

THE  
VOYAGES AND WORKS  
OF  
JOHN DAVIS

*THE NAVIGATOR.*

Edited, with an Introduction and Notes,

BY

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" NORTHWARD HO ! "

"And Davis three times forth that for the north-west made,  
Still striving by that course t'enrich the English trade;  
And as he well deserved, to his eternal fame,  
There, by a mighty sea, immortalized his name."

DRAYTON'S *Polyolbion*.

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[ FACSIMILE ]

## INTRODUCTION

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Markham, Albert Hastings. Introduction to *The Voyages and Works of John Davis, the Navigator*. The Hakluyt Society, No. LIX, London, 1880: i– lxxxiv.

AMONG the distinguished English seamen of the sixteenth century, John Davis of Sandridge stands out conspicuously as the one who, more than any other, united the qualities of a daring adventurer with those of a skilful pilot and a scientific navigator. Several were his equals in steady perseverance and desperate gallantry. Some, such as Richard Hawkins and William Baffin, resembled him in their devotion to the scientific branches of his noble profession. But as a seaman combining scientific knowledge and skilled pilotage with the qualities of a fearless and determined explorer, John Davis stands foremost among the navigators of the great Queen. He had other qualities which are needed to complete the character of a perfect sea captain. He knew how to win the love of the men who served him, and the undoubting confidence of those who gave him their trust. He was as genial and considerate, as he was conscientious and honest. This is high praise, but the perusal of all that is known of his career will show that it is deserved. Voyage after voyage did Mr. Sanderson and other merchants entrust Davis with their wealth ; and such men as John Jane left their homes and occupa-

tions, and went on long and perilous voyages, for the love of Master Davis, and "for his sake".

Westcote, according to Prince, tells us that John Davis was born at Sandridge,<sup>1</sup> in the parish of Stoke Gabriel. But there is no record of his baptism in the parish registers of Stoke Gabriel, which begin with the 30th year of Henry VIII. Westcote was, however, a contemporary. He describes Sandridge as "a healthy, pleasant seat. It is lifted up on a small hill on the east side of the river Dart, which compasseth near three parts thereof on its way to Dartmouth, from which it stands by water not two miles, by land near four". But of the parentage of Davis we are told nothing. We may assume that his childhood was passed on the banks of the Dart, and that he went to sea as a boy, and thus received a thorough nautical education. The words of Chaucer are, therefore, applicable to our hero :—

"A schipman was he, wonying fer by weste,  
For ought I woot he was of Dertemouth."

It is quite certain that, in after life, Davis held property at Sandridge. He always signed himself of Sandridge, and in a letter written to Mr. Sander-son, on his return from his second voyage in 1586, he writes:—"Surely it shall cost all my hope of welfare, and my portion of Sandridge, but I will, by God's mercy, see an end of these businesses." This may be regarded as proving, beyond a doubt, that Davis shared in the ownership of Sandridge. In the

<sup>1</sup> "Here was born that excellent pilot and skilful navigator, and fortunate discoverer of unknown countries, Mr. John Davis."

charter granted by Queen Elizabeth, Adrian Gilbert is also named as of Sandridge

Westcote and Prince tell us that, after 19 Edward III, Sandridge became the inheritance of the ancient and honourable family of the Pomeroy,<sup>1</sup> and when Westcote wrote, in 1630, it still remained in that honourable name.<sup>2</sup> Thus we have three families residing at or owning Sandridge at the same time—the Pomeroy, the Gilberts, and the Davises. The probable explanation is, that Sandridge was a property on which two or three houses had been built by the Pomeroy, and rented or sold to the families of Davis and of Adrian Gilbert.<sup>3</sup>

On the 29th of September 1582 John Davis was married to Mistress Faith Fulford,<sup>4</sup> said, by Prince, to have been a daughter of Sir John Fulford of Fulford, High Sheriff of Devon in 1535, by the Lady

<sup>1</sup> In the time of Henry II, one Stephen de Sandridge held three parts of a knight's fee there, of the Bishop of Exeter. His descendants held Sandridge for a period of 200 years. Next came Pomeroy, probably a younger son of Pomeroy of Berry Castle, in 19 Ed. III.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Henry Pomeroy of Berry Castle, having no children, settled his lands on his nephew-in-law, Sir Thomas Pomeroy of Sandridge. This Sir Thomas had married Joan, daughter of Sir Thomas Chudleigh, by Joan Pomeroy, sister of Sir Henry of Berry Castle. In the time of Prince, Sandridge belonged to Roger Pomeroy, whose daughter married Humphrey Gilbert of Compton. The Gilberts sold it to John Dunning, Lord Ashburton, in 1770. It came to Lady Ashburton, who left it to her niece the Baroness de Verte, the present possessor of Sandridge.

<sup>3</sup> There are now two gentlemen's houses at Sandridge, the "Great House" and the "Farr House".

<sup>4</sup> Parish Register at Stoke Gabriel.

Dorothy Bouchier, a daughter of the Earl of Bath.<sup>1</sup> The issue of his marriage was a son, Gilbert, baptised at Stoke Gabriel, on March 27th, 1583; a daughter, Elizabeth, who died in infancy; and three other sons, Arthur, born in 1586; John, born and died in 1587; and Philip.<sup>2</sup>

It will be well here to say something of the Gilberts, the neighbours and friends of Davis, who evidently exercised a great influence on his after life. Sandridge was in the parish of Stoke Gabriel, which adjoins that of Brixham, and the Gilberts had been seated at Greenway, in Brixham parish, for some centuries. Westcote says that "Greenway is very pleasantly and commodiously placed, with a most delightful prospect to behold the barks and boats to pass and repass upon the river flowing from Totnes to Dartmouth". Here dwelt Otho Gilbert in the early part of the sixteenth century, who had also inherited Compton, near Torbay, from an ancestress in the time of Edward II.<sup>3</sup> By his wife Kath-

<sup>1</sup> Westcote's *Devonshire*, p. 613, quoted by Prince. The marriage with Faith Fulford is recorded in the Stoke Gabriel Parish Register, but there is some doubt whether she was a daughter of Sir John Fulford of Fulford. In the *Herald's Visitation* of 1564, the children of Sir John Fulford are given, and again in the *Visitation* of 1624. They were John, his heir; Andrew; Elizabeth, married, first to Arundell, and secondly, to T. Gary; and Cecilia, married to William or Nicholas Adams. There is no mention of a Faith, or of a Davis marriage in either *Visitation*. Westcote wrote in 1630, after both *Visitations*; and their silence seems to call for some other testimony in corroboration of Westcote's statement, which I have failed to discover.

<sup>2</sup> Parish Registers at Stoke Gabriel, and Will of John Davis.

<sup>3</sup> Joan, heiress of William Compton of Compton.

arine, daughter of Sir Philip Champernoun of Modbury, he had three sons, John, Humphrey, and Adrian. He died when his children were still very young, and his widow married, secondly, Walter Raleigh of Fardel, by whom she had two more sons, named Carew and Walter. The youngest, afterwards the famous Sir Walter Raleigh, was born in 1552.

John Davis was probably born in about 1550. The Gilberts were, therefore, his seniors by some years; John having been born in 1537, Humphrey in 1539, and Adrian a year or two later. Sir Walter Raleigh was two years younger than Davis. The eldest, Sir John Gilbert, remained at home, was highly respected in the county, and, dying childless, was buried in Exeter Cathedral.

Humphrey Gilbert, the second son, was educated at Eton and Oxford ; and devoted himself to the study of navigation and the art of war. He was introduced to court by his aunt, Mrs. Katherine Ashley, and became known to the Queen in 1571. In 1563 he had served with distinction under the Earl of Warwick at Newhaven, and on New Year's day of 1570,<sup>1</sup> he was knighted by Sir Henry Sidney at Drogheda for his gallant service in Ireland. In 1572 he went to Flushing to help the Zeelanders in their glorious fight against Spanish tyranny. But his thoughts were mainly turned to the improvement of navigation, and the discovery of unknown countries. His discourse, to prove a North-West

<sup>1</sup> Not 1577, as stated by Prince in his *Worthies of Devon*.

Passage, concerning which it will be necessary to say more presently, was printed in 1576.<sup>1</sup> Two years afterwards he received letters patent to discover the north parts of America, and he made his first voyage to Newfoundland in 1579. The Queen had given him a jewel, consisting of a small anchor of beaten gold with a large pearl on the peak, which he evermore wore on his breast. He sailed on his last expedition in 1583, with five vessels. In August he took possession of Newfoundland in the name of the Queen, and commenced an examination of its coasts. One vessel, the *Raleigh*, had put back early in the voyage ; the *Delight* was lost in a storm ; and he was left with only the *Golden Hind*, of forty, and the *Squirrel*, of ten tons. It became necessary to return home, and he was entreated to come on board the *Golden Hind*. But, as commander, he declared he would share the dangers of the little *Squirrel*. The rest of the story was told by the master of his consort, Mr. Hayes. Gilbert was last seen in the evening of September 9th, sitting in the stern of the *Squirrel* with a book in his hand. His last words were, crying out to the men on board the Hind, "We are as near to Heaven by sea as by land".<sup>2</sup> That night the little boat was swallowed up by the waves.

Adrian Gilbert, the youngest brother, was a man of varied accomplishment. Besides being an enthus-

<sup>1</sup> See Hakluyt (2nd edition), ii, pp. 33 to 47.

<sup>2</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, p. 695. The Report of the Voyage by Mr. Edward Hayes.

siastic promoter of voyages of discovery, he was skilled in mineralogy, and, for some time, had the management of silver mines at Combe Martin on the north coast of Devon. The children of Sir Humphrey continued the line of Gilberts.<sup>1</sup>

These gallant youths of Greenway were the neighbours and friends of Davis, who, however, must have taken to a seafaring life very early, for he first appears in history as a high authority respecting the practicability of a north-west passage to China. The fact of his being thus consulted was not, however, entirely due to his skill in navigation and experience as a seaman. It was partly owing to his friendship with the Gilberts and their half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, and especially with Adrian Gilbert.

The first mention of John Davis that I can find is in the year 1579. It occurs in the private diary of Dr. John Dee,<sup>2</sup> the astrologer, and "eminent

<sup>1</sup> Sir Humphrey Gilbert married Anne, daughter of Sir Anthony Ager of Kent, and had five sons (not nine, as stated by Prince) and one daughter. The eldest, Sir John Gilbert, married a daughter of Sir Richard Molyneux of Sefton, but died childless. The youngest, Sir Raleigh Gilbert, alone had issue. He dwelt at Greenway in 1635 (see Pole, page 282). His son, Ager Gilbert, married a daughter of Edward Walrond of Bovey, and had a son Humphrey Gilbert, who sold Greenway and went to live at Compton, near Torquay. He married Joan, daughter of Roger Pomeroy.

<sup>2</sup> John Dee was born in London on July 13th, 1527. He was educated at Cambridge, and a Fellow of Trinity. He resided two years at the University of Louvain, and afterwards at Rheims, and was a very learned mathematician and cosmographer. He also practised astrology, and was tried on a charge of working against Queen Mary's life by enchantment. On the accession of Elizabeth, he came into favour, and settled at Mortlake, where he calculated



philosopher of Mortlake". Dr. Dee appears to have made his notes principally on the margins of old almanacs, in a diminutive and almost illegible handwriting. These scraps were found in the library of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, and, being collected together, were printed for the Camden Society in 1842.

In this diary, against the date October 18, 1579, we read: "Mr. Adrian Gilbert and John Davys reconcyled themselves to me, and disclosed some of Emery his most unhonest, hypocritically, and devilish dealings and devises agaynst me and other, and likewise of that errant strompet her abominable wordes and dedes; and John Davis sayd that he might curse the tyme that ever he knew Emery, and so much followed his wicked counsayle and advyse, so just is God".

This can be no other than Emery Molyneux, who constructed the two globes—one celestial and the other terrestrial—which were made by order of Mr. Wm. Sanderson, and dedicated to Queen Elizabeth. What he had done to incur the wrath and displeasure of Davis and Dr. Dee I have been unable to discover.

We also read in the same journal that on June 3, horoscopes and nativities. He was intimate with most of the great navigators of his time. He was abroad from 1584 to 1589, when he visited the Emperor Rudolph II at Prague. He was Chancellor of St. Paul's Cathedral, and died at Mortlake in 1608. See a notice of his work on navigation in Appendix A. His private diary was edited for the Camden Society by Mr. Halliwell in 1842.

1580, "Mr. A. Gilbert and J. Davys rode homeward into Devonshire." This would lead us to infer that Davis was then living at Sandridge, and that the two friends were riding home together for mutual protection and companionship.

The next mention of the name of John Davis in Dr. Dee's journal is three years subsequent to the date of the above extract. He writes : "Jan. 23, 1583. The Ryght Honorable Mr. Secretary Walsingham cam to my howse, where by good lok he found Mr. Awdrian Gilbert, and so talk was begonne of North-west Straights discovery. Jan. 24. I, Mr. Awdrian Gilbert, and John Davis, went by appointment to Mr. Secretary to Mr. Beale his howse, where onely we four were secret, and we made Mr. Secretary privie of the N.W. passage, and all charts and rutters were agreed upon in generall."

A little further on we read: "March 6. I and Mr. Adrian Gilbert and John Davis did mete with Mr. Alderman Barnes,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Tounson,<sup>2</sup> and Mr. Yong,

<sup>1</sup> Sir George Barnes or Barne was one of the most influential Directors of the Muscovy Company. He was Lord Mayor of London in 1552, and died in 1558. His daughter, Annie, married, first Alexander Carleyll, and secondly, Sir Francis Walsingham ; and his son, also Sir George Barne, was Lord Mayor in 1586. This is the Alderman Barnes of Dee's diary. He died in 1592, and is the ancestor of the present Colonel F. St. John Barne, M.P., of Sotterley Park.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Towrson or Towerson, a name much connected with voyages of discovery. Mr. William Towrson, merchant of London, made voyages to Guinea in 1555, 1556, and 1557 (Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, pp. 98 to 129). Gabriel Towerson was in the Indian voyages of Captain Saris, and was after wards put to

and Mr. Hudson<sup>1</sup> about the N.W. passage. March 17. Mr. John Davys went to Chelsey with Mr. Adrian Gilbert to Mr. Radforth's, and so the 18th day from thence toward Devonshyre."

Although Dr. Dee lived for many years after the above extract from his diary was written, and continued to make notes of important events as they occurred, and although we have direct evidence that he was interested in all matters connected with the discovery of a North-west Passage, we find no allusion in his journal to the despatch of any of the expeditions that ensued, or any further reference made to those who were engaged in them.<sup>2</sup>

His name, however, together with that of Adrian Gilbert and John Davis, appears in a memorial presented to Queen Elizabeth, an abstract of which is given in the Calendar of State Papers.<sup>3</sup>

death by the Dutch in the massacre of Amboyna in 1623. He married the widow of Captain W. Hawkins. (See *Hawkin's Voyages*, p. xlvi.)

<sup>1</sup> This was Thomas Hudson, son of Henry Hudson, one of the founders of the Muscovy Company, and probably an uncle of Henry Hudson, the navigator. Thomas Hudson lived at Mortlake, and Dr. Dee has an entry on February 11th, 1583, that the Queen stopped at his door, and "so I went by her horse side as far as where Mr. Hudson dwelt." (*Diary*, pp. 18, 19.)

<sup>2</sup> This may be accounted for by the fact that Dr. Dee was abroad from 1584 to 1589.

<sup>3</sup> *Domestic. Elizabeth, Addenda*, It is as follows:—

"Adrian Gylberte, having heretofore greatly travelled, and continuing to his great charges to travel to discover the northerly parts of Atlantis, called Novus Orbis, not inhabited or discovered by any Christians hitherto, but by him, requests the Queen's licence for himself and his associates, to be named in a schedule,

In the same volume there is an abstract of the provisions in the Letters Patent granted by the Queen, which, however, I give in an appendix in their entirety, as printed by Hakluyt. One article was not included in the patent, which gives the names of Gilbert's associates as follows:—"The said Adrian Gilbert, Walter Rayley, and John Davys to be custom free for their proper goods during the space of 60 years, which they shall bring from those lands to be discovered."<sup>1</sup> Here the name of Sir Walter Raleigh is substituted for that of Dr. John Dee.

In the Letters Patent a right of search for passages by the north, north-east, and north-west to China is granted to a company, presided over by Mr. Adrian Gilbert. The result of the grant of this charter was the despatch of the two vessels *Sunshine* and with shipping, men, and all necessaries, to depart to any of the northerly parts between the Equinoctial Line and the North Pole ; with liberty to inhabit and enjoy all such places so discovered. A fifth part of all gold, silver, pearls, etc., to belong to Her Majesty. Commodities from thence to be brought to London and Dartmouth. To hold all those northerly parts to him, his heirs and assigns for ever. Power to confiscate the ships and goods of others trafficking in those parts. To sue, if need be, and to be incorporated under the name of 'The Collegiate of the Fellowship of new Navigations Atlantical and Septentrional'. Power to make laws in those countries, not being contrary to those in this realm. Adrian Gylberte, John Dee, and John Davies, having been the chiefest travellers to find out this northerly voyage, and being of that company, to be specially exempted for ever from payment of custom outwards or inwards."

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Elis.*

*Moonshine*, under the command of John Davis, in 1585.<sup>1</sup>

The expenses of this voyage were defrayed by “divers worshipfull merchants of London and of the west country”. The former were represented by Mr. William Sanderson, who, we are told, “was so foreward therein that, besides his travail, which was not small, he became the greatest adventurer with his purse.” Mr. Sanderson was an important person in all that concerns the northern voyages of Davis, which he steadily and munificently supported ; and he was, moreover, a patron of geographical knowledge, as well as an influential merchant.<sup>2</sup> Some account of him is therefore necessary in a life of his friend, John Davis the navigator.

Mr. Sanderson's great grandfather, Richard Sanderson, was living at Pontefract in Yorkshire, in 1480. Richard's son Stephen removed to London in 1495, and married Alice, the heiress of Henry Skime, alias Castilion, descended from a Gascon of that name who had a coat of arms resembling those of Castille, doubtless a canting shield. Stephen had brothers

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note in the latter part of this Charter, the instructions relative to the punishment of offenders. The power of inflicting or awarding punishments was, it will be seen, vested not solely in the hands of the commander, but in those of a tribunal composed of twelve of the company selected by the leader—in other words, a Court Martial.—See Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> Hakluyt inserts a letter from Mr. Henry Lane to the worshipful M. William Sanderson, containing a brief discourse of that which passed in the north-east discovery for the space of thirty years—1553-1583. This letter was prepared at the request of Mr. Sanderson.—Hakluyt (2nd edition), i, pp. 523 to 626.

settled in Scarborough and Newcastle-on-Tyne. His son William Sanderson was a merchant of London, who lived to the age of 86, dying in 1570. He married Jane, heiress of T. Wall of London, by Alice Langston, another heiress, and had several children. The eldest was William Sanderson,<sup>1</sup> the munificent merchant adventurer and friend of Davis, a citizen of London, of the Fishmongers' Company. He married Margaret, daughter of Hugh Snedale of Cornwall, by a sister of Sir Walter Raleigh, and had numerous children:—Raleigh, Cavendish, Drake, William, Thomas, Hugh, Anthony, and Jane, wife of Mr. Wolley of the Privy Chamber.<sup>2</sup> He bore his own arms (paly of six *azure* and *argent* on a bend sable, three mullets *or*) quarterly with Skirne, Wall, and Langston, as depicted on the famous globe of Emery Molyneux.

There is a memoir of William Sanderson among the Harleian MSS., which I insert in the accompanying foot note.<sup>3</sup> It appears to have been written by a friend in the time of Charles I, in answer to some

<sup>1</sup> William Sanderson had brothers and sisters. Stephen Sanderson, his next brother, had two daughters:— Magdalen, married to George Chambers, a merchant adventurer, who died in 1621 ; and Jane, married to J. Punt of Manningtree. The other brothers were Michael and Thomas. The sisters were Jane, married to Edwards ; and Magdalen, wife of John Archer, a merchant of London.

<sup>2</sup> This account of the family of William Sanderson is from the *Vincent MSS.*, 119, p. 292, in the Heralds' College.

<sup>3</sup> The following account of William Sanderson is extracted from the Harleian MSS. 5208, fol. 5052 (new fol., 29, 30):—

“William Sanderson, als Sanderzon, borne a gent, bred a Mer-

attack, and shows that the subject of it was a merchant of London of great wealth and high posi-

chant Adventurer under the worthy Thomas Allin, Esquire, Merchant unto Queen Elizabeth for her Marine causes ; as was Syr Thomas Gresham, Kt., her Merchant for her Military causes; which said Sanderson was for himself and his said Maister, in Denmarke, Swithland, and Poland. And in Fraunce, Germany, and Netherlands in travaile and trade there and elsewhere many yeares. And in respect of his master's office and service for him was well knowne in Court in the dayes of the Duke of Norffolk, and afterwards in the time of the Lord Burleigh and Leicester. And in that tyme marrying with Sir Walter Raleigh his niece (being his sister's daughter) did—mannage his affaires all the tyme of his prosperity; and did (at severall 4 tymes) stand bound for the said Sir Walter Raleigh for more then a hundred thousand pounds sterling ; and also for meere debt more than sixteene thousand pounds at one tyme, taken up in London, most part thereof at usury upon his owne bonds, such was his credite and reputation in those days, as there can be made good prooffe thereof.

“Hee invented, made, printed, and published the great Spheares and Globes, both Cellerstiall and Terrestriall, being the first soe published in Christendome, for the honour of his countrie, and good of the Schollers, Gentrys, and Marriners of the same.

“Hee sent severall voyages to search about the North-west Passage unto Chyna, Molucca, Phillipina, and Japan in the South Sea.

“And also severall Adventures unto Virginia with Sir Walter Raleigh at the first discovery therof : all unto his owne very great cost and charge of some thousand pounds starling.

“And also hee was by the Queenes Majestic speciall appointment put in Great Trust in the Businesse of both the Carrick's goods that came to London into Leaden Hall both before and at his Majestie's coming to the Crowne of England.

“And also he did bring unto the Queenes Majestic in ye latter dayes of her Rayne a Present, or Project, by which the late King's Majestic hath received into his Coffers more than £100,000 ster-

ling. And never as yet asking any one penny in recompense (for

tion. Mr. Sanderson's name appears in the oldest book of the Fishmongers' Company, dated 1610,

that his service done) of her nor his late Majistie, neither will he ever doe (as he intends) untill he hath done his Majistie twice better service than that was, which still continueth and bringeth unto his Majistie a yearly revenue of many thousand pounds stock.

"And lately it pleased his late Majestic to comand him, with others, to make a Remonstrance of the business of Exchange with the auncient use, moderne abuse, and their conceived remedies, to be delivered to his Majisty in writing with all convenient speede, which was p'formed accordingly by these persons soe comanded.

"The Lord Viscount Mandeville.

"Sir Robert Cotton, Knight and Baronet.

"Sir Ralph Madisson, Knight

"Mr. Williams, his Majisties Goldsmith.

"Wm. Sanderson, Merchant Adventurer.

"Garrit Maleries, Merchant Stranger.

"It is with his Majisties pleasure that these busines bee considered of and reported to him ; therefore let those have notice to bee with mee a Wednesday at two of the clocke, viiiith April 1622. H. Mandeville.

"All these aforesaid are true reports and sufficiently to be proved soe, against any objection made to the contrary by Envy, Malice, or Ignorance, the enemies of all Wisdom, Vertue, and Verity.

"And, lastly, now at this time, he hath presented unto his Majistie, Nobility, and Magistracy, with others of the Privy Councell, a Manuscript and Tratisse of Exchange and Royall Exchangers\* in his Eminent place of dignity, the which those said last three Uncreated Evills doe impudently oppose and maligne with many assertions and disgraces, which caused these premisses to bee written by a ffriend."

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\* "And God saw all yt he made, and lo, it was very good." — Genesis i, 35.



and in several subsequent years, and he appears to have died in extreme old age in the year 1638.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. William Sanderson took the lead in furthering the despatch of an expedition, among the merchants of London. The west countrymen were represented in the undertaking by Mr. Adrian Gilbert, the whole project being under the patronage of Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary of the most honourable Privy Council

We are told by the historian of the voyage that "the setting forth of this action was committed to the care of Mr. William Sanderson", and that "hee commended unto the rest of the company one Mr. John Davis, a man very well grounded in the principles of the arte of navigation, for captaine and chief pilot of this exploit". Davis must, therefore, at this time have been an experienced mariner, and one who had doubtless made many voyages.

There are several interesting entries, which refer to the arctic voyages of Davis in the minute book of the Elizabethan guild of the city of Exeter.<sup>2</sup> The following minute was recorded at a court of that Corporation, held on January 6, 1585 :—

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted for the above information to the obliging kindness of Mr. W. B. Towse, the Clerk of the Fishmongers' Company. Mr. Towse observes that, at the time of W. Sanderson's death in 1638, he then owed the Company 16 years' quarterage, from which it is inferred that, being an old man, he was unable to attend the meetings of the Company during that period, or since 1622.

<sup>2</sup> From the work of Mr. William Cotton, *An Elizabethan Guild of the City of Exeter*.

“At this Courte there were certaine Articles brought in by o' deputie, which were delivered to me by Mr. Carewe Rawleigh,<sup>1</sup> touchinge a pretended voyage to Wyngandacoia, and a noate of the marchantable and other comodities there founde, which being published and reade, o' deputie did moue the Companie to be venturers that waie. Whereunto the Companie did answere that forasmuche as they were adventurers already with Mr. Adrian Gilberte in a voiage unto China they will not adventure anie more in anie suche voiaiges untill they see that voiage ended or some successe thereof.”

This voyage to China was of course the one about to set forth under the command of Davis. The pretended voyage referred to in the above minute was one that was being fitted out by Sir Walter Raleigh, and which sailed from Plymouth shortly afterwards. It had for its object the colonisation of Virginia, but resulted in failure. The Exeter merchants were too wary to be tempted into embarking their wealth in two expeditions, both so hazardous and involving great risk.

The account of Davis's first voyage is written by one John Jane or Janes, a merchant who accompanied the expedition, and who appears to have performed the duties of clerk, supercargo, or secretary, on board Davis's ship, the *Sunshine*. He was also a nephew of Mr. William Sanderson, already alluded to as one of the chief promoters of the enterprise.<sup>2</sup>

Davis at this time was not only a sailor, but also

<sup>1</sup> The elder brother of Sir Walter Raleigh.

<sup>2</sup> At least he speaks of Sanderson as his uncle (see p. 40), but the name of Janes does not appear in the Sanderson pedigree at the Herald's College. In the *Cornwall Visitation* of 1620, a John

a surveyor, for we find that during the twelve days that his vessels were delayed by stress of weather at the Scilly Islands he visited in a boat the numerous islands that compose this group, and "did platte out and describe the situation of all the Ilands, rockes, and harbouroughs to the exact use of Navigation, with lynes and scale thereunto convenient."

After leaving the Scilly Islands, land was not again sighted until the 20th of July, 1585, which, as Jane says, "was the most deformed, rocky, and mountainous land that ever wee sawe."

Davis himself writes : "The lothsome view of the shore and irksome noyse of the yce was such as that it bred strange conceites among us, so that we supposed the place to be wast, and voyd of any sensible or vegitable creatures, whereupon I called the same Desolation." <sup>1</sup>

This must not be confounded with Cape Desolation on the south coast of Greenland, which was not passed until the 24th. In all probability the land first seen by Davis was to the northward of Cape Discord, on the east coast of Greenland, for after sighting it he coasted along the shore to the southward for two or three days, and then to the west-south-west. Coasting to the north, he entered and named Gilbert's Sound, in lat. 64 deg. 15 min.; then, crossing the strait, which bears his name, he sighted land on the west side, along which he sailed

Jane of St. Dominick, in Cornwall, is mentioned as marrying Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Scawen, who died in 1598.

<sup>1</sup> See page 206.

as far north as lat. 66 deg. 40 min., naming the different places of prominence as he went along after old friends, and old familiar haunts. Thus we have Mount Raleigh, Cape Walsingham, Gilbert Sound, Totnes Road, and Exeter Sound.

After exploring some distance up Cumberland Gulf, where they "sawe many fayre sounds, whereby we were persuaded that it was no firme land, but islands", the season being far advanced, it was resolved to return to England, having first of all thought what was best for the "safeguarde of their credites and satisfying of the adventurers"; and they arrived at Dartmouth on the 30th of September.

On his return from this voyage Davis wrote a letter <sup>1</sup> "To the Right Honorable S<sup>r</sup> Ffrances Walsingham, Knight, one of her Ma<sup>ty</sup>'s most honorable Pryvy Counsyle," which runs as follows :—

"Right honorable most dutyfully craving pardon for this my rashe boldnes, I am herby, according to my duty, to signyfy vnto yo<sup>r</sup> honor that the north-west passage is a matter nothing doubtful, but at any tyme almost to be passed, the sea navigable, voyd of yse, the ayre tollerable, and the waters very depe. I have also found an yle of very grate quantytie, not in any globe or map dyscrybed, yelding sufficient trade of furre and lether, and although this passage hath bine supposed very impassible, yeat through Gods mercy, I am in experience ann ey wyttnes to the contrary, yea in this most desperate clymate ; which, by Gods help, I wyll very shortly most at large revele vnto yor honor so sone as I can possible take order for my maryners and shipping. Thus depending up<sup>n</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> honors good

<sup>1</sup> In the Lansdowne MSS., xlvi, fol. 41.

favor, I most humbly comytt you to God this third of October.

“Yo<sup>r</sup> honors for ever most dutyfull,

“JOHN DAVYS.

“3 Oct. 1585,

“ John Davy to Mr. Sec. Walsingham.”

This letter, a facsimile of which is produced as a frontispiece to the present work, was written three days after Davis's return to England. It will thus be seen that the energetic explorer set to work almost immediately on his arrival to induce people to join with him in fitting out another expedition for the discovery of the North-West Passage. So well did he succeed, that in six months' time he had obtained a considerable sum of money, besides the requisite number of ships, to enable him with a greater chance of success to carry out his enterprise

The merchants of the west country appear in this instance to have been the largest contributors to the venture, besides being the owners of the vessels, for, quoting from Mr. Cotton's work,<sup>1</sup> previously referred to, we read the following entry in the minute book of the Exeter Guild :—

“19th April 1586.— Here ffolloweth the names of those persons that did adventure their money with Mr. Adrian Gilbte and Mr. John Davies in a Voiage for the discovery of China, the siventh daie of Aprill, in the xxviij yeare of the rayne of o<sup>r</sup> soverayne Ladie Elizabeth.

“ The merchants of Exeter contributed	-	-	£475 0
” ” Totnes	”	-	375 0
” ” Totnes	”	-	162 10
” ” Totnes	”	-	25 0

<sup>1</sup> *An Elizabethan Guild of the City of Exeter.*

“ The merchants of Charde contributed	-	-	37	0
”                      Tiverton                      ”	-	-	25	0
Richard, Ducke of Hevitree                      ”	-	-	12	10
Symon Saunders of Taunton                      ”	-	-	12	10
John Yonge of Axminster                      ”	-	-	25	0
Thomas Southcott of Calverley                      ”	-	-	12	10
Christopher Broderidge of Totnes                      ”	-	-	12	10
				<hr/>
				£1175 0.”

It will be seen that for this voyage the merchants of Devonshire contributed a very much larger share than those of London, in addition to which, according to Mr. Cotton, the following merchants of Exeter owned the ships,<sup>1</sup> which we find were the *Mermmayde* of 120 “tunnes”, the *Sunneshine*, of 60, and the *Mooneshine*, of 35, with “a pynace of 10 tunnes, named the *North Starre*” :—

Mr. John Peryam,  
 “ John Applyn,  
 ” Richard Dorchester,  
 ” Richard Jurden,  
 ” William Easton.\*

The little squadron sailed from Dartmouth on the 7th of May, 1586, but after crossing the sixtieth parallel of latitude Davis divided his fleet, sending a couple of the ships under Capt. Pope to explore on

<sup>1</sup> I am inclined to think that this statement is inaccurate ; for Davis, in his “ Worlde’s Hydrographical Description”, expressly tells us that the *Mooneshine* was owned by Mr. William Sanderson. The *Mermaid* and *Sunshine* were perhaps the property of the Exeter merchants.

<sup>2</sup> William Eston was master of the *Sunshine* in Davis’s first expedition, and sailed with him also in the following one.

the east side of Greenland, while he himself, with the *Mermaid* and *Moonshine*, proceeded up Davis Strait. After sighting Cape Farewell, Davis reached the harbour, on the west coast of Greenland, which he had discovered the previous year, and called Gilbert Sound. Here a pinnace, which had been conveyed across the Atlantic on board the *Mermaid*, was hoisted out and equipped, a small vessel being considered necessary for the exploration of the various sounds and bays it was thought probable they would discover.

At this place they met a great number of natives, with whom they had friendly intercourse. Davis, who is himself the historian of this voyage, says that as many as a hundred canoes or kayaks would come off to the ship at one time. We cannot help being struck at the innocent and unsuspecting nature of these Eskimos, who for the first time came into contact with Europeans, and with the friendly feeling they displayed. We read that they were "very diligent to attend us, and to helpe us up the rocks, and likewise downe. At length I was desirous to have our men leape with them, which was done ; but our men did overleape them. From leaping they went to wrestling. We found them strong and nimble, and to have skill in wrestling, for they cast some of our men that were good wrestlers." These natives, in spite of the friendship that appeared to animate them, could not divest themselves entirely of their thievish propensities, which at last reached such a height as nearly to cause a rupture of the

friendly union that existed between them and the English. When he departed, Davis committed an unjustifiable act in kidnapping one of the Eskimos. It may be presumed that the poor fellow did not long survive his captivity, for in a marginal note to the narrative, inserted either by Hakluyt or by Davis himself, we read : "One of the natives taken, which afterwards died." An interesting discovery was made during the stay of the ships in Gilbert Sound, namely, a grave over which a cross had been laid. It is possible that this spot was the last resting place of some of the old Norman colonists of South Greenland, those settlers in the East and West Bygd, whose fate, to this day, is involved in mystery.

In consequence of some of the men growing sick and feeble, and, as Davis expresses it, "withal hopelesse of good successe", he determined to send the *Mermaid* home, while he, in the *Moonshine*, would "proceed in this action as God should direct me". Anchoring in a large fiord near old Sukkertoppen, on the coast of Greenland, his ship was revictualled from the *Mermaid*, which shortly after sailed for England, where she arrived safely in due course. Davis sailed to the westward, and made the land on the opposite side of the strait, near Exeter Sound ; but, curiously enough, he fails to recognise that this was the land he had discovered during his previous voyage, or, if he does, he makes no mention of the fact. Sailing to the south-west, he sighted "a fayre promontory in 65 degrees, having no land to the



south". This could be no other than the headland called by him in the preceding year the Cape of God's Mercy. He continues, "Heere we had great hope of a through passage," meaning the North-West Passage, the "hope" being, without doubt, Cumberland Gulf, up which he had sailed the previous year, yet he makes no mention of having been here before, nor does he attempt to search for "the passage" up this gulf, but, continuing his course to the southward, he landed on some of the numerous islands on the north side of Frobisher Bay. He then sailed southwards, passing the entrance into Hudson Strait, but without observing it, and sailed along the coast of Labrador. Here they succeeded in catching an immense number of cod,<sup>1</sup> great quantities of which they salted, and took home to England. Some were sent as a sample to the Lord High Treasurer. They arrived in the beginning of October, finding that the *Sunneshine*, which vessel Davis had sent to explore along the east coast of Greenland, had arrived some few days before them ; but the unfortunate little pinnace, the *North Starre*, which had been placed under the orders of the captain of the *Sunneshine*, had been lost sight of in a great storm on the night of the 3rd of September, and was never seen again.

Davis, in his letter to Mr. Sanderson reporting his arrival in England, states that the *Sunneshine*, after going to Iceland, had been to Greenland, and thence

<sup>1</sup> Being unprovided with fishing tackle of any description, hooks were made from long spike nails.

to Estotiland, which was the name then given to Labrador. But after a very careful perusal of Mr. Morgan's narrative of the cruise of the *Sunshine*, I cannot but think that Davis must have been labouring under some error when he made the statement ; for in Morgan's account it is very clearly recorded that after leaving Iceland they sighted Greenland, and, sailing along the coast of Desolation, eventually anchored in Gilbert Sound. Here they remained until they took their final departure for England. Had they crossed Davis Strait and reached Labrador, some mention of it would assuredly have been made. There is another point on which I cannot reconcile the two documents. Davis says, in his letter just quoted, that the *Sunneshine* arrived at Dartmouth on the 4th of October, whereas Mr. Morgan, who was actually on board the ship, concludes his narrative as follows : " The 3 (of October) we coasted all along the shore, and the 4 and 5. The 6 of the sayd moneth of October we came into the river of Thames, as high as Ratcliffe in safetie, God be thanked." Surely if they had touched, even for a few hours, at Dartmouth, such an important event would have been recorded.

The indefatigable Davis, immediately on his return from this voyage, renewed his advocacy for the dispatch of another expedition. He was encouraged in this by the Lord High Treasurer and Sir Francis Walsingham, besides being supported by his former friends, Mr. Wm. Sanderson, Mr. Adrian Gilbert, and a few of the London merchants. But, as he

tells us, "all the westerne marchant adventurers fell from the action".

That it was proposed to these latter is evident, from the following minute of the court of the Elizabethan Guild at Exeter.

" 16 Dec. 1587.—Also at the same Courte there was made a coppie of certaine articles under divers of the Companies handes concerninge a newe adventure with Mr. Adrian Gilberte and Mr. John Davyes to China and Cathay, where-uppon Mr. Governo' did move the whole Companie what they intended to do therein, and praied there resolute answere, who agreed that Mr. Nicholas Martyn, Mr. Nicholas Spicer, Mr. Sampforde, Mr. Hack well, and Mr. Jasper Horssey, shall consider of all the accomptes of the voiage heretofore made by the said Adrian Gilbte and John Davies, and shall also set doune what they think fit to be answered to the said articles with as much speade as conveyniently they maie, which said articles and l'res were by Mr. Governo' delivered to Mr. Sampforde in open Courte."

The unprofitable result of Davis's second voyage, together with the loss of a bale of cloth, mentioned in the following minute, would, in all probability, account for the withdrawal of the Exeter merchants from venturing their money in a third expedition. The minute runs as follows :—

"15Feb.1588.—It is ordered by the companie then presente, that Mr. Nicholas Spicer, John Hackwell, Richard Dorchester, and Jasper Horssey, should deale with Mr. William Martyn for the examination of the accomptes of the last voiage in the *Marmaide* to China, and that the same be brought in orderly made at the next Courte ; and also to enquire of a ballet of cloth reported to be missinge, that restitution maie be made unto every adventurer accordinge to the p'porcon of the same."

The successful capture of fish made by Davis during his last voyage off the coast of Newfoundland was, no doubt, used as an incentive for the despatch of another expedition, the adventurers being unwilling a third time to risk their money without seeing a fair prospect of gain.

A third voyage was therefore ultimately decided upon, and the conduct of it was again entrusted to Davis, who had under his orders three ships, in one of which he was himself to proceed on his voyage of discovery, whilst the two others were to be employed entirely for fishing. The value of their cargoes, it was hoped, would be not only sufficient to defray the expenses of the expedition, but also realise a small profit to the company. The ships employed were the *Elizabeth* of Dartmouth, the size or tonnage of which is not mentioned ; the *Sunneshine* of London, presumably the one owned by Mr. Sanderson, and therefore between 50 and 60 tons ; and a little pinnace called the *Ellen* of London.

Although we have two different accounts of this voyage, one written by Davis himself, and one by Mr. Sanderson's nephew, John Jane, we are not told in which vessel Davis sailed, and which were the two ordered to fish.

I am inclined, however, to think that Davis elected to proceed on his adventurous cruise in the *Ellen*, the smallest of the three, as he concluded she would be the handiest and best for ice navigation. From various allusions made to this vessel in Jane's narra-

tive, it seems more than probable that she did not exceed 20 tons burthen !

Sailing from Dartmouth on the 19th of May, the little squadron sighted land on the 14th of the following month. This must have been the coast of Greenland, between the present Danish settlements of Frederikshaab and Fiskernaes. Cape Farewell and the south coast of Greenland had therefore been rounded without being seen.

Steering to the northward the three ships came to an anchor, "among many low islands", in latitude 64 deg. on the 16th of June.

Although not mentioned, their anchorage appears to be, from the position and description, no other than the Gilbert Sound that had been visited by Davis during his two preceding voyages. Here they had a little trouble with the Eskimos ; but this seems to have been caused by the imprudent conduct of the master of the *Sunshine*, who made a prisoner of one of them, and carried him on board his ship. What became of him is not related.

On the 21st they sailed from this anchorage ; Davis on his voyage of discovery northwards, the other two vessels to prosecute the fishery, the appointed place for which was to be on the west side of the strait, between the 54th and 55th parallels of latitude. The two vessels sent to fish sailed for England sixteen days after parting company with their leader, although the captains had faithfully promised Davis that they would not depart until his return, and

that they would at any rate remain for him until the end of August.

Experiencing "very hot weather", Davis sailed northwards, in a "free and open sea".

In latitude 67 deg. the land was visible on both sides of the ship, that is, to the eastward and westward, so that Davis was under the impression that he was sailing up a gulf. He was then abreast of the present Danish settlement of Holsteinborg. Sailing onwards, however, the passage increased in width, so that he could not see the western shore.

Off the Island of Disco they communicated with a number of Eskimos, thirty of whom came out to them in their kayaks, bringing skins, fish, and birds, which they bartered for nails, bracelets, and knives.

With scarcely any hindrance from the ice Davis continued to sail in a northerly direction along the Greenland coast, until he reached the latitude of 72 deg. 12 min. N., where he found "the sea all open to the westwards and northwards". The natives here come off in great numbers, as many as a hundred at a time, all eager to exchange their commodities for English goods.

The wind coming from the northward, compelled Davis to leave this coast and sail to the westward, which he was of course the more inclined to do, as his great object was the discovery of a north-west passage.

The highest point of land reached on the Greenland coast was named by Davis, after his friend and patron, "Sanderson, his hope," as it was there he

had the greatest hope of a passage. Sanderson's Hope, the lofty headland near Upernivik, is a place well known to modern Arctic voyagers. The lamented Sherard Osborn, the warm and steady friend to northern enterprise, thus described the scene, as the squadron in which he served passed Sanderson's Hope:<sup>1</sup>—

“June 24th, 1850.—The squadron was flying north in an open sea, over which the bergs of every size and shape floated in wild magnificence. The excitement, as we dashed through the storm, in steering clear of them, was delightful from its novelty. Hard a starboard! Steady! Port! Port you may!— and we flew past some huge mass over which the green seas were fruitlessly trying to dash themselves. Then we hauled in for the land, and, passing into a channel some four miles in width, we found ourselves running past the remarkable and lofty cliffs of ‘Sanderson his Hope’—a quaint name given to the point by the ‘right worthie Master Davis’, in honour of his patron, a merchant of London. Well worthy was it of one whose liberality had tended to increase England's maritime fame; and the Hope's lofty crest pierced through the clouds which drove athwart its breast, and looked afar to see ‘whether the Lord of the Earth came not’. Under its lee the water was a sheet of foam and spray from the fierce gusts which swept down ravine and over headland, and against the base of the rocks flights of innumerable wild fowl marked a spot famous among Arctic voyagers.”

We, in H.M.S. *Alert*, passed the Hope on the 21st of July, 1875, and boats full of eager sportsmen were some hours under the steep precipitous cliffs, on which myriads of looms were congregated.<sup>2</sup> It is

<sup>1</sup> *Stray Leaves from an Arctic Journal*, (2nd ed.), pp. 29, 30.

<sup>2</sup> See my *Great Frozen Sea*, p. 45.

truly a well known spot, this extreme northern point of brave John Davis, which he reached on the 30th of June, 1587.

Steering to the Westward, the southern extreme of the middle pack of Baffin's Bay was encountered, "a mighty banke of yce", as described by both Davis and Janes. They were beset in it for several days. Eventually the little vessel was forced through the pack, and Mount Raleigh, on the Western side of the strait, was sighted on the 19th of July.

On reaching this land Davis reports that "there was no yce towards the north, but a great sea, free, large, very salt, and blue, and of an unsearchable depth".

Sailing along the coast to the southward, they reached the rendezvous that had been appointed, where the ships were to assemble, but failing to find them, they shaped a course for England, arriving at Dartmouth on the 15th of September, "giving thanks for God for our safe arrival."

Thus ended Davis's last and most memorable voyage for the discovery of a north-west passage. That it failed in its object is not to be wondered at, considering the circumstances under which it was undertaken, indeed the marvel is that he succeeded in doing so much. Enterprising as were the merchant adventurers of those days, they did not feel justified in despatching another expedition, after the failure of three successive voyages, and Davis had therefore to remain inactive, though not content with the laurels he had gained during his three trips to the



Arctic regions. He, of course, had to experience a certain amount of captious criticism and ill-natured abuse from "the stay-at-home-at-ease party", regarding the failure of his enterprise. He answers these detractors in his *Worlde's Hydrographical Description* published in 1595, as he says, "to stay this objection, why hath not Davis discovered this passage, being thrice that wayes imploied?"

It is evident, from a letter written by Baffin, that Davis was blamed by some for his want of success. This letter was written in 1616, on Baffin's return from his adventurous and memorable voyage to the head of the bay which now bears his name. It is addressed to "the Right Worshipful John Wostenholm, Esqre," etc., and in it Baffin magnanimously defends his brother navigator from the imputations that had been cast upon him. He says, alluding to Davis Strait, "we found it to be no other than a great Bay, and no hopes of a Passage; however Mr. Davis was not to be blamed for his Report, the Sea being open, and of an unsearchable depth, as far as Hope Sanderson."

All honour to noble William Baffin for this generous sentence. We can, in these days, fully appreciate the desperate and almost reckless gallantry which Davis displayed in navigating his little bark amidst unknown and constantly recurring dangers, and the skill and seamanship which enabled him to bring her home in safety across the Atlantic. This last voyage of his stands out conspicuously as a masterly and daring feat that in after years bore

good fruit. It was a guide to others, and it undoubtedly lighted Master Hudson "into his strait".<sup>1</sup> Davis's *Traverse Book*, given in its entirety from page 49 to 58, is a detailed record of the voyage from his own pen, and is the model on which the log books of ships have since been formed.

On his return it became the duty of Davis to reconcile his geographical discoveries with the previous work of Frobisher, and, if possible, with the old map of the Zeni, which was still esteemed as an authority. Unfortunately the large scale map which was prepared by Davis is now lost. We only have the results, as delineated by himself on the Molyneux globe,<sup>2</sup> and on the "new map" of the world, prepared under the superintendence of Wright.<sup>3</sup> The latter is reproduced in the present volume.

Davis had to harmonise his work with universally received errors. Frobisher had taken with him the old map of the Zeni, which was first published in 1558. When he sighted Greenland he assumed that it was the Frisland of the Zeni. Davis, when he reached the Greenland coast, in 61 deg. N., at once

<sup>1</sup> Luke Fox says "Davis did, I conceive, light Hudson into his Straights."

<sup>2</sup> Davis fathers the delineation of his discoveries on the Molyneux Globe in his "World's Hydrographical Description". See page 211.

<sup>3</sup> On the "New Map", the discoveries of Davis are shown exactly as on the Globe. Davis evidently had a hand in both. A passage in the "Certain Errors" of Wright, compared with the descriptive title on the Map, justifies the inference that Wright was the author of that Map of the World, which is the first that

saw that it was not the Frisland of the Zeno map, while it was too far south to be the Engroenland of the Zeni. So he named it Desolation, and the more northern part he called the London Coast. But the narrators of Frobisher's voyages gave no indication of longitude, so Davis assumed that the discoveries of his predecessor were on this coast. He therefore made Frobishers strait pass through Greenland, leaving an island to the south. He would the more readily do this because he himself did not see the land between 61 deg. 30 min. N. and 64 deg. 15 min. N. On the north side of this imaginary strait he placed "Meta Incognita", of Frobisher, as well as his own "Desolation" and "London Coast". On the island he has only one name, "Reg. Elizabeth Foreland", in the place of Cape Farewell. Owing to the map was drawn in England on the projection, the principle of which Wright discovered and made known.

*Title of "New Map".*

"Thou hast here, gentle reader, a true *hydrographical description* of so much of the world as hath beene hitherto discovered, and is come to our knowledge, which we have in such sort performed, yt *all places herein set down have the same position and distances that they have in the globe, being therein placed in same longitudes and latitudes which they have in this chart*, which, by the ordinary sea chart, can no wise be performed,"

*Wright's "Certain Errors in Navigation".*

"Suppose a spherical superficies with meridians, parallels, rhumbes, and the whole *hydrographical description* drawne therefrom, to be inscribed on a concave cylinder, these axes agreeing in one . . . In this nautical planisphere thus conceived to be made, *al places must needs bee situate in the same longitudes and directions or courses, and upon the same meridians, paralels, rhumbes that they were in the globe.*"

small scale of the Molyneux globe there was not space for all the names given by Davis in his narrative. The names inserted on the Greenland side are, from north to south :<sup>1</sup> —

Hope Sanderson, 72° 41' N.

London Coast.

Lord Darcie's Islands.

Desolation.

Meta Incognita.

Frobisher Strait.

Reg. Elizabeth Foreland, 61° 30' N.

The latitudes are from the "Index Geographicus," made for the globe by Robert Hues. The mistake of placing "Meta Incognita" and "Frobisher's Strait" on the Greenland side was repeated on the map of Hudson in 1612, and others. Frisland is placed in 62 deg. N., east of Desolation ; but the west side of Greenland, up to Hope Sanderson, which had been surveyed by Davis, was shown correctly on the Molyneux globe, and so passed into all maps.

On the west side of Davis Strait, which is also shown correctly by Davis, the following names are given on the Molyneux globe :—

C. Bedford.

Sanderson's Tower.

Mount Rawleigh, 66° 40' N.

Cumberland Isles.

<sup>1</sup> Gilbert Sound, mentioned in the narrative, is not on the Globe.

<sup>2</sup> Cape Walsingham, Totnes Road, Exeter Sound, Dyer, Cape God's Mercy, Cape Chidley, and Darcie's Island are given in the narrative to places on the west side of Davis Strait are not on the Globe.

Lumley's Inlet.  
Warwick Foreland.  
"A furious overfall," 60° N.

The "furious overfall" of Davis, which is not, however, mentioned by that name in his narrative, is clearly the entrance to Hudson Strait. In the narrative of the third voyage is the following passage: "We passed by a very great gulfe, the water whirling and roring, as it were the meeting of tides" (p. 47). This of course is the "furious overfall" of the Molyneux globe, and both are Hudson's Strait. Davis, like Frobisher, uses the nomenclature of the Zeno map, and both Estotiland and Frisland are on the globe. Estotiland is placed south of Hudson Strait.

Thus were the discoveries of Davis placed on permanent record on the globe, and on the "new map", while an attempt was made by the half light of the knowledge of those days to harmonise the new work with the assumed results of previous voyages. The narratives of the northern voyages of Davis were first printed in 1589 in Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*.

We next find Davis joining the squadron of the Earl of Cumberland off the Azores in August 1589. His history, from his return from the Arctic regions until this date—a period of about two years—remains a blank. Nor can it be satisfactorily ascertained how it came about that he joined his fortunes to those of the Earl. In the account of the voyage at page 65, we read that "Master John Davis, with shippe, pin-

nesse and boate, joined the fleet. "By this it would appear that Davis was himself in command of a couple of vessels, for the "boate", it may be presumed, was only such as could be carried on board one of the ships. I am inclined to think that these vessels were the property of Mr. Sanderson, who was ever a firm friend and patron to Davis. Moreover, it is stated that with Davis was a Captain Markesburie, in command of a ship belonging to Sir Walter Raleigh, named the *Barke of Lime*, and as it is well known that a great friendship existed between Raleigh and Sanderson, who were connections by marriage, it is more than probable that their ships were sent to sea together, to act in concert one with the other. Be this as it may, it is quite certain that they attached themselves to the squadron under the Earl of Cumberland, and participated in the various actions fought by that nobleman—an account of which will be found from pages 65 to 92 of this volume. How or when Davis returned to England is not mentioned, but that those serving in the fleet endured great hardships, from a scarcity of fresh water, is evident from the narrative, which was written by Mr. Wright,<sup>1</sup> the hydrographer.

<sup>1</sup> Edward Wright was born at Gaveston in Norfolk, in about 1560. In 1589 he accompanied the Earl of Cumberland in his expedition to the Azores, wrote the narrative of the voyage, and constructed some new charts. He was a very eminent mathematician, and discovered the true method of projecting charts by increasing the distance between meridians, which is erroneously attributed to Mercator. In 1599 he published a book entitled

This is the only voyage out of twelve sent forth by the Earl of Cumberland that Hakluyt gives room for in his work. Purchas, in his *Pilgrimes*, supplies an abstract of all the twelve voyages. His account of this particular expedition agrees in the main with that given in Hakluyt, and reprinted in this volume. Still he supplies some additional information, which Hakluyt has failed to publish. For instance, the latter authority makes no mention whatever of a severe fight, which seems to have followed shortly after the engagement at the Island of St. Mary's,<sup>1</sup> in which two men were killed and sixteen wounded. Reverting to this action, Purchas tells us: "But a greater losse followed, while the Earle in person sought to get the other ship, Captaine Lyster rashly disvaluing the enemies force, the barre also detayning them on ground, in the midst of danger from the enemy, to the losse and hurt of eightie men. His lordship received three shots upon his target, and a fourth on the side, not deepe ; his head also broken with stones, that the blood covered his face, both it and his legs likewise burned with fire balls."<sup>2</sup>

*Certain Errors in Navigation Detected and Corrected*, the second edition appearing in 1610. He also, in conjunction with Henry Briggs, the Professor of Geometry at Oxford, promoted the introduction of the use of logarithms, and translated Napier's *Logarithmorum Descriptio* into English. He was preceptor to Henry Prince of Wales, and had a very elaborate celestial globe constructed for his use. In 1616 he received an appointment from the East India Company to perfect their charts, with a salary of £50 a year ; but died in London a few months afterwards.

<sup>1</sup> See page 77.

<sup>2</sup> Purchas

This was a very serious loss, and one of such a character that it is difficult to form any idea as to the reason of its omission from the account written by Mr. Wright.

Purchas also, in describing the extremities they were reduced to from the scarcity of water, tells us that ten or twelve died every night ; whilst during the tempestuous weather encountered on the passage home<sup>1</sup> we are told in the same account that, presumably by a heavy sea, "His lordship's cabin, the dining roome, and halfe decke became all one, and his lordship was forced to make a new lodging in the holde."

Thirteen prizes altogether were captured by the squadron during this cruise, the most valuable of which, however, was wrecked off the coast of Cornwall, and only a portion of the goods on board was saved.

Davis, we may suppose, participated in the profits derived from the voyage, but whether he remained on shore for the next eighteen months, enjoying the fruits of his labour, or whether he kept the sea, is uncertain. It is more than probable that the latter was the case, for in the State Papers of 1592 we find the following statement. A ship called the *Uggera Salvagnia* had been seized by vessels commanded by T. Middleton, Erasmus Harvey, and John Davis. She contained goods belonging to Philip Corsini and other Italian merchants. There was a lawsuit. Sir Walter Raleigh acted on be-

<sup>1</sup> See page 86.



half of Davis, and a compromise appears to have been arrived at in February 1591. Of course this may have been one of the vessels captured by Davis whilst serving under the Earl of Cumberland, but by Sir Walter Raleigh appearing for Davis it would seem that the latter was absent from England during the law suit, and if absent, then probably engaged in some seafaring enterprise. {?}

The next we hear of Davis is occupying an important position as Captain of the *Desire*<sup>1</sup> one of a squadron destined for a voyage to the South Sea under the command of Thomas Cavendish, who had recently returned from a successful voyage round the world. Davis himself gives his reason for joining this expedition. He says that such was his vehement desire for the performance of the passage round America that this motive alone induced him to go with Cavendish. He adds that Cavendish promised that when they reached California, he should have a pinnace, with his own bark, to search for the passage on the back parts of America.<sup>2</sup> Thus this voyage also, so far as Davis was concerned, may be looked upon as an attempt to achieve the great enterprise which the gallant navigator had so much at heart.

Davis's old friend and follower, who had accompanied him in two out of his three Arctic voyages, sailed in the *Desire*, and wrote the history of the voyage. The little fleet, numbering five ships, sailed

<sup>1</sup> The same vessel in which Cavendish had circumnavigated the globe.

<sup>2</sup> Preface to the *Seaman's Secrets*.

from Plymouth in August 1591. It consisted of the Admiral's ship the galleon *Leicester*; the *Roe Bucke*, Captain Cocke; the *Desire*, Captain Davis; the bark, *Daintie*, Captain Cotton; and the *Black Pinnace*, Captain Tobie; carrying in all a force of about 400 men. The bark was the property of Davis and Adrian Gilbert.

The year 1591, in which this fleet sailed from Plymouth, was memorable in the annals of naval enterprise, for it was the same year in which the first English voyage to the East Indies was undertaken, led by Raymond and Lancaster.

In spite of the brilliant success of Cavendish in his voyage of circumnavigation, in 1586-88, he does not appear to have been gifted with the qualities which the leader of a great enterprise should possess. In his second expedition, after sacking several places along the coast of Brazil, the Strait of Magellan was entered on the 14th of April 1592, from which time commenced the series of disasters that eventually terminated in the total failure of the expedition. The men suffered from scurvy, cold, and the want of good provisions, to such an extent that many died, and to add to their misfortunes the Admiral parted company with the rest of the squadron. The *Desire* and *Black Pinnace* were lost sight of during the night, whilst the *Roebucke* shortly afterwards deserted him. Although Cavendish, with almost his dying breath, accuses Davis of having basely deserted him, there is really no reason to suppose that such was the case; for it is very clearly recorded by the

chronicler of Davis' voyage that the Admiral was lost sight of in the night ; but "whether we lost them or they us we protest we know not". It is, however, very evident that they remained in the Straits of Magellan and visited the different rendezvous in full confidence of again meeting their Admiral, and that Davis attempted no less than three times to sail into the South Seas, but was invariably driven back by strong north-westerly gales, in one of which the *Black Pinnesse* was lost sight of and never afterwards seen. It was not until the end of the year 1592 that Davis relinquished all hope of prosecuting his voyage to the westward, and that he sailed from Port Desire, shaping his course homewards. Cavendish had long ere this abandoned all idea of sailing into the South Sea, and had died, probably of a broken heart, some eight or ten degrees to the northward of the Equator on his way home. Davis' troubles did not end with his departure from the Strait of Magellan, for several of his men were killed by the Portuguese on the Coast of Brazil, whilst others were lost in a boat that never returned. To add to their miseries, the stock of dried penguins that had been laid in "began to corrupt".

In this wretched state they at length arrived at Berehaven in Ireland on the 14th June 1593. Out of the seventy-six that sailed in the ship from England two years before, only Captain Davis and fifteen men lived to return.

Purchas, in a high-flown peroration, immediately preceding Master Cavendish's own account of his

voyage, refers to the supposed desertion of Davis in the following words.

“Some passionate speeches of Master Candish against some private persons not employed in this action, I have suppressed, some others I have let passe ; not that I charge Captaine Davis or others, but that it may appeare what the Generall thought of them. Master Hakluyt hath published Master Jane’s report of this voyage, which makes more favourable on Captaine Davis his side. If hee did deale treacherously, treacherie found him out, as in his last voyage before is declared. If any thinke the Captaine here to conceive amisse, I shall be willing to have the most charitable conceit, and therefore remit the Reader to Master Hakluyt’s Relation aforesaid, for his apologie.”

Cavendish's account of the voyage appears to have been written on his death-bed and is addressed to Sir Tristram Gorges, whom he names as his executor. It is only necessary here to allude to that part of his narrative which has a distinct reference to Davis. After complaining in the most bitter and querulous manner of the unfortunate issue of the enterprise, he goes on to say—

“The *Roe-bucke* left me in the most desolate case that ever man was left in; what is become of her I cannot imagine : if shee bee returned into England, it is a most admirable matter ; but if shee bee at home, or any other of my goods whatsoever returne into England, I have made you onely Possessor of them. And now to come to that villaine that hath beene the death of me, and the decay of this whole action—I meane Davis,—whose onely treacherie in running from me, hath beene an utter ruine of all ; if any good returne by him, as ever you love mee, make such friend as he of all others may reape least gaine. I assure myself you will bee carefull in all friendship of my last

requests. My debts which be owing be not much, etc. But I (most unfortunate villaine) was matched with the most abject minded and mutinous companie that ever was carried out of England by any man living."

After describing the voyage to Port Desire and the Strait of Magellan, he relates, in the following words, the desertion of Davis.

"We were beaten out of the Strait with a most monstrous storme at West-South-West, from which place we continued together, till we came in the latitude of fortie-seven, in which place Davis in the *Desire*, and my Pinnesse lost me in the night, after which time I never heard of them, but (as I since understood) Davis his intention was ever to run away. This is Gods will, that I should put him in trust, that should be the end of my life, and the decay of the whole action. For, had not these two small ships parted from us, we would not have miscarried on the coast of Brasile ; for the onely decay of us was, that wee could not get into their barred Harbours. What became of these small ships, I am not able to judge ; but sure, it is most like, they went backe againe for Port Desire, a place of reliefe, for two so small ships. For they might lye on ground there without danger, and being so few men, they might relieve themselves with Seales and Birds, and so take a good time of the yeere, and passe the Streits. The men in these small ships were all lustie, and in health : wherefore the likeliest to hold out. The short of all is this: Davis his onely intent was utterly to overthrow me, which he hath well performed."

Before his death, which occurred on the voyage home, Cavendish made his will, bequeathing among other items the *Desire*, the ship commanded by Davis, to Sir George Gary. This is mentioned in the following words, in his letter to Sir Tristram

Gorges—" I have given Sir George Cary the *Desire*, if euer shee returne, for I alwayes promised him her, if shee returned, and a little part of her getting, if any such thing happen. I pray you see it performed."

By this it would appear that the *Desire* was the property of Mr. Candish ;<sup>1</sup> the *Daintie* belonged partly to Mr. Adrian Gilbert and partly to Davis, but we are not told who owned the other two ships ; they either belonged to Cavendish or were the property of a company of adventurers, who had subscribed together in order to equip and dispatch this expedition. I am inclined to think that the *Roebuck* was the property of Sir George Cary, as also were some of the guns in the galleon, for in the latter part of his letter, Cavendish says he has given instructions to his master "to see his peeces of ordnance delivered unto him (Sir George) and if the *Roebucke* be not returned, then I have appointed him to deliver him two brass peeces out of this ship." He concludes his letter—"Beare with this scribling, for I protest I am scant able to hold a pen in my hand."

There is no date to this letter, but it must have been written during the homeward passage, and to the northward of 8 deg. N. latitude, where he mentions the death of "his most dearest cousin" John Locke. Cavendish himself must have died a few days afterwards.

There is another narrative of this voyage, written

by one "Anthonie Knivet", who appears to have been one of the crew of Cavendish's ship. The account of his wonderful adventures is so exaggerated, that little or no reliance can be placed in the accuracy of his statements ; but he testifies, at the very commencement of the voyage, to the mutinous spirit displayed by the men, and the general laxity of discipline that prevailed in the squadron. The only reference made to the desertion of Davis is as follows : "That day that we departed from Port Desire, the Generall sent for all the masters of the ships and commanded them that till midnight they should keepe their course with him, and that when he should shew them two lights, then they should cast about and beare in with the shoare, but Davis which was Captain of the *Desire*, and Tobie, Master of the *Pinnasse*, did deceive us, and went for the Straits, as I was enformed afterwards."<sup>1</sup>

The way in which this man Knivet was separated from his ship does not speak much in favour of the humanity of Captain Cavendish. After having thrice narrowly escaped being thrown overboard as dead, and having lost three toes from one foot and four from the other from frost bite, he was reduced to such a miserable state from scurvy that on the arrival of the ship at the Island of St. Sebastian,<sup>2</sup> on the

<sup>1</sup> This is not a true statement ; for, according to Cavendish's own account, and also that of John Janes, the ships were separated on their *return* voyage to Port Desire, and *not* the day after their departure from it.

<sup>2</sup> About fifty miles south-west of Rio de Janeiro.

coast of Brazil, he tells us, "The first thing that was done the sicke men were set on shoare to shifte for themselves ; twentie of us were set on shoare ; all were able to go up and downe, although very weakly, but (I alas !) my toes were raw, my body was blacke, I could not speake nor stirre. In this case I was layed by the shoare side, and thus I remayned from five of the clocke in the morning, till it was betweene eleven and twelve of the clocke, that the sunne came to his highest, and the extreme heate of the sunne pierced through my body, whereby I came to my-selfe, as a man awaked from sleepe, and I saw them that were set on shore with me, lye dead and a dying round about me ; these men had eaten a kind of pease, that did grow by the sea-side, which did poyson them." It is unnecessary to follow this man in his wonderful adventures amongst savages and cannibals, and his numerous hair-breadth escapes both on land and by sea ; suffice it to say that, after twelve years' wanderings in South America, he eventually reached his native country, where he published an account of his travels, in comparison to which the adventures of Baron Munchausen are as every day occurrences. His name has only been introduced here as bearing upon the supposed desertion of Davis, and also because his statements regarding the discontent of those engaged in this expedition are fully corroborated, not only by the historian of Davis's voyage, but also by Cavendish himself.

I believe that the true version of the apparent



disloyalty of Davis is not that he wilfully abandoned his chief, but that being separated from him in the fog off Port Desire, he did not use his utmost endeavours to rejoin him, knowing that Cavendish had relinquished all further ideas of prosecuting the voyage into the South Seas. From Davis's subsequent actions no one can, for one moment, accuse him of not zealously attempting to carry out the object of the expedition, having, in spite of great hardship and suffering, and adverse winds and currents, thrice attempted to push his way into the South Seas. He gives his own account of the separation in his dedication to the *Seaman's Secrets*.<sup>1</sup>

Davis evidently anticipated that a charge of desertion would be brought against him, otherwise he would not have proposed the signing by the ship's company of a testimonial acquitting him of having purposely and designedly abandoned his general.<sup>2</sup> It is a curious fact that John Jane, the author of the account of the expedition, a tried and trusty friend of Davis, who had accompanied him in most of his voyages, did not sign this paper. It bears only forty signatures, out of the seventy-six that composed the crew of the *Desire* when she left England ten months before.

That Davis himself wrote an account of this voyage, together with a description of the Strait of Magellan, is evident from allusions made to it in his "Worlde's Hydrographical Description". It is much

<sup>1</sup> See pages 280 and 281.

<sup>2</sup> See page 103.

to be regretted that this account and his survey are nowhere to be found.

According to Davis, Port Desire was named as one of the rendezvous where the ships were to assemble in case of separation, and thither Davis immediately went on losing his chief, but Cavendish stood on for Brazil. Had he gone to Port Desire he would have found two of his missing squadron, the *Desire* and the *Black Pinnace*.

Taking every thing into consideration, Davis cannot, with justice, be accused of having wilfully deserted his commanding officer. He lost him in a thick fog, and afterwards did his utmost, according to his own judgment, to rejoin him.

It was during this period that Davis discovered the Falkland Islands, an honour that has also been accredited to Sir Richard Hawkins, who, however, did not sight them until 1594, or two years *after* they had been discovered by John Davis.<sup>1</sup> Admiral Burney adopted the name of "Davis's Southern Islands" for the Falkland Isles.<sup>2</sup>

John Davis, after his return from the unfortunate voyage to the Straits of Magellan in 1593, was engaged in the preparation of two important nautical works ; one entitled the *Seaman's Secrets*,<sup>3</sup> the first

<sup>1</sup> See note 2, page 108.

<sup>2</sup> See Burney's account of the second voyage of Cavendish, in his *Voyages to the South Sea*, vol. ii, chap, vii, pages 98 to 107.

<sup>3</sup> Entered at Stationers' Hall on September 3rd, 1594, by the printer, Thomas Dawson. See *Stationers' Register*, ii, page 312. No copy of this first edition has been found. I have used the second edition of 1607 for the reprint in this volume.

edition of which appeared in 1594, and the other the *Worlde's Hydrographical Description*, which was published in May 1595.<sup>1</sup>

When the age of discovery was commenced with the voyages of Columbus and Vasco da Gama, the practical importance of astronomical studies became apparent; and the demand for instruction in the art of navigation kept increasing, as the thirst for maritime enterprise extended from the Iberian peninsula to France, England and Holland. Regiomontanus,<sup>2</sup> whose real name was Johann Muller, a native of Koenigsberg in Franconia, and a pupil of Purbach<sup>3</sup> of Vienna, computed the astronomical Ephemerides for the years 1475 to 1506, which were used by Da Gama and Columbus. Martin Behaim of Nuremburg, who invented the application of the

<sup>1</sup> There is a copy in the Grenville Library at the British Museum, and another in the Lenox Library at New York. It was reprinted in the second edition of Hakluyt in 1812.

<sup>2</sup> Regiomontanus was born in 1436, and studied astronomy under Purbach at Vienna. He completed the translation of Ptolemy's *Almagest*, which had been begun by Purbach. In 1461, Regiomontanus went to Italy, and remained there until 1464, when he succeeded his old master as Professor of Astronomy at Vienna. While in Italy he composed his work on the solution of plane and spherical triangles, with a table of natural sines. Sixtus IV, who contemplated a reformation of the calendar, made Regiomontanus Archbishop of Ratisbon. He then went to Rome, where he died in 1475.

<sup>3</sup> George Purbach was born in 1423. He was Professor of Astronomy at Vienna, constructed several astronomical instruments, and commenced the calculation of a table of sines and the translation of the *Almagest*, which was completed by his pupil. He died in 1461.

astrolabe to navigation, and constructed the earliest globe now extant, was a pupil of Regiomontanus. Spanish students of navigation were required to study the works of Purbach and his pupils, for the next two hundred years ;<sup>1</sup> and it was not until the middle of the sixteenth century that a general work on navigation was compiled for the use of seamen.

The first practical book on navigation<sup>2</sup> was written by Pedro de Medina, and published at Valladolid, with the title *Arte de Navegar*, in 1545 ; and the second appeared at Seville, in 1556, being the work of Martin Cortes, entitled “a brief compendium of the sphere and of the art of navigating, with new instruments and rules.”<sup>3</sup> The books of

<sup>1</sup> In 1636 the course of instruction ordered to be given by the Cosmographer of the Indies was as follows:— He had to deliver three yearly courses of lectures, which were attended by young officers and pilots. The course for the first year was arithmetic and the *De Sphœra Mundi* of Sacrobosco. The second year's course comprised the six books of Euclid, arcs and chords, right sines, tangents, and secants, the Alphonsine Tables, Purbach's theory of the planets, and the book of spherical triangles by Regiomontanus. The third year's course included the *Almagest* of Ptolemy, cosmography and the art of navigation, the use of the astrolabe and its mechanism, the use and adjustments of other instruments, and the method of observing the movements of the heavenly bodies.

See the *Ordenanzas del Consejo Real de las Indias por el Rey Felipe IV* 1636, ccxxviii to ccxliii. Also *Recopilacion de las leyes de los reynos del las Indias, Carlos II*, tom. I, p. 185 (Lib. ii, titulo XIII, Leyes a 5).

<sup>2</sup> The *Suma de Geografia* of Encisco is scarcely entitled to rank as a practical book for ordinary use, although it contains tables of declination.

<sup>3</sup> *Breve compendio de la Sphœra, y de la Arte de Navegar, con nuevos instruments y reglas: por M. Martin Cortes* (Sevilla, 1556).

Medina and Cortes contained an account of the Ptolemaic hypothesis ; a calendar and rules to find the prime and epact, the moon's age, and time of tides ; use of the compass ; tables of the sun's declination for five years ; and descriptions of the sea chart, astrolabe, and cross staff. Contemporary with these works were the labours of Gemma the Frisian at Antwerp, who among other improvements, invented a new cross staff in 1545, and published his *De Principiis Astronomiae*. The great demand for instruction in all the maritime countries of Europe, led to numerous translations of the first Spanish books on navigation. Italian and French editions of Medina came out at Venice and Lyons in 1554, and a Flemish edition at Antwerp in 1580.<sup>1</sup> It was also translated into Dutch by Martin Everart Brug at Amsterdam in 1598,<sup>2</sup> and into English by J. Frampton in 1581. But the work of Cortes was more popular in England. At the suggestion of Stephen Burrough, the Arctic navigator and distinguished pilot, Richard Eden published an English translation of Cortes in 1561, of which there were several editions.

<sup>1</sup> The edition of Medina, which was published at Antwerp in 1580, has a special interest ; for a copy of it was taken up to the Arctic Regions by Barents in this third voyage, and was found by Captain Carlsen at Ice Haven in 1871, having been lying there since 1596. It is now in the Naval museum at the Hague. It is a quarto volume, containing the Art of Navigation, by Pedro de Medina, with the new instructions of Michel Coignet.

<sup>2</sup> This new edition, by Martin Everart Brug, was published in 1598 by Cornelis Claesz at Amsterdam. It also contained the new instructions by Coignet.

When Martin Frobisher undertook his first voyage in 1576, he was of course supplied with the best instruments and works of navigation then in existence. A list of them has been preserved. He had a French book on cosmography by Andreas Thevet, a Spanish edition of Medina, a great globe in blank, a nautical sphere, a clock, an astronomical ring, and an astrolabe, a cross staff, twenty compasses of sorts, eighteen hour glasses, a great chart of navigation, the general map by Mercator, and three small printed charts.

The best English navigation book, when Davis wrote, was the *Regiment of the Sea* by William Bourne, which was designed as a supplement to the work of Cortes. Among other new matters it gives the places and declinations of thirty-two principal stars, and describes the log and line.<sup>1</sup> The first

<sup>1</sup> This is probably the earliest account of the log and line. Bourne says:— "To knowe the shippes way some doe use this, which (as I take it) is very good. They have a peece of wood, and a line to vere out over boord, which they make fast a one ended; and at the other ende, and in the middle, they have a peece of a line which they make fast with a small thread to stand like unto a crow foote: for this purpose, that it should drive asterne as fast as the shippe doth go away from it, alwaies having ye line so ready that it goeth out so fast as the ship goeth. In like manner, they have an houre glasse of a minute, so that the line being out may be stopt just with that time that the glass is out. Which done, they hale in the logge or piece of wood, and looke how many fadom the shippe hath gone in that time. That being known, they multiply the number of fathoms by the portion of the time, or part of an hour. Whereby you may know how many leagues the shippe goeth in an hour." — Bourne's *Regiment of the Sea*, Hood's edition of 1596, p. 48.

edition of Bourne appeared in 1577, and later editions were brought out, with additions by Dr. Hood. Discoveries and improvements were following each other rapidly in England in those days. Robert Norman, the hydrographer, observed for the variation of the compass, and discovered the dip of the needle in 1576. Edward Wright showed the true method of projecting a chart on the plan attributed to Mercator ; and Briggs laboured to introduce the use of logarithms.<sup>1</sup> Many treatises on the use of globes and instruments were published, as well as on navigation ; and the subject appears to be so interesting that I have endeavoured to enumerate the works relating to navigation which were written during the age of Elizabeth. This list is printed in the Appendix.

The object of Davis in the publication of his *Seaman's Secrets* was to furnish a practical guide to the sailor, and to impart the amount of scientific knowledge which is necessary for the due comprehension of the art of navigation. Other works were more elaborate, and gave as much space to the

<sup>1</sup> Henry Briggs, a Yorkshireman, was born in 1556, and became Professor of Geometry at Oxford in 1596. He promoted the use of logarithms explained by Napier in 1614, and went to Edinburgh to confer with Napier on the subject. In 1624 he printed *Arithmetica Logarithmica*. He also brought out the first six books of Euclid, and wrote a treatise on the North-west Passage. He was a promoter of the voyages of Sir Thomas Button and Luke Fox. He died on January 26th, 1630, at Oxford. Fox, who sailed in 1631, named a group of islands in Hudson's Bay, "Briggs his Mathematickes".

theoretical and abstract sections as to practical instruction, while the aim of Davis was to bring together a brief relation of such practices as in his several voyages he had, from experience, collected. The treatise gives an exact and comprehensive idea of the state of the scientific knowledge of navigation at the time when some of the most memorable maritime enterprises were undertaken. The information is arranged in the form of dialogues. The *Seaman's Secrets* supplanted the translations of Cortes, and was very popular, passing through eight editions between 1594 and 1657.

Davis was certainly one of the most accomplished seamen of his age. Sir Robert Dudley and Sir William Monson speak of him as a most learned mariner and a good mathematician.<sup>1</sup> Davis invented

<sup>1</sup> "Capitano Giovanni Davis Inglese era dottissimo marinero e buon matematico." (*Arcano de Mare*, lib. II, cap. v). This superb work, in three folio volumes, was first published at Florence in 1646, with the following title, *Dell'Arcano de Mare di D. Ruberto Dudleo, Duca di Nortumbria e Conte di Warwick. Libri Sei*. The first book is on longitude, the second on general charts and portolani, the third on discipline at sea and naval tactics, the fourth on naval architecture and fortification, the fifth on navigation and spiral and great circle sailing, and the sixth contains an atlas of special charts. The plates are very fine, and include elaborate figures of all the instruments then in use on board ship. The second edition of the *Arcano de Mare*, appeared at Florence in 1661, twelve years after the author's death.

Robert Dudley, the author of the *Arcano de Mare*, was a very remarkable man. He was the son of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, by Lady Douglas Howard, daughter of Lord Howard of Effingham and widow of Lord Sheffield. His legitimacy was unjustly disputed, and at last he retired to Italy. Before he left England he had seen service at sea, was general of a fleet which



a new instrument called the back staff, designed to be an improvement on the old cross staff, for observing the altitude of heavenly bodies ; and he was foremost in the adoption of all new inventions in the science of navigation.

Davis dedicated the *Seaman's Secrets* to Lord Howard Effingham, the Lord high Admiral, who, six years before, had defeated the Spanish Armada. In the dedicatory letter he alludes to his three Arctic voyages, and says that the attempts to discover a passage were abandoned owing to the death of their chief patron, Sir Francis Walsingham. He then refers to his voyage in the fleet of Cavendish, which he undertook owing to his vehement desire to attempt the passage from the South Sea. He defends himself against the charge of having deserted Cavendish, briefly and with dignity. In conclusion he refers to the excellence of Englishmen in mathematics and map-making, in engraving and shipbuilding, and, above all, as navigators and seamen, in which art of seamanship, he declares, "wee are not to be matched by any nation of the earth".

went to the West Indies in 1594, and with Essex at the sack of Cadiz. He was gifted with extraordinary talent, and was skilled in various sciences. The Emperor Ferdinand II created him a Duke in 1620, and he called himself Duke of Northumberland. He died in 1649 at Florence.

Sir William Monson, in his *Naval Tracts*, when he advocates the establishment of a lecture on navigation, says : " What made John Davis so famous for navigation but his learning, which was confirmed by experience. This lecture no doubt in a little time will make men as famous as Davis, to the honour and benefit of the commonwealth." — Monson in *Churchill's Voyages*, iii, p. 402.

Hence he conceives that the knowledge of navigation is a matter of great moment, and that every man is bound "to give his best furtherance thereunto, among whom, the most unmeet of all, I have published this short treatise, naming it the *Seaman's Secrets*."

The *World's Hydrographical Description* appeared in the following year. It is conceived in the same spirit as the discourse of Sir Humphrey Gilbert,<sup>1</sup> a work which must have been well known to Davis, having been printed in 1576, yet the *Description* is not a plagiarism, for it contains different arguments, and information derived from greater experience.

Davis first states the arguments that have been used against a north-west passage, and then answers

<sup>1</sup> "A discourse written by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Kt., to prove a passage to Cataya and the East Indies", is printed in *Hakluyt* (2d ed.), ii, pages 32 to 47. It is divided into ten chapters. The first is to prove by authority the existence of a passage, in the second is a proof from reason, and the third shows that America is an island from the reports of various traveller. The four next chapters discuss the traditions that the passage has been sailed through ; and in the eighth chapter the reasons of Mr. Anthony Jenkinson for a north-east passage are contested. In the ninth chapter it is shown that the north-west passage is more commodious for traffic, and in the tenth the manifold advantages of the discovery are set forth. At the close of the discourse, Sir Humphrey exclaims : "He is not worthy to live at all who for fear or danger of death shunneth his country's service or his own honor, since death is inevitable, and the fame of virtue immortal." The glorious death of Sir Humphrey Gilbert took place only two years before Davis sailed on his first Arctic voyage.

Sir William Monson, in his *Naval Tracts*, wrote a discourse concerning the north-west passage, which is intended as a reply to Gilbert and Davis (*Churchill*, ii, p. 392).

all objections. He next, like Sir Humphrey Gilbert, appeals to the authority of many authors, ancient and modern, to show that America is an island. In this part of his discourse he refers to his own experiences, and furnishes quaint descriptions of scenery, and some new particulars having reference to his three Arctic voyages. There are also some interesting remarks on the flotation of ice, and the formation of icebergs ; and Davis concludes with an enumeration of the great advantages to be derived from the discovery of the passage. His reasoning, however far-fetched it may appear to be at the present day, sufficiently proves the zealous enthusiasm which animated this energetic explorer. In some passages, towards the end of the treatise it rises to eloquence. I cannot help expressing the wish that there were more such men now, to awaken England to a sense of the advantages to be obtained, and the honour to be gained, through Arctic enterprise.

In the *World's Hydrographical Description*, mention is made of the famous "globe which Mr. Sanderson to his very great charge hath published, for the which he deserveth great favour and commendations".<sup>1</sup> Davis says that it was through him that Emery Molyneux was employed to construct the globe, and this his northern discoveries were delineated upon it. There were two globes, one celestial and the other terrestrial, which were the first

<sup>1</sup> Page 211.

ever constructed in this country,<sup>1</sup> and are now in the Library of the Middle Temple. Upon the terrestrial globe are the arms of Sanderson, quartering Skirne, Wall, and Langston, with a Latin inscription, and the following English rendering :

“WILLIAM SANDERSON,  
“to y<sup>e</sup> Gentle Reader.

“Not in the lappe of learned skill I euer was up brought,  
Nor in the study of the Starres (with griffe I graunt) was taught,  
Yet whilst on this side arts, on that syde vertues honor,  
My minde admiring viewed, and rest fixt vpon her ;  
Loo, at my charge thou seest y<sup>e</sup> euer whirling sphere,  
The endles reaches of the land and sea in sight appeare  
For countries good, for worlds behoofe, for learnings furtherance,  
Wherby our vertous Englishmen, their actions may advāce  
To visite forraine lands where farthest coastes do lye,  
I haue these worldes thus formed, and worldes good apply.  
With word, I pray you fauor them, and further them with will  
That arts and vertue may be deckt, with their due honor still,  
But yf that any better haue, let them the better shewe  
For lernings sake, I will not spare y<sup>e</sup> charges to bestowe.”

“Non me suscepit gremio Mathesis. . . .

“Frob., Drake, Pett, and Jackman.

“*Joannes Daus Anglus annis 1585, 86, 87, littora Americæ circium spectantia aquinquagesimo quinot gradu as 73 subpolarem scutando perlegit.*”

The celestial globe bears the date 1592. The terrestrial was finished at the same time, but the original date has been omitted. Some additions were subsequently made. It now shows, not only the

<sup>1</sup> The oldest existing globe was made by Martin Behaim in 1492, and is still in the possession of his family at Nuremburg. The globe of Mercator, published at Louvain, dates from 1541.

discoveries of Davis, but also those of Willem Barents, the Dutch navigator, the record of whose voyage did not reach Holland until 1598. The date 1603 was put on the globe when the discoveries of Barents were drawn upon it. The globe is two feet in diameter.

Hakluyt, in the address to the reader, in his *Principal Navigations*, published in 1589, was the first to announce the construction of these famous globes, in the following words : "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. Emerrie Mollineux of Lambeth, a rare gentleman in his profession, being therein divers yeeres greatly supported by the purse and liberalitie of the worshipfull marchant M. William Sanderson." Hakluyt adds that he has contented himself with giving, in his volume, one of the best general maps of the world (namely, one by Ortelius) to serve until the globe shall come out. This was in 1589. The globe came out in 1592.

A manual for the use of the Molyneux globes was published in 1592, by T. Hood, of Trinity College, Cambridge ; and another manual by Robert Hues,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Robert Hues (or Husius) was born near Leominster, in 1553, and entered as a servitor at Brazenose College, Oxford. When he took his degree, he was considered a good Greek scholar, and a sober and serious student. He afterwards became skilled in mathematics and geography ; and in 1593 he published the *Tractatus de globis et eorum usu, accommodatus iis qui Londoni editi sunt : an. 1573, sumptibus Gulielmi Sandersoni: Civ., Lond.* Hues died at Oxford on May 24<sup>th</sup> 1632, aged 79.

appeared in 1593. It is in Latin, entitled *Tractatus de Globis et eorum usu* ; and was translated into Dutch by Hondius in 1596. But the best description of the globes will be found in Blunderville's Exercises.<sup>1</sup> He compares the terrestrial globe of Molyneux with that of Mercator (1541), and explains all the additions and corrections that have been made on the former, including the discoveries of Frobisher and Davis, the new places in the East and West Indies, which were unknown to Mercator ; and the two lines, one red and the other blue, which show the circumnavigating routes of Drake and Cavendish.

It has been supposed that Molyneux was also the constructor of the "New Map" which illustrates this volume. But it is most certain that the map was drawn by that great mathematician Edward Wright. The delineation of the discoveries of Davis on the globe and on the map, is identical. This goes far to prove that Davis himself assisted in the preparation both of the globe and the map.

There are two notices of John Davis, in the correspondence at the State Paper Office, which relate to this period (1593 to 1596). One is in a letter from Sir Walter Raleigh to Sir Robert Cecil, dated March 3rd, 1594 (1595). In it Sir Walter mentions that Captain Davis is accused of some notorious villany by one Milburne, but that the matter has been examined by some of the best gentlemen in Devonshire,

<sup>1</sup> *M. Blunderville, His Exercises, containing Eight Treaties* (4<sup>th</sup> edition), 1613, p. 513. The first edition appeared in 1594.

and nothing was proved, yet Davis had been sent up to London in charge of a pursuivant. Raleigh asks favour for Davis and leave for him to depart. He adds that Milburne, who accuses him, had seduced his wife during his absence, that he is a dissolute person with nothing to lose, and like to be hanged for coining. The other is a letter from Sir Robert Young to Sir Robert Cecil, dated March 15th, 1596. Sir Robert reports that the diligence, fidelity, and intelligence of John Davis, in Allfield's matter, have been very great; that he took all Allfields books that were in the West Country, which were very evil and seditious, and sent them to Sir R. Young; and that Davis's bonds have been taken, with surety for his appearance in twenty days after warning given at Blackaller's house in Dartmouth.

These letters refer to transactions of little importance, the clues to the full history of which are lost. They are only referred to in order to enumerate all the existing sources of information respecting the life of Davis.

During the years 1596 and 1597 there is reason for the belief that John Davis was serving under the Earl of Essex in the expedition to Cadiz and the voyage to the Azores. It appears that he took service with the Dutch in their voyage to the East Indies in 1598, at the suggestion of Essex, and that he had previously become acquainted with the Earl. We find also, from a passage in his account of the Dutch voyage, that he had certainly seen active service under Essex, and this could only have been

during 1596 or 1597. He says that he and an English comrade "undertook to order these Fellowes, *from that excellent methode wee had seene in your Lordship's most honourable Actions*".<sup>1</sup> Moreover, Sir William Monson, who was Captain of the (the) Earls ship at Cadiz, and also served in the voyage to the Azores, tells us that he often had conversations with Mr. John Davis.<sup>2</sup> It may, therefore, be considered as almost certain that Davis was serving in the expeditions commanded by the Earl of Essex during the years 1596 and 1597, probably as a Pilot.

There is a letter in the State Paper Office which proves, beyond doubt, that Captain Davis was at sea in 1596 or 1597. A Mr. Honyman, a merchant of London, who frequently supplied Sir Robert Cecil with news from Rochelle and Spain, wrote to him on March 9th, 1597, enclosing a letter from T. Baker at Plymouth, saying—"You have heard of the taking of your ship in which Captain Davis went, but your loss was not much, as they left the ship and contented themselves with the goods". Honyman adds that the enemy's ships had been set forth from Brittany by the Due de Mercœur.

We next find John Davis accepting an engagement as Chief Pilot in a Dutch ship, destined to form part of a fleet intended for the East Indies, evidently at the suggestion of the Earl of Essex. At that time the spirit of maritime enterprise was very strong in Holland, more especially amongst the merchants

<sup>1</sup> See page 136.

<sup>2</sup> *Naval Tracts*, Churchill, iii, page 392.



of Amsterdam, to whom belongs the credit of originating and despatching the memorable expedition in which the gallant Barents laid down his life, as well as the first Dutch voyage to the East Indies, in 1595. The townsmen of Middleburg and Veere, in Zeeland, not to be behind their compatriots in Amsterdam, likewise displayed the same eagerness to embark in ventures involving risk and danger, with the prospect of commensurate profits. Thus it was that Middleburg despatched the second Dutch voyage to the East Indies.

The expedition in which Davis served was undertaken by the merchant family of the Mouchérons, an account of whom will be found in a note at page 132. The Company of the Mouchérons, formed more especially for the East India trade, consisted of several members of that family besides other merchants. In December 1597, Balthazar de Mouchéron, as head of the Company, informed the States General that it was intended to send three ships and a yacht,<sup>1</sup> during the forthcoming year, to the East Indies, to trade in spices, and requested that they might be furnished with guns and ammunition, and be exempted from tolls, as were the ships that had been previously sent out by the Amsterdam and Rotterdam Companies.

This request was granted, instructions being given to the Admiralty at Middleburg to carry it into effect.

Balthazar, ever anxious to promote the welfare

<sup>1</sup> Only two sailed.

and insure the success of the enterprise, succeeded in inducing several of the seamen who had been employed in the previous voyage to join his undertaking. Among these were the two brothers de Houtman, to the eldest of whom was entrusted the command of the expedition, in spite of the ill success of his recent voyage, by which he had fallen considerably in the estimation of the merchants of Amsterdam. In order, however, to obtain the services of these men, Moucheron was obliged to offer them higher salaries than they were receiving from their former employers.

The ships for the Zeeland voyage were *De Leeuw* (the Lion) and *De Leeuwin* (the Lioness).

In the former were the following officers :-

Cornelia de Houtman,	<i>Chief.</i>
Pieter Stockman,	<i>Captain.</i>
Gayon Lefort,	<i>Treasurer.</i>
John Davis,	Steersman or Pilot.
Jacques Baudeus,	<i>Cashier.</i>
Jan van den Aertbrugge	} <i>Assistants</i>
Jacqaus Sanders	

In the *Lioness* were—

Frederik de Houtman,	<i>Captain.</i>
Thomas Coymans,	<i>Cashier.</i>
Bus	} <i>Assistants.</i>
Abbing	
Thomassen	

The only account of this voyage, which (so far as the owners and principal officers of the ships were concerned) terminated so disastrously, is the one written by Davis, and published by Purchas in his

Pilgrimes. Cornells de Houtman was killed in the treacherous attack made on the ships by the King of Achen, and Frederik de Houtman was at the same time taken prisoner. He remained in captivity for twenty-six months, during which time he compiled a dictionary of the Malay language, and took several observations of many stars in the southern hemisphere, which, with his dictionary, were published after his return to Holland.

For the information regarding the Company of the Mouchérons, and the equipment of this expedition, I am indebted to Mr. J. K. J. de Jonge's admirable work, entitled *The Rise of the Dutch power in the East Indies*.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. de Jonge's opinion respecting the conduct of Davis during this voyage, must have been formed from a perusal of the English seaman's own narrative, for no other account of the expedition is extant. This narrative is certainly not flattering to the Dutch, by whom Davis appears to have been very harshly treated. Mr. de Jonge says, "If Moucheron made a mistake in thinking that in Cornelis de Houtman he had secured a skilful leader, he made a greater mistake in engaging the English Pilot, John Davis ; for he seems to have entered the service of Moucheron with the sole object of being a spy, commissioned as such by the Earl of Essex, as appears by his own words written three days after his return from India,

<sup>1</sup> *De Ophomst van het Nederlandsch Gezag in Oost. Indie, door Jhr. Mr. J. K. J. de Jonge.* Published by Martius Nijhoff. 'sGravenhage. Frederick Muller, Amsterdam, 1864.

to Essex. "According to those directions which your Lordship gave me in charge at my departure, when it pleased you to employ me in this voyage, for the discovering of these Eastern parts of the world, to the service of Her Majesty and the good of our country."

I cannot but think that Mr. de Jonge has adopted a mistaken view of the case. Davis was employed by the Dutch as chief pilot, and as such he undoubtedly performed his duty to the best of his ability, and successfully navigated the vessels entrusted to his pilotage to their destination in the East Indies, and thence home. Not only did he do this, but he saved both ships from capture,<sup>1</sup> after the elder de Houtman had been killed and his brother taken prisoner. Mr. de Jonge makes no mention of the other Englishman, Master Tomkins, who was serving on board the *Lion*, and who with Davis so bravely defended the poop of the vessel when she was treacherously attacked off Achen.

As for the letter sent by Davis to the Earl of Essex on his return from this voyage, the English Pilot did no more, in furnishing a report to that nobleman, than we should expect of any loyal and patriotic man, no matter of what nation, employed on a like service. As well might it be said that the foreign officers who accompanied Sir Allen Young in his recent Arctic voyages in the *Pandora*, or Professor Nordenskiöld, in the *Vega*, were spies because they very properly forwarded reports of those voyages to their several governments!

<sup>1</sup> See page 144.

Davis, although serving under the Dutch flag, had not sworn allegiance to that nation, but had merely given his services to assist in a mercantile enterprise, and he was in no way bound to keep silence respecting the events of the voyage. It must be remembered that Davis, when employed by the Mouchérons, was a man of eminence, and one who had greatly distinguished himself as a navigator. He had already written the accounts of former voyages, and had published two learned treatises. It could not, therefore, have been supposed that he would not write some account of his voyage to the East Indies. Fortunately there is direct contemporary evidence that he was not expected by his employers to remain silent respecting the events of the voyage. William Walker, who translated the journal of the Dutch voyage under Jacob Neck in 1601, preceded it with a letter addressed to Sir Thomas Smith, the Governor of the East India Company.<sup>1</sup> In this letter he says that the Dutch had "special assistance in their late navigations by the meanes of Master John Davis and other skilfull Pylots of our nation ; and in return the Dutch doe in ample manner requite us; acquainting us with their voyages, discoveries and dangers, both outward and homeward, with their negotiations and traffique at Java, the Maluco, and other places, and likewise with the quantitie and value of spices and other commodities which they brought home". Thus the Dutch themselves freely

<sup>1</sup> MS. in possession of the Hakluyt Society.

communicated information to their English allies in those early days, so that it is a total misapprehension to suppose that an English pilot, serving in a Dutch ship, could in any sense be a spy.

The narrative of the second Dutch voyage to India, by John Davis, is the more valuable because, as I have already said, it is the only one extant. He returned to Middleburg on the 29th of June 1600, and forwarded his report, with a covering letter, to the Earl of Essex, on the 1st of August.

Meanwhile the English East India Company had been formed, and preparations were being busily made for the despatch of the first venture under the command of Captain James Lancaster, who was appointed General of the Fleet on the 10th of December 1600. Davis was the only English Pilot who had made a voyage to the east, and, on his return to



*The Red Dragon*

England in August 1600, his services were eagerly sought for and secured. He was appointed Pilot

Major on board the *Red Dragon*, Lancaster's ship, with the understanding that he was to have £500 if the voyage yielded two for one ; £1,000 if three for one ; £1,500 if four for one ; and £2,000 if five for one. The expedition sailed from Woolwich on the 13th of February 1601 (1600 after the English account), and returned on the 11th of September 1603. The original manuscript journals of this memorable voyage are lost ; but the narrative, as given by Purchas, has been reprinted and edited for this Society by Mr. Clements Markham.<sup>2</sup> Davis is only mentioned once, and quite incidentally. When the fleet was at Achen it is said that Captain Lancaster was not a little grieved at Captain John Davis, his principal Pilot, having told the merchants before sailing from London, that pepper was to be had at Achen much cheaper than proved to be the case.<sup>3</sup> This identifies Lancaster's chief Pilot with the John Davis who was Pilot in the Dutch fleet ; for no one, who had not been in India before, could have spoken with authority on such a subject as the price of pepper at Achen.

Davis prepared the second edition of his *Seaman's Secrets* for the press after his return with Captain Lancaster. It was published in 1607. But he had

<sup>1</sup> The *Red Dragon* was formerly a ship belonging to the Earl of Cumberland, called the *Malice Scourge*. She was bought by the East India Company for £3700, and re-christened the *Red Dragon*, a ship of 600 tons, with a crew of 202 men.

<sup>2</sup> *The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster, Kt. to the East Indies*, edited by Clements R. Markham, C.B., F.R.S. (Hakluyt Society, 1877), pages 57 to 107.

<sup>3</sup> Page 84.

not been many months on shore, before he was induced to accept service again under Sir Edward Michelborne, a gentleman pensioner of King James I. Great interest had been made to get Michelborne the command of the East India Company's first fleet, in place of Lancaster. The Lord Treasurer is said to have used much persuasion with the Company to accept of his employment, as principal commander of the voyage ; but the merchants announced that they were resolved not to employ any gentleman in any place of charge in the voyage, desiring "to sort their business with men of their own quality". In the Charter of Incorporation of the East India Company, privileges are granted to George Earl of Cumberland and 215 knights, aldermen, and merchants. In this list the name of Sir Edward Michelborne comes third; but in July 1601 a minute records that Sir Edward, with two others, were "disfranchised out of the freedom and privileges of this fellowship, and utterly disabled from taking any benefit or profit thereby". No reason is given for this expulsion, but soon afterwards we find Michelborne preparing an expedition on his own account.

It is evident that Sir Edward Michelborne had a good deal of influence at Court. We have seen the Lord Treasurer pressing the Company to appoint him to command their first voyage. On June 25th, 1604, James I, regardless of the Charter giving exclusive rights to the East India Company, granted a license to Michelborne, one of his gentlemen pensioners, to discover and trade with Cathaia and



Japan, notwithstanding any grant or charter to the contrary. Accordingly the courtly adventurer equipped a vessel called the *Tiger*, of 240 tons, with a pinnace named the *Tigers Whelp*; and John Davis accepted the appointment of Pilot. This was his second voyage to the East Indies in an English vessel,<sup>1</sup> the third counting his Dutch service.

Before he sailed on his last voyage, John Davis made his Will. It would appear that his wife was dead, and that he was engaged to be married to one Judith Havard, if he should be spared to return home once more. But this was not to be. The Will is as follows : —

“In the name of God Amen. Being nowe bounde to the seas for the coaste of China in the Tigar of London, and uncertaine of my retume, I doe committ my bodye to God's favourable direction and my sowle to his euerlastinge mercie, and for my worldly goods, whatsoever lands, leases, m'chandizes, or money, either in my possession or in due comynge unto me, as by specialities or otherwise shall appeare, my will is that it shall be devided and parted into fower equall parts or porc'ons ; that is to say, I give and bequeath th' one foureth parte thereof to Judith Havard, unto whom I have given my faithe in matrimony, to be solempnized at my returne. The other foureth parte I give to Gilbert Davis, my eldest sonne. The third foureth parte I give to Arthur Davis, my second sonne ; and the last foureth parte to Phillip Davis, my thirde youngest sonne now living. Soe my will is, that my goods be equally divided betweene my three sonnes and Judith Havard, my

<sup>1</sup> As stated by Purchas on the heading of the narrative. See page 157. Sir William Monson, in his *Naval Tracts* also says that Captain Davis was slain in his second voyage to the East Indies (Churchill, iii, page 369).

espoused love, and to be delivered after my deathe, ys manifestlie knowne. But if any of them shall dye before they receive their parte, then it shall be equally devided betweene those that live. If they all dye before it be devided, then I give th' one haulf to the poore and th' other haulf to my brother Edward Davis and to his children : and soe, commyting my soule to God, I desire that this my Wyll may be faithfully p'formed, and to testifie that this is my deede and desire, I doe hereunto sett my hande and seale this 12th of October, 1604. By me, John Davis. <sup>1</sup>

So the brave old navigator arranged his earthly affairs, and bade farewell to his three sons and his espoused love; whom he was never to see again. His age was about 55. The *Tiger* set sail from Cowes on the 5th of December 1604, and made a prosperous voyage to the west coast of Sumatra. The narrative as given by Purchas, was not written either by Michelbome or by Davis, for both are mentioned several times in the third person. The writer uses the first person plural, and latterly the first person singular. His name does not appear, but he was apparently the Master of the ship, Michelbome being the General, and Davis the Pilot. Davis wrote sailing directions for the Sumatran coast from Achen to Tiku and Priaman, based on experience obtained during three voyages. They are printed in the present volume for the first time,<sup>2</sup> and in justice to the great navigator, it must be borne in mind that they only exist in the form of an

<sup>1</sup> Extracted from the principal registry of the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division of the High Court of Justice. In the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

<sup>2</sup> Page 185.

uncorrected draft.<sup>1</sup> These directions are mentioned in the Journal of Ralphe Crosse during the tenth voyage of the East India Company, in 1612,<sup>2</sup> who says that the Master of the *Hoseander* shaped his course by them.

In October 1605, the *Tiger* arrived at Bantam, and thence a course was shaped for Patani, a place on the eastern side of the Malay Peninsula.

While on the voyage to Patani, the *Tiger* fell in with a vessel full of Japanese pirates. Having lost their own junk, they had seized another, and were making the best of their way to their native country. But contrary winds had driven them to leeward, which was the cause of this most ill omened encounter. They were crowded together, ninety men in a small craft of seventy tons, and there seemed little likelihood of their ever reaching Japan. Michelborne and Davis imprudently opened friendly intercourse with these ruffians, who immediately conceived the idea of massacring the English and seizing their ship. The two vessels remained at anchor for two days, under the lee of a small islet near Bintang, at the eastern entrance of the Strait of Malacca. The English "entertained them with good usage," intending in return to obtain information from them

<sup>1</sup> Among the Sloane MSS., 3,668, fol. 157. The paper is headed "Mr. John Daves, his observations, voyaging from Acheaue to Tecoe and Priaman."

<sup>2</sup> "The Master of the *Hoseanders* shaped his course for Tecoe by the directions of Captain Keeling and Daves, ther journalles".—*Lancaster's Voyages*, p. 260 (Hakluyt Society's series).

which would be useful hereafter. Occasionally as many as five or six and twenty Japanese at a time, "upon mutuall courtesies, with gifts and feastings betweene us", were allowed to come on board the *Tiger*. On one of these occasions, when there were English and Japanese in both vessels, the pirates gave the signal to fall upon their unsuspecting hosts. In the junk the Japanese easily killed or drove overboard all the English that were on board. At the same time the Japanese on board the *Tiger* rushed out of the cabin, where they were being entertained. The first person they met was Captain Davis, who was coming out of the gun room. They pulled him back into the cabin, gave him several wounds, and then thrust him out before them. His wounds were mortal, and he died as soon as he came into the waist. There was then a desperate hand to hand fight, and even after the pirates had been driven back into the cabin, they fought for at least four hours. At last the Master of the *Tiger* had two demi-culverins loaded with bullets, case shot, and cross-bars, and fired them into the cabin, blowing the pirates to pieces. It was a very narrow escape for the whole crew, and, as it was, the death of the Pilot was an irreparable loss. Michelbome, after capturing and pillaging two Chinese vessels, gave up his enterprise and returned home, arriving at Portsmouth on July 9th, 1606.

The grant of a license for this voyage was resented by the Company, and there were several complaints of the ill consequences arising from the piratical

acts of Sir Edward Michelborne, the first of the interlopers.

The Will of John Davis was proved by his son Gilbert on the 10th of January 1607 (1606 old style), six months after the return of the *Tiger* with the news of his death.<sup>2</sup>

Thus ended the life of this great explorer and accomplished seaman. The date of his death was the 29th or 30th of December 1605, and his body was probably committed to the deep near the eastern entrance of the Straits of Malacca. All he has written, of which I have been able to obtain a knowledge,<sup>3</sup> and full accounts of all the voyages in which

<sup>2</sup> "Decimo die mensis Januarij Anno Domini iuxta cursum et computacōnem Elccl'ie Anglicane millesimo sexcentesimo sexto emanavit com'issio Gilb'to Davis filio nrāli et 'Itimo dicti defuncti ad administrandu bona iura et credita dicti defuncti juxta tenorem testi hmōi eo quod idem defunctus nullum in eodem nodavcrit executorem de bene et fidel'r administrando eadem Ad Sancta Dei Evangelia jurat."

I have only been able to find one incidental mention of this Gilbert Davis. Among the lists of persons admitted "free brethren of the East India Company", I find, on November 10th, 1624, the name of Simon Whettcombe, who had served his apprenticeship to Gilbert Davys, and was therefore eligible for admittance on payment of ten shillings to the poor box.

<sup>3</sup> The writings of John Davis are:—

- 1.—The narrative of the second Arctic voyage.
- 2.—The traverse book of the third Arctic voyage.
- 3.—A letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, 1585.
- 4.—Letter to Mr. Sanderson, 1586.
- 5.—Letter to Mr. Sanderson, 1587.
- 6.—The Seaman's Secrets and Dedication.
- 7.—The World's Hydrographical Description.
- 8.—A letter to the Earl of Essex.
- 9.—His voyage to India, as Pilot in a Dutch ship.
- 10.—Observations in voyages from Achen to Priaman.

he was engaged, except that with Lancaster, which has already been printed for the Hakluyt Society, have now been brought together; and I sincerely trust that their perusal will have the effect of taking the name of the famous discoverer, John Davis, out of the list of England's forgotten worthies.

My thanks are due to Dr. Rink, the Director of the Royal Greenland Trade at Copenhagen, for kindly examining the list of Eskimo words given by Davis ; to Mr. A. H. A. Hamilton of Exeter, who supplied me with all the information regarding the connection of Davis with that city ; and to Mr. Coote of the British Museum for the ready aid which he was at all times anxious to give me in my researches, for many useful suggestions, and for the memoir on the "New Map" with which he has kindly furnished me, for insertion in this volume.

I have also to offer my special thanks to my friend Commander Hull, R.N., the Superintendent of Charts at the Admiralty, for kindly revising the sheets of the *Seaman's Secrets*, and illustrating the text by several valuable notes. [A.H. MARKHAM]

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NOTE ON  
THE PREVIOUS BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNTS  
OF  
CAPTAIN JOHN DAVIS

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BESIDES the famous Captain John Davis of Sandridge there was a contemporary Captain John Davis of Limehouse, and it will presently be seen how important it is that there should be no confusion between the two men.

The history of Captain John Davis of Limehouse is briefly as follows. He served in the fleet of Captain Lancaster during the first voyage set forth by the East India Company, from February 1601 to September 1603. It is clear that he was in this fleet, because in 1615 he states that he had been fifteen years in the company's service. Captain John Davis of Sandridge was also serving under Lancaster in the same voyage as Pilot Major. The second voyage of John Davis of Limehouse to India was in Sir Henry Middleton's fleet, from 1604 to 1606, as Pilot of the *Ascension*. His third voyage was with Captain David Middleton, as Pilot of the *Expedition*, from 1606 to 1609. He was next with Captain Marlowe, as Master of the *James*, from February 1611 to August 1615.<sup>1</sup> Marlowe died, and

<sup>1</sup> He says himself, in his Rutter, that he was in the *James*. Consequently he must be the "John Davye", an abstract of whose journal of the voyage of the *James* is given by Purchas.

Davis came home as commander, but he was guilty of rioting and extreme drunkenness. His fifth voyage to India was as master in the *Swan*, under Captain Courthorp, in 1616. The *Swan* was seized by the Dutch off Banda in 1617, and Davis was detained a prisoner. His wife petitioned the Company against the Dutch, and they eventually released him, and advanced him money for his homeward voyage. He returned home in 1618, and then wrote some sailing directions, which are printed in Purchas.<sup>1</sup> The title is "A ruter or briefe direction for readie sailings into the East India, digested into a plaine method by Master John Davis of Limehouse, upon experience of his five voyages thither and home againe." He found some difficulty in getting re-employed, but on June 18, 1619, was appointed gunner of the *Bull*. He changed from her into the *Lesser James*. The master of this ship, named John Wood, was a regular drunkard, and Davis was addicted to the same vice. In 1621 Wood was superseded, and the death of Davis was reported from Batavia on March 6, 1622. On August 27, 1622, the wills of John Davis and all other dead men were sent home.

Thus it is clear that John Davis of Limehouse was quite a different person from the great navigator of Sandridge, and that the former, and not the latter, made five voyages to India and home again, and wrote a "Ruter for sailing into the East Indies."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Pilgrimes*, i, pp. 444 to 451.

<sup>2</sup> The name of a third John Davis, a follower of the Earl of



The importance of tracing out the history of John Davis of Limehouse lies in the fact that writers, from Prince to Froude, have confused him with John Davis of Sandridge.

Prince, in his *Worthies of Devon*,<sup>1</sup> was the first to write a notice of the life of Captain John Davis of Sandridge. He says, quoting from Westcote, that he was born at Sandridge, and married Faith, daughter of Sir John Fulford. He adds that he was the first pilot who conducted the Zeelanders to the East Indies ; that he made no less than five voyages to the East Indies, and returned home safe again, and that he wrote a "Ruter" for sailing into India. The accounts of the voyages, he says, "are to be seen, I suppose, in Hakluyt's work, to which I refer the curious". Prince thus concludes his notice, "When or where this eminent person died I do not find."

Here the two men are hopelessly mixed up. John Davis of Sandridge made one voyage to the East Indies with the Zeelanders, and two in English ships, and he only returned home twice, being killed on his second English voyage. The accounts of these voyages are not in Hakluyt, as Prince supposes, but in Purchas.

The next notice of John Davis of Sandridge is in the *Biographia Britannica*, by Dr. Kippis, published in 1793. Following Prince, it is here again stated

Essex, also frequently occurs in the correspondence of the time. But he was a soldier.

<sup>1</sup> Prince's *Worthies of Devon* (new edition), 1810, page 285.

that Davis made no less than five voyages to the East Indies as a pilot, and an account is given of the murder of Davis during the Michelborne voyage, quoted from Harris. Dr. Kippis was the first to perceive that there must have been two John Davises. He points out that either John Davis of Limehouse, who wrote the "Rutter", was not identical with John Davis of Sandridge, or else the latter was not killed in 1605, for the "Rutter" was written in 1618. But this hint was lost upon subsequent writers, who continued to follow Prince, although it was clear, on his own showing, that Prince had never himself read the voyages.

Sir John Barrow<sup>1</sup> uses Prince as his authority, and consequently makes all the same mistakes. He says that Davis of Sandridge wrote a "Rutter" or brief description of sailing into the East Indies ; that he made several voyages in the service of the Dutch, some of which have been published, two of them in Purchas ; that he made not less than five voyages to the East Indies, and returned home safe ; and that posterity must remain in ignorance of the place of his death. The mistakes in Sir John Barrow's account are as follows. John Davis of Sandridge did not write a "Rutter" for sailing to the East Indies, he only made one voyage in the service of the Dutch, consequently the accounts of several have not been published, and there are not two in Purchas. He did not make five voyages to the East Indies,

<sup>1</sup> *A Chronological History of Voyages into the Arctic Regions* (1818), pp. 113 to 125.

and return safe home, and posterity is not in ignorance of the place of his death.

In answer to some inquiries published by Mr. John Petheram in *Notes and Queries*,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Bolton Corney pointed out most of these mistakes in 1853, but he is not quite accurate himself. He begins by saying, "despite Prince's assertion, I question whether Davis married a daughter of Sir John Fulford". But Prince does not make the assertion, he merely quotes from Westcote—a good authority. Mr. Corney also finds fault with Prince for saying that Davis was the first pilot who took the Dutch to the East Indies. Prince, however, does not say so. He states that Davis was the first to take the Zeelanders, which is quite correct. Mr. Corney then points out that the journal of the Dutch voyage is not in Hakluyt; that Davis of Sandridge did not make five voyages to the East Indies; that he did not return safe home; and that he did not write a Rutter. But Mr. Corney does not explain this complication of errors by pointing out the existence of another John Davis.

In 1852 Mr. Froude published an article in the

<sup>1</sup> 1st Series, v, p. 488. Mr. Petheram, in the *Athenæum* for January 1852, noticed the existence of a curious manuscript at the end of the copy of the "World's Hydrographical Description" in the Lenox Library at New York. It is entitled "Motives for ordering a project for the discoverie of the North Pole terrestrial, the Straights of Anian into the South Sea and coasts thereof". Mr. Petheram afterwards printed this manuscript in his *Bibliographical Miscellany*, No. 1 (Nov. 15th, 1853) and No. 3 (Jan. 20th, 1854), with a commentary.

*Westminster Review*, entitled "England's Forgotten Worthies". He repeated all the old mistakes about Davis, and added fresh ones. Yet Mr. Froude republished his article in 1868, in a volume entitled "Short Studies on Great Subjects". His account of John Davis is that he was a sailor boy of Sandwich ; that Sandwich (meaning Sandridge) is the adjoining parish to Greenway ; that Davis is known to have commanded trading vessels in the eastern seas ; that he returned five times from India ; that the details are lost ; that he took out Sir Edward Michellthorne to India ; and that he fell in with a crew of Japanese, who murdered him in a few hours.

Here the two namesakes are mixed up in sad confusion. John Davis was not a sailor boy of Sandwich, and Sandridge is not the adjoining parish to Greenway, for it is not a parish at all. Davis of Sandridge never commanded a trading or any other vessel in the Eastern seas, though Davis of Limehouse once had a temporary command, owing to the death of his captain. It was John Davis of Limehouse, not he of Sandridge, who returned from India five times. The details of none of the voyages made by either Davis are lost. Michellthorne is not the name of the general to whom John Davis of Sandridge was pilot ; and, finally, the Japanese did not murder Davis in a few hours after he fell in with them. They were upwards of two days in his company.

Of which Davis can Mr. Froude be said to have written ? He mixes up the events of the lives of

both, and some of his statements are wrong, as applied to either of them. Surely this is not the way to preserve England's Worthies from being forgotten !

The latest author who has written on Davis is Mr. Fox Bourne, in his work entitled *English Seamen under the Tudors* (1868). His account is brief, but accurate so far as it goes, with the exception of the statement that Davis took service with Cavendish after his return from a voyage to the East Indies with the Dutch.<sup>1</sup> But this is evidently an oversight, for Mr. Fox Bourne subsequently gives the correct date of Davis's engagement with the Dutch.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Page 137.    <sup>2</sup> Page 146.

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The third voyage Northwestward, made by John  
Davis, as chiefe Captaine and Pilote generally, for  
the discoverie of a passage to the Isles of the Molucca,  
or the coast of China, in the yeere 1587.

Written by John Janes, servant to the aforesayd M. William  
Sanderson.

MAY

[3<sup>RD</sup> VOYAGE]

The 19 of this present moneth, about midnight, we weighed our ankers, set saile, and departed from Dartmouth with two barkes and a Clincher,<sup>1</sup> the one named the *Elizabeth* of Dartmouth, the other the *Sunneshine* of London, and the Clincher, called the *Ellin* of London : thus, in Gods name, we set forwards with the wind at Northeast, a good fresh gale. About 3 howers after our departure, the night being somewhat thicke with darknesse, we had lost the pinnace, the captaine imagining that the men had runne away with her, willed the master of the *Sunneshine* to stand to Seawards, and see if we could descrie them, we bearing in with the shore for Plimmouth. At length we descried her, bare with her, and demanded what the cause was : They answered, that the tiller of their helme was burst. So, shaping our course West southwest, we went forward, hoping that a hard beginning would make a good ending, yet some of us were doubtfull of it, falling in reckoning that she was a Clincher; neverthelesse, we put our trust in God.

The 21 we met with the *Red Lion* of London, which came from the coast of Spaine, which was afraid that we had

<sup>1</sup> A ship or boat is said to be clincher built, when the outside planks lap one over the other. The sides of a boat so constructed do not present the same smooth surface as those of a carvel, or diagonal, built boat.

bene men of warre, but we hailed them, and after a little conference we desired the master to carie our letters for London, directed to my unckle Sanderson, who promised us safe deliverie. And after we had heaved them a lead and a line, whereunto wee had made fast our letters, before they could get them into the ship, they fell into the sea, and so all our labour and theirs also was lost, notwithstanding they promised to certifie our departure at London, and so we departed, and the same day we had sight of Sillie. The 22 the wind was at Northeast by East, with faire weather, and so the 23 and the 24 the like. The 25 we laied our shippes on the Lee<sup>1</sup> for the *Sunneshine*, who was a rommag-ing for a leake, they had 500 strokes at the pumpe in a watch, the wind at Northwest.

The 26 and 27 we had faire weather, but this 27 the pinnaces foremaste was blowen over-boord. The 28 the *Elizabeth* towed the pinnace, which was so much bragged of by the owners report before we came out of England, but at Sea she was like to a cart drawn with oxen. Sometimes we towed her, because she could not saile for scant wind.

The 31 day our captaine asked if the pinnace were stanch. Peerson answered that she was as sound and as stanch as a cuppe. This made us something glad, when we sawe she would brooke the Sea, and was not leake.

#### JUNE.

The first 6 dayes we had faire weather : after that, for 5 dayes we had fogge and rayne, the wind beyng South. The 12, we had cleare weather. The Mariners in the *Sunneshine* and the master could not agree : the mariners would goe on their voyage a fishing, because the yeere began to waste : the master would not depart till hee had the companie of the *Elizabeth*, whereupon the master told our captaine that he was afrayd his men would shape some contrarie course while he was a sleep, and so he should

<sup>1</sup> The same as to "heave-to".

loose us. At length, after much talke and many threatnings, they were content to bring us to the land, which we looked for daily.

The 13 we had fogge and raine.

The 14 day we discovered land at five of the clocke in the morning, being very great and high mountaines, the tops of the hils being covered with snow. Here the wind was variable, sometimes Northeast, East Northeast, and East by North : but wee imagined ourselves to be 16 or 17 leagues off from the shore.

The 15 we had reasonable cleare weather.

The 16 we came to an anker about 4 or 5 of the clocke after noone, the people came presently to us, after the old manor, with crying, *Il y a oute*, and shewing us Seale skinnies. The 17 we began to set up the pinnace that Peerson framed at Dartmouth, with the boords which hee brought from London.

The 18, Peerson and the Carpenters of the ships, began to set on the planks. The 19, as we went about an Island, were found blacke Pummise stones, and salt kernal on the rockes very white and glistering. This day, also, the master of the *Sunneshine* tooke one of the people, a very strong lustie yong fellow.

The 20, about two of the clocke in the morning, the Savages came to the Island where our pinnace was built readie to bee launched, and tore the two upper strakes, and caried them away onely for the love of the iron in the boords. While they were about this practise wee manned the *Elizabeth's* boate to goe a shore to them : our men being either afrayd, or amazed, were so long before they came to shore, that our captaine willed them to staie, and made the Gunner give fire to a Saker,<sup>1</sup> and laied the piece

<sup>1</sup> A saker was a piece of artillery from eight to ten feet in length, throwing shot varying from 4 to 7 lbs. weight. Although some authorities assert that its name was derived from the French oath *sacre* there can be little doubt but that it was really called, like the *falcon* and



levell with the boate which the Savages had turned on the one side, because we should not hurt them with our arrowes, and made the boate their bulwarke against the arrowes which wee shot at them. Our Gunner having made all things readie, gave fire to the peece, and fearing to hurt any of the people, and regarding the owner's profite, thought belike hee would save a Saker's shot, doubting we should have occasion to fight with men of warre, and so shot off the Saker without a bullet, we looking still when the Savages that were hurt should run away without legs, at length wee could perceive never a man hurt, but all having their legges could carie away their bodies : we had no sooner shot off the piece, but the master of the *Sunneshine* manned his boate, and came rowing towards the Island, the very sight of whom made each of them take that he had gotten, and flie away as fast as they could to another Island about two miles off, where they tooke the nayles out of the timber, and left the wood on the Isle. When we came on shore and saw how they had spoiled the boate, after much debating of the matter, we agreed that the *Elizabeth* should have her to fish withall : whereupon she was presently caried aboard and stowed.

Now after this trouble, being resolved to depart with the first wind, there fell out another matter worse then all the rest, and that was in this maner. John Churchyard, one whom our captaine had appointed as Pilot in the pinnace, came to our Captaine and master Bruton<sup>1</sup>, and told them

other ordnance in use at that period, after a bird. In falconry the *saker* was a hawk, appropriated to the use of knights, as was a falcon to a duke, a gerfalcon to a king, a peregrine to an earl, and a merlin to a lady.

In *Hudibras*, Part 1, Canto 2, are the following lines :—

“Of warlike engines he was author,  
Devis'd for quick dispatch of slaughter :  
The cannon, blunderbuss, and *saker*,  
He was th' inventor of, and maker.”

<sup>1</sup> William Bruton was captain of the *Sunshine* in Davis's first expedition to the North-west.

that the good ship which we must all hazard our lives in, had three hundred strokes at one time as she rode in the harbour.<sup>1</sup> This disquieted us all greatly, and many doubted to goe in her. At length our captaine, by whom we were all to be governed, determined rather to end his life with credite then to returne with infamie and disgrace, and so being all agreed, we purposed to live and die together, and committed our selves to the ship. Now the 21, having brought all our things aboard, about 11 or 12 of the clocke at night, we set saile and departed from those Isles, which lie in 64 degrees of latitude, our ships being now all at Sea, and wee shaping our course to goe, coasting the land to the Northwards upon the Easterne shore, which we called the shore of our Merchants, because there we met with people which traffiked with us, but here we were not without doubt of our ship. The 22 and 23 we had close fogge and raine.

The 24 being in 67 degrees and 40 minutes, we had great store of Whales, and a kinde of sea birdes which the Mariners called Cortinous.<sup>2</sup> This day about sixe of the clocke at night, we espied two of the countrey people at Sea, thinking at the first they had bene two great Seales, untill we sawe their oares glistering with the Sunne: they came rowing towards us as fast as they could, and when they came within hearing they held up their oares, and cried *Ily a oute*, making many signes: and at last they came to us, giving us birdes for bracelets, and of them I had a darte with a bone in it, or a piece of Unicorn's horne, as I did judge. This dart he made store of, but when he saw a knife he let it go, being more desirous of the knife then of his dart; these people continued rowing after our ship the space of 3 howers.

The 25 in the morning at 7 of the clocke we descried 30

<sup>1</sup> This means that it required three hundred strokes at the pump during a watch of four hours, to keep the ship free of water.

<sup>2</sup> I am unable to explain this word, and believe it to be a misprint.

Savages rowing after us, being by judgement 10 leagues off from the shore : they brought us Salmon Peales, Birdes, and Caplin, and we gave them pinnes, needles, bracelets, nailes, knives, bels, looking glasses, and other small trifles, and for a knife, a naile or a bracelet, which they call *Ponigmah*,<sup>1</sup> they would sell their boat, coates, or any thing they had, although they were farre from the shore. Wee had but few skinnes of them, about 20, but they made signes to us that if wee would goe to the shore, wee should have more store of *chichsaneye*;<sup>2</sup> they staid with us till 11 of the clocke, at which time we went to prayer, and they departed from us.

The 26 was cloudie, the wind being at South.

The 27 faire with the same wind.

The 28 and 29 were foggie with clouds. The 30 day we tooke the heigth and found our selves in 72 degrees and 12 min. of latitude both at noone and at night, the Sunne being 5 degr. above the horizon. At midnight the compasse set to the variation of 28 degr. to the Westward. Now having coasted the land, which we called London coast, from the 21 of this present till the 30, the sea open all to the Westwards and Northwards, the land on starboord side East from us, the winde shifted to the North, whereupon we left that shore, naming the same Hope Sanderson, and shaped our course West, and ran 40 leagues and better, without the sight of any land.

#### JULY.

The second we fel with a mighty banke of Ice West from us, lying North and South, which banke we would gladly have doubled out to the Northwards, but the winde would not suffer us, so that we were faine to coast it to the Southwards, hoping to double it out that we might have run so farre West till wee had found land, or els to have bene thorowly resolved of our pretended purpose.

<sup>1</sup> According to Davis, *Panigmah* means a needle. See page 21.

<sup>2</sup> This is, in all probability, an Eskimo word ; its meaning I am unable to explain.

The 3 we fell with the Ice againe, and putting off from it, we sought to the Northwards, but the wind crossed us.

The 4 was foggie : so was the 5 also, with much wind at North.

The 6 being very cleere, we put our barke with oares through a gappe in the Ice, seeing the Sea free on the West side as we thought, which, falling out otherwise, caused us to returne after we had staid there betweene the Ice. The 7 and the 8 about midnight, by God's helpe, we recovered the open sea, the weather being faire and calme, and so was the 9. The 10 we coasted the Ice.<sup>1</sup>

The 11 was foggie, but calme.

The 12 we coasted againe the Ice, having the wind at West northwest. The 13 bearing off from the Ice, we determined to goe with the shore and come to an anker, and to stay five or 6 daies for the dissolving of the Ice, hoping that the sea continually beating it, and the sunne, with the extreme force of heate which it had alwayes shining upon it, would make a quicke dispatch, that we might have a further search upon the Westernne shore. Now when we were come to the Easterne coast, the water something deepe, and some of our company fearefull withall, we durst not come to an anker but bare off into sea againe. The poore people seeing us goe away againe came rowing after us into the Sea, the waves being somewhat loftie. We truckt<sup>2</sup> with them for a few skinnes and dartes, and gave them beads, nailes, pinnes, needles, and cardes, they pointing to the shore as though they would shew us great friendship : but we litle regarding their curtesie, gave them the gentle farewell, and so departed.

The 14 we had the wind at South. The 15 there was some fault either in the barke, or the set of some current,

<sup>1</sup> This ice, that so thwarted the intentions of Davis, was, undoubtedly, the so-called middle pack of Baffin's Bay.

<sup>2</sup> To truck, was a common expression signifying to barter or exchange one commodity for another.

we were drivē 6 points out of our course. The 16 we fell with y<sup>e</sup> banke of Ice west from us. The 17 and 18 were foggie. The 19, at one a clocke after noone, we had sight of the land which we called mount Raleigh, and at 12 of the clocke at night wee were thwart the streights which we discovered the first yeere. The 20 wee traversed in the mouth of the streight, the winde being at West, with faire and cleare weather. The 21 and 22 we coasted the Northerne coast of the streights. The 23, having sayled 60 leagues Northwest into the streights, at two a clocke after noone, we ankered among many Isles in the bottome of the gulfe, naming the same the erle of Cumberlands Isles, where, riding at anker, a Whale passed by our ship and went West in among the Isles. Here the compasse set at 30 degrees Westward variation. The 24 we departed, shaping our course Southeast to recover the Sea. The 25 we were becalmed in the bottome of the gulfe, the aire being extreme hote. Master Bruton and some of the Mariners went on shore to course dogs, where they found many Graves and Trane<sup>1</sup> spilt on the ground, the dogs being so fat that they were scant able to runne.

The 26 wee had a pretie storme, the wind being at Southeast. The 27 and 28 were faire. The 29 we were cleare out of the streights, having coasted the South shore, and this day at noone we were in 64 degrees of latitude. The 30 in the afternoone we coasted a banke of Ice which lay on the shore, and passed by a great banke or inlet, which lay betweene 63 and 62 degrees of latitude, which we called Lumleis Inlet.<sup>2</sup> We had oftentimes as we sailed along the coast, great rootes, the water, as it were, whirling and overfalling, as if it were the fall of some great water through a bridge. The 31, as we sayled by a head land, which wee named Warwikes Foreland, we fell into one of those overfals with a fresh gale of wind, and bearing all our sailes, we looking upon an Island of Ice betweene us and the

<sup>1</sup> Train oil.

<sup>2</sup> This position agrees with that of Frobisher Strait.

shore, had thought that our barke did make no way, which caused us to take markes on the shore : at length we perceived our selves to go very fast, and the Island of Ice, which we saw before, was caried very forcibly with the set of the currant faster then our ship went. This day and night we passed by a very great gulfe,<sup>1</sup> the water whirling and roring, as it were the meetings of tides.

#### AUGUST.

The first having coasted a banke of Ice which was driven out at the mouth of this gulfe, wee fell with the Southermost Cape of the gulfe, which we named Childleis Cape,<sup>2</sup> which lay in 60 degrees and 10 minutes of latitude. The 2 and 3 were calme and foggie : so were the 4, 5, and 6. The 7 was faire and calme: so was the 8, with a litle gale in the morning. The 9 was faire, and we had a litle gale at night. The 10 wee had a frisking gale at West Northwest. The 11 faire. The 12 we sawe five Deere on the top of an Island, called by us Darcies Island. And wee hoised out our boate, and went a shore to them, thinking to have killed some of them. But when we came on shore and had coursed them twise about the Island, they tooke the Sea and swamme towards Islands distant from that 3 leagues. When wee perceived that they had taken the Sea, we gave them over, because our boat was so small that it could not carie us and rowe after them, they swamme so fast : but one of them was as big as a good pretie Cowe and very fat, their feete as big as Ox feete. Here upon this Island I killed with my peece a grey hare.

The 13 in the morning we saw 3 or 4 white Beares, but durst not goe on shore to them for lacke of a good boat.

<sup>1</sup> Hudson Strait ?

<sup>2</sup> Named after John Chudleigh or Chidley, who died in the Straits of Magellan whilst on a voyage that had for its object the circumnavigation of the globe. He was a Devonshire man, and a great friend of John Davis. See note, 19, *Lancaster's Voyages*, published by this Society.

This day we stroke a rocke, seeking for an harborow, and recieved a leake, and this day we were in 54 deg. of latitude.

The 14 we stopt our leake in a storme, not very outrageous, at noone.

The 15, being almost in 51 degrees of latitude, and not finding our ships, nor (according to their promise) any kind of marke, token or beacon, which we willed to set up, and they protested to doe upon every head land, Island, or Cape, within 20 leagues every way off from their fishing place, which our captaine appointed to be betweene 54 and 55 degrees. This 15, I say, we shaped our course homewards for England, having in our ship but little wood, and halfe a hogshead of fresh water. Our men were very willing to depart, and no man more foreward than Peerson, for he feared to be put out of his office of Stewardship : he was so unsaciate that the allowance of two men was skant sufficient to fill his greedie appetite : but because every man was so willing to depart, and considering our want, I doubted the matter very much, fearing that the seething of our mens victuall in salt water would bring diseases, and being but fewe (yet too many for the roome, if any should be sicke) and likely that all the rest might bee infected therewith, wee consented to returne for our owne countrey, and so we had the 16 faire, with the wind at Southwest.

The 17 we met a shippe at Sea, and as farre as wee could judge, it was a Biskaine : we thought she went a fishing for Whales, for in 52 degrees or thereabout, we saw very many.

The 18 was faire, with a good gale at West.

The 19, faire also, but with much wind at West and by South.

An thus, after much variable weather and change of windes, we arrived the 15 of September in Dartmouth, Anno 1587, giving thanks to God for our safe arrival.

Note: Pages 49–58: Traverse Book entries for the 3<sup>rd</sup> Voyage are omitted here. According to the latter (page 53) the northernmost latitude reached during this voyage was 72° 12 minutes on June 30, 1587; see also page 44 above.

LETTER TO MR. SANDERSON

59

*A letter of the sayd M. JOHN DAVIS, written to M. SANDERSON, of London, concerning his forewritten voyage.*

Good M. Sanderson, with Gods great mercy I have made my safe returne in health, with all my companie, and have sailed threescore leagues further then my determination at my departure. I have bene in 73 degrees, finding the Sea all open, and forty leagues between land and land.

The passage is most probable, the execution easie, as at my comming you shall fully know.

Yesterday, the 15 of September, I landed all wearie, therefore I pray you pardon my shortnesse.

Sandridge, this 16 of September, anno 1587.

Yours equall as mine owne, which by triall you shall best know,

JOHN DAVIS.

Davis, John. *The Voyages and Works of John Davis the Navigator*, The Hakluyt Society, No LIX, London, 1880:39–48,59 ("The Third Voyage Northwestward for the Discoverie of a passage to the Isles of the Molucca, or the coast of China, in the yeere 1587," written by John Janes, servant of M. William Sanderson).

John Davis the Navigator:

[\*Seaman's Secrets\*](#), (Dedication & Book I).

[\*Seaman's Secrets\*](#), (Book II).

[\*The Worlde's Hydrographical Description\*](#).

Material transcribed & transformed from the *GOOGLE Digital*/PDF/JPG version of *The Voyages and Works of John Davis, the Navigator*. The Hakluyt Society, No. LIX, London, 1880.