartlode of slanders (for we haue mentioned the least part thereof, because I was loth to lose my labour, or, as the wise man sayth, to answere a foole according to his foolishnesse, whereas in his rimes there is not one word without a reproch) will he not iudge the authour of this pasquill to haue bene a most lewde man, yea the very drosse of mankinde, without pietie, without humanitie?

But here I haue iust occasion to doubt whether the authour of these reuilings hath bene the more iniurious to Islanders, or the Printer thereof
Ioachimus Leo (and whatsoever else they be who in their editions dare
either profess their own name, nor the name of their Citie) which Leo
hath nowe twise, if not oftener, published the said pamphlet at Hamburg.

Doe you suffer this to goe vpunished, O ye counsell and commons of
Hamburg? What? [Sidenote: The commodities of Island.] Haue you determined
to gratifie Island in this sort, which these many yeeres, by reason of your
aboundant traffique with vs, and your transporting home of all our
commodities, of our beeues and muttons, and of an incredible deale of
butter and fishes, hath bene vnto your Citie in stead of a storehouse.

[Sidenote: The ancient traffique of England with Island.] In times past
also, certaine Cities of England and of Holland haue reaped the commodities
of this Isle. Moreover, there hath bene ancient traffique of Denmarke,
Breme, and Lubeck with the Islanders. But they neuer gained by any of their
chapmen such commendations, and such thanks, as are contained in this
libell: It hath in your, in your Citie (I say) bene bred, brought foorth,
iterated, if not the thirde time published: which I hath armed other people
vnto whom the name of Island was otherwise scarce knowne, to the disdaine
and contempt of this our Nation: and this iniurie offered by a Citizen of
yours, hath Island susteined these 30. yeeres and more, and doeth as yet
susteine. But many such accidents often come to passe without the knowledge
of the magistrate, neither do we doubt but that good men are grieued at
such infamous libels, and do take diligent heed that they be not published:
for such editions are contrary to the lawe of nature: Doe not that to
another which thou wouldest not haue done vnto thy selfe: [Sidenote: Lawes
against libels.] and to the laws Emperial of infamous libels: wherein is
enioyned a most grieuous penaltie vnto those who inuent, write, ytter, or
cause such libels to be bought or sold, or do not presently vpon the
finding thereof teare them in pieces.
But now time bids vs to sound a retreat: and to returne home vnto thee, Island (our most deare mother) whom neither pouertie, nor colde, nor any other such inconueniences shall make icksome vnto vs, so long as thou ceasest not to giue heartie and willing entertainment vnto Christ: where, first we doe earnestly exhort thee to the serious and ardent affection, and loue of God, and of the heauenly knowledge reueiled vnto vs in Christ: that thou wouldest preferre this before all things, being enflamed with desire of doctrine, and of the worde: that thou wouldest not lightly esteeme, contenmen or hate the holy ministerie and ministers, but reuerence, cherish and loue them. Accompting those that practise the contrary as wicked and prophane: and managing all thine affaires both priuate and publique, according to the prescript rule of pietie and honestie, that vnto this, thy states and orders Ecclesiasticall and politique may in all things be conformed; and so in either kinde of life relying thy selfe vpon that leuell and line of equitie and iustice, and auoyding others, who vpon stubbornes and impietie swerue therefrom. That thou wouldest also inflict iust punishments vpon offenders: All which we doubt not but the Magistrate will haue respect vnto. But especially that thou admittest none to be Magistrates, but men of approued fidelitie and honestie, and such as may adioyne vnto these vertues others hereto belonging, by which means inconueniences may fitly be preuented. For if this matter be well handled, namely that they which are the best of all good men be chosen to beare publicke authoritie, wicked and vnfit men being altogether reiected; the condition of the subiects shalbe most prosperous: the hues and maners of all men shal proue by so much the more commendable; godlinesse also and honestie shal become the more glorious. But on the contrary, if pastours of
Churches be not answerable to their function, either in life or doctrine; if all men without respect or difference be admitted to the governement of the common wealth, who aspire thereunto by their owne rashnesse, ambition, or avarice, and desire of honour, yea though they be suspected or convicted of crimes and dishonestie, or be protectours or vniust fauourers of such persons as are suspected and convicted; then what will be thy state, oh Island? What wil be thy outward show or condition? Doubtlesse most miserable. Neither shalt thou by any other meanes more suddenly approch to thy ruine and destruction, then if thou committest thy selfe to the governement of such men, who to the vtermost of their power, although they be of thine owne brood, dayly seeke thine ouerthrow for their owne priuate aduantage and secret malice. Wherefore (to be short) let these be to aduertise my deare Countrey, how behouefull it is that the matters aforesaid be put in practise.

But whilst I am speaking these things vnto thee (my Countrey) oh that my deepe and dolefull sighes, which lie hid in the former speach, might pierce the eares of our Kings most excellent Maiestie, before whom, on thy behalfe I doe bewaile the publique miseries, which in this respect especially doe arise, because wee are so farre distant from the seate and royall presence of our King, that many therefore take more libertie, and promise more securitie of offending vnto themselues. But we will commit all these matters to the most iust Judge of heauen and earth who beholdeth all things in equitie.

Nowe it remaineth (my beloued Countrey) that thou wouldest take in good part these my labours employed in thy seruice, and accept them with that
favourable and courteous minde which I haue expected. And although they be not of such worth as I could wish, yet sith a willing minde is worth all, I would not therefore give over because I mistrusted myself as one insufficient to contend for thine innocencie, for thy reputation, and thine honour, my deare Countrey. But rather whatsoever it be (if it be ought) and how mickle soever which for my slender ability I was able to afford in thy defence, I thought good not to suppress it: for I esteeme not those men worthy of commendation, who despairing

To overgrow the limmes of Lyco stoute,
Neglect to cure their bodies of the goute:

And in very deed, it doeth no whit repent me of my labour, if this little treatise shall tend neither to thine, nor to mine owne disgrace. But if it shall any thing availe to thine honour or defence, I will thinke my travaile right well bestowed. Yea, if by this my slender attempt, I may but onely excite other of thy children, and my natie Countreymen, being farre my superiours both in learning and industrie to take thy cause in hand, either nowe or hereafter what reason is there why any man should say that it is not worth my labour? Nowe, if they addresse themselues to write, howsoever my fame shalbe obscured, yet wil I comfort my selfe with their excellencie, who are like to impairre my credite: for albeit a man ought to have speeciall regard of his name and fame, yet he is to have more of his Countrey, whose dignitie being safe and sound, we also must needes esteeme our selues to be in safetie.
Written at Holen Hialtedale in Island, the yeere of our Lord 1592. the 17. of the Kalends of May.

****

A letter written by the graue and learned Gudbrandus Thorlacius Bishop of Holen in Island, concerning the ancient state of Island and Gronland, &c.

Reuerendissimo viro, eruditione et virtute conspicuo, D. Hugoni Branham,

Mirabar equidem (vt conijcis, reuerende domine pastor) primo literarum studiosum experirer, ex animo gauisus sum. Vnde etiam faciam, vt tua apud nos ignotum esse desinat.

[Sidenote: Commentarius breuis de Islandia: per Arngrimum Ionam Islandum Islandia, quem vidisse te scribis, fit mentio) de hac nostra insula lectu veterum opinione habemus, eam magno circuitu ab extrema Noruegia, vbi interuallo sita sit, circum quasi Islandiam exporrigi. Illic nostrates
I much marueiled (euen as you your selfe, reuerend sir conjectured that I
would) at the first sight of your letters, that being a stranger I should
be saluted in writing by one altogether vnknown vnto mee. Howbeit, reading
a little further I found my selfe, if not otherwise, yet by name at least
(which procedeth of your courtesie) knowne vnto you: And also, for that I
sawe you desirous of the credite and honest report of vs Islanders, I
greatly reioyced. Wherefore I my selfe will be a meane, that your vertue
and good name (because you congratulate with vs for the gospel of Christ
here published, and doe thinke and write so louingly and honourably of our
nation) may sease hereafter to be vnknown amongst vs.

[Sidenote: This is the brief Commentarie of Ionas Arngrimus immediatly going before.] As touching the monuments of antiquitie which are here thought to be extant, there is, in very deede nothing (except those particulars, whereof mention is made in the Commentary of Island which you write vnto me that you haue seene) worthy to be read or written, which I may communicate with you. And as concerning our neighbor Countreys we haue little to shewe, besides the history of the Kings of Norway, (or rather some fragments of the same history) which others haue otherwise described: howbeit they are all in a maner such things as Crantzius neuer mentioned: vnlesse it be some fewe relations. Moreouer, as touching Gronland, we holde this from the opinion of our ancestours, that, from the extreeme part of Norway, which is called Biarmlandia [Marginal note: Biarmia.] and from whence the saide Gronland is not farre distant, it fetcheth about the Northren coast of Island with an huge circuit in maner of an halfe Moone. [Sidenote: Gronland in old time had Christian Bishops.] Our Chronicles likewise doe testifie that our owne countreymen in times past resorted thither for traffique, and also that the very same countrey of Gronland had certaine Bishops in the dayes of Poperie. More then this we cannot auouch. But now it is reported that your Englishmen (whom I may almost call the lordes of the Ocean sea) make yeerely voyages vnto Gronland: concerning which matter if you please to giue me further aduertisement, you shall doe me an especial fauour. Moreouer, whatsoeuer newes you heare concerning the the affaires of England or of other Countreys thereabout, I pray you make vs acquainted therewith. Thus (reuerend sir) wishing you long life, for the servicie of God, for the increase of learning, and the benefit of the people
committed to your charge, I bid you farewel. From Island vpon the feast of
the visitation of the blessed Virgine Mary, Anno Dom. 1595.

Yours Gudbrandus Thorlacius Bishop of Hola in Island.

INDEX.

_Where the same Document is given in Latin and English the reference is
to the English Version._

NB--The large print indicates that the _whole_ section refers to the
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SECTION 2.

In this Island at the Summer Solstitum there is no night, etc.

SECTION 3.

It is named of the ice, which continually cleaveth unto the north part thereof.
SECTION 4.

The Island is so great that it containeth many people, etc.

SECTION 5.

The Island, the most part thereof, is mountainous and untilled.

SECTION 6.

There be in this Island mountaines lift up to the skies, whose tops being white with perpetual snowe, their roots boile with everlasting fire, etc.

SECTION 7.

The flame of Mount Hecla will not burne towe, neither is it quenched with water.... This place is thought by some to be the prison of uncleane soules, etc.

SECTION 8.

Neare unto the mountaines there be three vast holes, the depth thereof
cannot be discerned by any man; but there appeare to the beholders thereof certaine men at that instant plunged in, who answere their friends, exhorting them, with deepe sighs, to returne home, and, with that, they suddenly vanish away

SECTION 9.

But round about the Island there floateth ice. The inhabitants are of opinion that in Mount Hecla and in the ice there are places wherein the soules of their countrymen are tormented,

SECTION 10.

If any man shall take a great quantity of this ice, and shall keepe it never so warily in a coffer or vessel, it wil, at the time when the ice thaweth about the Island, utterly vanish away, etc.

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