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The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation, v. 1

Transcriber’s Notes

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

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

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

** End Transcriber’s Notes **

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

Collected by
RICHARD HAKLUYT, PREACHER

AND

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

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

Thus wrote Oldys (The British Librarian, No III, March, 1737, page 137), nearly 150 years ago, and what has been done to remove this, reproach? The work has become so rare that even a reckless expenditure of money cannot procure a copy [Footnote: Mr. Quantch, the eminent Bibliopole, is now asking L42 for a copy of the 1598–1600 edition.]

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

Volume I. (1598) deals with Voyages to the North and North East, and contains One hundred and nine separate narratives, from Arthur's Expedition to Norway in 517 to the celebrated Expedition to Cadiz, in the reign of good Queen Bess. Amongst the chief voyages may be mentioned: Edgar's voyage round Britain in 973; an account of the Knights of Jerusalem; Cabot's voyages; Chancellor's voyages to Russia; Elizabeth's Embassies, to Russia, Persia, &c.; the Destruction of the Armada; &c., &c.

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

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

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

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

The Second Edition (London, G. Bishop, R. Newberie, and R, Barker), 1598, 1599, 1600, folio, 3 vols. in 2, is
the basis of our present edition. The celebrated voyage to Cadiz (pages 607−19 of first volume) is wanting in
many copies. It was suppressed by order of Elizabeth, on the disgrace of the Earl of Essex. The first volume
sometimes bears the date of 1598. Prefixed is an Epistle Dedicatio, a preface, complimentary verses, &c.
twelve leaves). It contains 619 pages. Volume II. has eight leaves of prefatory matter, 312 pages for Part I., and
204 pages for Part II. For Volume III. there are also eight leaves for title, dedication, &c., and 868 pages.
The Third Edition (London, printed by G. Woodfall), 1809−12, royal 410, 5 vols., is an excellent reprint of the
two early editions. It is very scarce, a poor copy fetching L17 to L18. Since this edition, there has been no reprint
of the Collection.
I have taken upon myself to alter the order of the different voyages. I have grouped together those voyages
which relate to the same parts of the globe, instead of adopting the somewhat haphazard arrangement of the
original edition. This, and the indices I have added to each volume, will, I hope, greatly assist the student. The
maps, with the exception of the facsimile ones, are modern; on them I have traced the presumed course of the
journey or journeys they refer to. The illustrations I have taken from a variety of sources, which are always
indicated.
EDMUND GOLDSMID.
EDINBURGH, August 23rd, 1884.

THE PRINCIPAL
NAVIGATIONS, VOYAGES, TRAFFIQUES, AND DISCOVERIES
OF
THE ENGLISH NATION,
MADE BY SEA OR OUER−LAND TO
THE REMOTE AND FARTHEST DISTANT QUARTERS OF THE EARTH,
at any time within the compasse of these 1600 yeres:
Divided into three severall volumes, according to the positions of the
regions whereunto they were directed.
The first volume containeth
The Worthy Discoveries, &c. of the English toward the North and Northeast by Sea,
as of
Lapland, Scrikfinia, Corelia, the baie of S. Nicolas, the isles of Colgoeve,
Vaiqatz, and noua Zemble, toward the great riuer Ob, the mighty empire of
Russia, the Caspian sea, Georgia, Armenia, Media, Persia, Boghar in Bactria, and
Diuers Kingdomes of Tartaria:
Together with many
Notable monuments and testimonies of the ancient forren trades, and of the
Warrelike and other shipping of this Realme of England in former ages,
whereunto is annexed
A Briefe Commentary of the True State of Island and of the Northern Seas and Lands Situate that Way:
as also
The Memorable Defeat of the Spanish Huge Armada, Anno 1588.
The second volume comprehendeth
The Principall Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation made by Sea or
Ouer−land,
To
The south and south−east parts of the World, as well within as without the
Streight of Gibralтар at any time within the compasse of these 1600 yeres:
Divided into two seueral parts, &c.
By Richard Hakluyt PREACHER, AND SOMETIME STUDENT OF CHRIST−CHVRCH IN OXFORD
IMPRINTED AT LONDON BY GEORGE BISHOP, RALPH NEWBERIE, AND ROBERT BARKER.
Anno 1599.
DEDICATION TO THE FIRST EDITION

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

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

Right Honorable, I do remember that being a youth, and one of her Maiesties scholars at Westminster [Footnote: We know little of Richard Hakluyt beyond what we can gather from his writings. He was born at Eyton, in Herefordshire in 1553; was educated, as we here learn, at Westminster School and afterward, at Christ Church, Oxford, where geography was his favourite study; In 1584 he went to Paris as Chaplain to the English Embassy and, during his absence, was made Prebendary of Bristol. On his return he published several works, Leo’s “Geographical History of Africa,” translated from the Spanish, and Peter Martyr's “History of the West Indies” In 1605 he became Prebendary of Westminster, and Rector of Wetherogset in Suffolck. He died in 1616. In compiling the present work, Hakluyt had the assistance of Sir Walter Raleigh.] that fruitful nurserie, it was my happe to visit the chamber of M. Richard Hakluyt, my cosin, a Gentleman of the Middle Temple, well knowen vnto you, at a time when I found lying open vpon his boord certeine bookes of Cosmographie, with an vniversall Mappe: he seeing me somewhat curious in the view therof, began to instruct my ignorance, by shewing me the diuision of the earth into three parts after the olde account, and then according to the latter, & better distribution, into more: he pointed with his wand to all the known Seas, Gulfs, Bayes, Straights, Capes, Riuers, Empires, Kingdomes, Dukedomes, and Territories of ech part, with declaration also of their speciall commodities, &particular wants, which by the benefit of traffike, &entercourse of merchants, are plentifully supplied. From the Mappe he brought me to the Bible, and turning to the 107. Psalme, directed mee to the 23 &24 verses, where I read, that they which go downe to the sea in ships, and occupy by the great waters, they see the works of the Lord, and his woonders in the deepe, &c. Which words of the Prophet together with my cousins discourse (things of high and rare delight to my yong nature) tooke in me so deepe an impression, that I constantly resolued, if euer I were preferred to the Vniuersity, where better time, and more conuenient place might be ministred for these studies, I would by Gods assistance prosecute that knowledge and kinde of literature, the doores whereof (after a sort) were so happily opened before me.

According to which my resolution, when, not long after, I was remoued to Christ−church in Oxford, my exercises of duety first performed, I fell to my intended course, and by degrees read ouer whatsoever printed or written discoueries and voyages I found extant either in the Greeke, Latine, Italian, Spanish, Portgall, French, or English languages, and, in my publike lectures was the first, that produced and shewed both the olde imperfectly composed, and the new lately reformed Mappes, Globes, Sphaeres, [Footnote: “Ortelius, in his 'Theatrum Orbis Terrarum,' the first edition of which was in 1570, gives a list of about 150 geographical treatises.”—Hallam's “Literature of Europe,” c. xvii. S 53.] and other instruments of this Art for demonstration in the common schooles, to the singular pleasure, and generall contentment of my auditory. In continuance of time, and by reason principally of my insight in this study, I grew familiarly acquainted with the chiefest Captaines at sea, the greatest Merchants, and the best Manners of our nation: by which meanes having gotten somewhat more then common knowledge, I passed at length the narrow seas into France with sir Edward Stafford, her Maiesties carefull and discreet Ligier, where during my fiue yeeres abroad with him in his dangerous and chargeable residencie in her
Highnesse service, I both heard in speech, and read in books other nations miraculously extolled for their discoveries and notable enterprises by sea, but the English of all others for their sluggish security, and continually neglect of the like attempts especially in so long and happy a time of peace, either ignominiously reported, or exceedingly condemned: which singular opportunity, if some other people our neighbors had beene blessed with, their protestations are often and vehement, they would farre otherwise haue vsed. And that the truth and evidence hereof may better appeare, these are the very words of Popiliniere in his booke called L'Admiral de France, and printed at Paris. Fol. 73. pag 1, 2. The occasion of his speech is the commendation of the Rhodnais, who being (as we are) Islanders, were excellent in navigation, whereupon he woondereth much that the English should not surpass in that qualitie, in this sort: Ce qui m'a fait autrefois rechercher les occasions, qui empeschent, que les Anglois, qui ont d'esprit, de moyens & valeur assez, pour s'acquerir vn grand honore parmi tous les Chrestiens, ne se font plus valoir sur l'element qui leur est, &doit estre plus naturel qu'a autres peuples: qui leur doient ceder en la structure, accommodement &police de nauires: comme i'ay veu en plusieurs endroits parmi eux. [Footnote: Translation “This made me inquire into the reasons which prevent the English, who have sufficient intelligence, means, and courage to acquire great honour amongst all Christians, from shining more on the element which is and ought to be more natural to them than to other nations, who must needs yield to them in the building, fitting out, and management of ships, as I have my self often witnessed when amongst them.”] Thus both hearing, and reading the obloquie of our nation, and finding few or none of our owne men able to replie heerin: and further, not seeing any man to haue care to recommend to the world, the industrious labors, and painefull travels of our countrey men: for stopping the mouthes of the reprochers, my selfe being the last winter returned from France with the honorable the Lady Sheffield, for her passing good behauior highly esteemed in all the French court, determined notwithstanding all difficulties, to vndertake the burden of that worke wherin all others pretended either ignorance, or lacke of leisure, or want of sufficient argument, whereas (to speake truely) the huge toile, and the small profit to insue, were the chiefe causes of the refusall. I call the worke a burden, in consideration that these voyages lay so dispersed, scattered, and hidden in severall hucksters hands, that I now woonder at my selfe, to see how I was able to endure the delays, curiosity, and backwardnesse of many from whom I was to receiue my originals: so that I haue just cause to make that complaint of the maliciousnes of diuers in our time, which Plinie [Footnote: Plinius. lib. 25. cap. 1. Naturalis historia.] made of the men of his age: At nos elaborata ijs abscondere atque suppressere cupimus, &fraudare vitam etiam alienis bonis, &c.

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

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

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

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

London the 17. of Nouember.

Your honors most humble always to be commanded

RICHARD HAKLUYT.
PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

RICHARD HAKLUYT TO THE FAVOURABLE READER

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

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

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

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

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

The north, and Northeasterne voyages of our nation I have produced in the second place, because our acces to those quarters of the world is later and not so auncient as the former: and yet some of our travailes that way be of more antiquitie by many hundred yeeres, then those that have bene made to the western coastes of America. Vnder this title thou shalt first finde the old northerne Navigations of our Brittish Kings as of Arthur, of Malgo, of Edgar Pacificus the Saxon Monarch, with that also of Nicholaus de Linna vnder the North pole: next to them in consequence, the discoveries of the bay of Saint Nicholas, of Colgoieue, of Pechora, of the Isles of Vaigats, of Touwne of Astracan, and to the manoflede mouthes of Volga, and from thence also by ship ouer the Caspian sea into Media, and further then that also with Camels vnto Georgia, Armenia, Hycrania, Gillan, and the cheefest Cities of the Empire of Persia: wherein the Companie of Moscouie Marchants to the perpetual honor of their Citie, and societie, haue performed more then any one, yea then all the nations of Europe besides: which thing is also acknowledged by the most learned Cosmographers and Historiographers of Christendome, with whose honorable testimonies of the action not many for number, but sufficient for authoritie I haue concluded this second part.

Touching the western coaste Navigations, and travailes of ours, they succeede naturallie in the third and last roome, for asmuch as in order and course those coastes, and quarters came last of all to our knowledge and experience. Herein thou shall reade the attempt by Sea of the sonne of one of the Princes of Northwales in sayling and searching towards the west more then 400. yeeres since: the offer made by Christopher Columbus that renowned Genouys to the most sage Prince of noble memoire King Henrie the 7. with his prompt and cheerefull acceptation thereof, and the occasion whereupon it became fruitlesse, and at that time of no great effect to this kingdome: then followe the letters Patentes of the foresaid noble Prince giuen to John Cabot a Venetian and his 3. sonnes, to discouer &conquer in his name, and vnder his Banners vnknown Regions who with that royall discouragement &contribution of the king himselfe, and some assistance in charges of English Marchants departed [Footnote: Robert Fabian] with 5. sailes from the Port of Bristoll accompanied with 300. Englishmen, and first of any Christians found out that mighty and large tract of lande and Sea, from the circle Arcticke as farre as Florida, as appeareth in the discourse thereof. The triumphant reigne of King Henry the 8. yielded some prosecution of this discoverie for the 3. voyages performed, and the 4. intended for all Asia by his Majesties selfe, do approoue and confirme the same. Then in processe of yeeres ariseth the first English trade to Brasill, the first passing of some of our voyages eleuen hundred verstes vp against the streame of Dwina to the towne of Vologhda thence one hundred and fourscore verstes by land to Yeraslaua standing vpon the mighty riuer of Volga: there hence aboute two thousand and fiue hundred verstes downe the streame to the ancient marte Towne of Astracan, and so to the manoflede mouthes of Volga, and from thence also by ship ouer the Caspian sea into Media, and further then that also with Camels vnto Georgia, Armenia, Hycrania, Gillan, and the cheefest Cities of the Empire of Persia: wherein the Companie of Moscouie Marchants to the perpetual honor of their Citie, and societie, haue performed more then any one, yea then all the nations of Europe besides: which thing is also acknowledged by the most learned Cosmographers and Historiographers of Christendome, with whose honorable testimonies of the action not many for number, but sufficient for authoritie I have concluded this second part.

Then immediately ensue 3. voyages made by M. John Hawkins now Knight, then Esquire, to Hispaniola, and the gulf of Mexico: vpon which depende sixe very excellent discourses of our men, whereof some for 15. or 16. whole yeeres inhabited in New Spaine, and ranged the whole Countrie, wherein are disclosed the cheefest secretes of the west India, which may in time turene to our no smal aduantage. The next leaues thou turnest, do yeeld thee the first valiant enterprise of Sir Francis Drake vpon Nombre de Dios, the mules laden with treasure which he surprised, and the house called the Cruzes, which his fire consumed: and therewith is ioyned an action more venterous then happie of John Oxnam of Plimmouth written, and confessed by a Spaniard, which with his companie passed ouer the streight Istme of Darien, and building certaine pinnesses on the west shoare, was the first Englishman that entered the South sea. To passe ouer Master Frobisher, and his actions which I haue also newly though briefly printed, and as it were reuiued, whatsoeuer Master Iohn Dauis hath performed in continuing that discouery, which Master Frobisher began for the northwest passage, I haue faithfully at large communicated it with thee, that so the great good hope, &singular probabilities &almost certaintie thereof, which by his industry haue risen, may be knownen generally of all men, that some may yet still prosecte so noble an
action. Sir Humfrey Gilbert, that courageous Knight, and very expert in the mysteries of Navigation amongst the rest is not forgotten: his learned reasons & arguments for the proof of the passage before named, together with his last more commendable resolution then fortunate successse, are here both to be read. The continuance of the historie, produceth the beginnings, and proceedings of the two English Colonies planted in Virginia at the charges of sir Walter Raleigh, whose entrance upon those newe inhabitations had bene happie, if it had ben as seriuously followed, as it was cheerfully vndertaken. I could not omit in this parte the two voyages made not long since to the Southwest, whereof I thinke the Spanyard hath had some knowledge, and felt some blows: the one of Master Edward Fenton, and his consort Master Luke Warde: the other of Master Robert Withtrington, and his hardie consort Master Christopher Lister as farre as 44. degrees of southerly latitude, set out at the direction and charge of the right honorable the Earle of Cumberland, both which in diuers respectes may yelde both profit and pleasure to the reader, being carefully perused.

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

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

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

Nowe, because peraduenture it would bee expected as necessarie, that the descriptions of so many parts of the world would farre more easily be conceived of the Readers, by adding Geographicaall, and Hydrographicaall tables thereunto, thou art by the way to be admonished that I haue contented my selfe with inserting into the worke one of the best generall mappes of the world onely, vntill the comming out of a very large and most exact terrestriall Globe, collected and reformed according to the newest, secretest, and latest discoueries, both Spanish Portugall, and English, composed by M. Emmerie Mollineux of Lambeth, a rare Gentleman in his profession, being therein for diuers yeeres, greatly supported by the purse and liberalitie of the worshipfull marchant M. William Sanderson. [Footnote: This map it has been found impossible to reproduce in facsimile, though every effort has been made, a facsimile of Ziegler's Map of 1532 has been substituted as a Frontispiece to this Volume.]

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

TO THE
RIGHT HONORABLE MY SINGULAR GOOD LORD
THE LORD CHARLES HOWARD, [Footnote: He was the grandson of Thomas, second Duke of Norfolk and was born in 1536. He entered the army early, and distinguished himself in suppressing the rebellion of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland in 1568 (for full particulars of which see Froude, “History of England,” vol IX, p 96). He became Lord High Admiral in 1585, and rendered great service in 1588 against the Invincible Armada. In 1596 he was created Earl of Nottingham for his Expedition against Cadiz in conjunction with the Earl of Essex. In 1601 he suppressed the revolt of the latter and made him prisoner. He was present at Elizabeth's death in 1603, and the following year went as ambassador to Spain. He died in 1624, never having forfeited in any way the confidence of his sovereign or the esteem of his countrymen.] EARLE OF NOTINGHAM, BARON OF EFFINGHAM, KNIGHT OF THE NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER, LORD HIGH ADMIRALL OF ENGLAND, IRELAND, AND WALES, &c, ONE OF HER MAJESTIES MOST HONOURABLE PRIVIE COUNSELL.

Right Honourable and my very good Lord, after I had long since published in Print many Navigations and Discoveries of strangers in divers languages, as well here at London, as in the citie of Paris, during my five yeeres abode in France, with the worthie Knight Sir Edward Stafford your brother in lawe, her maiesties most prudent and carefull Ambassador ligier with the worthie Knight Sir Edward Stafford your brother in lawe, her maiesties most prudent and carefull Ambassador ligier with the French King; and had waded on still farther and farther in the sweet studie of the historie of Cosmographie, I began at length to conceive, that with diligent obseruation, some thing might be gathered which might commend our nation for their high courage and singular actiuitie in the Search and Discoverie of the most vnknowen quarters of the world. Howbeit, seeing no man to step forth to undertake the recording of so many memorable actions, but ev ery man to folow his priuate affaires: the ardent loue of my countrey deuoured all difficulties, and as it were with a sharpe goad prouoked me and thrust me forward into this most troublesome and painfull action. And after great charges and infinite cares after many watchings, toiles, and travaels, and wearing out of my weake body: at length I haue collected three seuerall Volumes of the English Nauigations Traffiques, and Discoveries, to strange, remote, and farre distant countreys. Which worke of mine I haue not included within the compasse of things onely done in these latter dayes, as though little, or nothing woorthie of memorie had bene performed in former ages: but mounting aloft by the space of many hundred yeares, haue brought to light many very rare and worthy monuments, which long haue ben miserably scattered in mystic corners, &retchlesly hidden in mistie darkenesse, and were very like for the greatest part to haue bene buried in perpetual oblivion. The first Volume of this worke I haue thus for the present brought to light, reserving the other two vntill the next Spring, when by Gods grace they shall come to the Presse. In the meane season bethinking my selfe of some munificent and bountifull Patrone, I called to mind your honourable Lordship, who both in regard of my particular obligation, and also in respect of the subiect and matter, might iustly chalenge the Patronage thereof. For first I remembered how much I was bound, and how deeply indebted for my yongest brother Edmund Hackluyt, to whom for the space of foure whole yeares your Lordship committed the gouernment and instruction of that honorable yong noble man, your sonne & heire apparant, the lord William Howard, of whose high spirit and wonderful towardlinessse full many a time hath he boasted vnto me. Secondly, the bounden dutie which I owe to your most deare sister the lady Sheffield, my singular good lady &honorable, mistress, admonished me to be mindfull of the renoumed familie of the Howards. Thirdly, when I found in the first Patent graunted by Queene Marie to the Moscouie companie, that my lord your father being then lord high Admirall of England was one of the first fauourers and furtherers, with his purse and countenance, of the strange and wonderfull Discoverie of Russia, the chiefe contents of this present Volume, then I remembred the sage saying of sweet Isocrates, That sonnes ought not onely to be inheritors of their fathers substance but also of their commendable vertues and honours. But what speake I of your ancestors honors (which to say the trueth are very great, and such as our Cronicles haue notably blazoned) when as your owne Heroicall actions from time to time haue shewed themselves so admirable, as no antiquitie hath affoorded greater, and the future times will not in haste (I thinke) performe the like. To come to some particulars when the Emperors sister the spouse of Spaine,
with a Fleete of an 130. sailes, stoutly and proudly passed the narow Seas, your Lordship accompanied with ten ships onely of her Maiesties Name Roiall, enuironed their Fleet in most strange and warrelike sort, enforced them to stoope gallant, and to vaile their bonets for the Queene of England, and made them perfectly to vnderstand that olde speach of the prince of Poets:

Non illi imperium pelagi sauummque tridentem,  
sed tibi sorte datum.

[Footnote: Virgil, Aneid I  
Translation “Not to him is given by fate the empire of the ocean and the potent trident, but to thee.”]

Yet after they had acknowledged their dutie, your lordship on her Maiesties behalfe conducted her safely through our English chanell, and performed all good offices of honor and humanitie to that forren Princesse. At that time all England beholding your most honorable cariage of your selfe in that so weightie seruice, began to cast an extraordinarie eie vpon your lordship, and deeply to conceive that singular hope which since by your most worthie &wonderfull seruice, your L. hath more then fully satisfied. I meane (among others) that glorious triumphant, and thrise−happy victory atchieued against that huge and haultie Spanish Armada (which is notably described in the ende of this volume) wherein being chiefe and sole Commander vnder her sacred and roiall Maiestie, your noble government and worthy behauior, your high wisedom, discretion and happinesse, accompanied with the heauenly blessing of the Almighty, are shewed most eoudently to haue bene such as all posteritie and succeeding ages shall neuer cease to sing and resound your infinite prayse and eternall commendations. As for the late renoumed expedition and honorable voyage vnto Cadiz, the vanquishing of part of the king of Spaines Armada, the destruction of the rich West Indian Fleete, the chasing of so many braue and gallant Gallics, the miraculous winning, sacking, and burning of that almost impregnable citie of Cadiz, the surprising of the towne of Faraon vpon the coast of Portugal, and other rare appendances of that enterprise, because they be hereafter so judicilially set downe, by a very graue and learned Gentleman, which was an eye witnesse in all that action, I referre your good L. to his faithfull report, wherein I trust (as much as in him lay) he hath wittingly depriued no man of his right. Vpon these and other the like considerations, I thought it fit and very conuenient to commend with all humilitie and reuerence this first part of our English Voiages &Discoueries vnto your Honors fauourable censure and patronage.

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

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at length you may enjoy those celestial blessings, which are prepared to such as tread your steps, and seeke to aspire to such divine and heroicall vertues. And euen here I surcease, wishing all temporal and spirituall blessings of the life present and that which is to come to be powred out in most ample measure, not onely vpon your honourable Lordship, the noble and vertuous Lady your bedfellow, and those two rare jewells, your generous off−springs, but also vpon all the rest wheresoeuer of that your noble and renowned family. From London the 7. day of this present October 1598.

Your honours most humble alwayes to be commanded:

Richard Hakluyt Preacher.
A preface to the Reader as touching the principal Voyages and discourses in this first part.

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

For (to conteine myselfe onely within the bounds of this present discourse and in the midst thereof to begin) wil it not in all posteritie be as great a renowme vnto our English nation to haue bene the first discouerers of a Sea beyond the North cape (neuer certainly knowen before) and of a conuenient passage into the huge Empire of Russia by the bay of S. Nicholas and the riuer of Duina; as for the Portugales to haue found a Sea beyond the Cape of Buona Esperanza, and so consequently a passage by Sea into the East Indies; or for the Italians and Spaniards to haue discouered vnknowen landes so many hundred leagues Westward and Southwestward of the streits of Gibraltar, &of the pillers of Hercules? Be it granted that the renomméd Portugale Vasques de Gama trauersed the maine Ocean Southward of Africke: Did not Richard Chanceler and his mates performe the like Northward of Europe? Suppose that Columbus that noble and high−spinted Genuois escried vnknowen landes to the Westward of Europe and Africke: Did not Richard Chanceler and his mates performe the like Northward of Europe? Suppose that Columbus that noble and high−spinted Genuois escried vnknowen landes to the Westward of Europe and Africke: Did not Richard Chanceler and his mates performe the like Northward of Europe? Did not the valiant English knight sir Hugh Willoughby; did not the famous Pilots Stephen Burrough, Arthur Pet, and Charles Lackman accoast Nova Zembia, Colgoieue, and Vaigatz to the North of Europe and Asia? Howbeit you will say perhaps, not with the like golden succese, not with such deductions of Colonies, nor attaining of conquests. True it is that our successe hath not bene correspondent vnto theirs: yet in this our attempt the vncertaintie of finding was farre greater, and the difficultie and danger of searching was no whit lesse. For hath not Herodotus (a man for his time, most skilfull and judicial in Cosmographie, who writ aboue 2000. yeere ago) in his 4. booke called Melpomene, signified vnto the Portugales in plaine termes; that Africa, except the small Isthmus between the Arabian gulfe and the Mediterran sea, was on all sides enuironed with the Ocean? And for the further confirmation thereof, doth he not make mention of one Neco an Egyptian King, who (for trials sake) sent a fleet of Phoenicians downe the Red sea, who setting forth in Autumnne and sailing Southward till they had the Sunne at noonetide vpon their sterbourd (that is to say hauing crossed the Aquinoctial and the Southerne tropique) after a long Nauigation directred their course to the North and in the space of 3. years enuironed all Africk, passing home through the Gaditan strait and arriuing in Egypt. And doth not [Footnote: Lib. 2. nat. hist. cap. 67.] Plinie tell them that noble Hanno in the flourishing time and estate of Carthage sailed from Gades in Spaine to the coast of Arabia foelix, and put down his whole iournall in writing? Doth he not make mention that in the time of Augustus Casar the wracke of certaine Spanish ships was found floating in the Arabian gulfe? And, not to be ouer tedium in alleaging of testimonies, doth not Strabo in the 2. booke of his Geography, together with Cornelius Nepos and Plinie in the place beforenamed, agree all in one, that
one Eudoxus fleeing from King Lathyrus, and sailing downe the Arabian bay, sailed along, doubled the Southern point of Africk, and at length arrived at Gades? And what should I speake of the Spaniards? Was not diuine [Footnote: In Timao] Plato (who liued so many ages ago and plainly described their West Indies vnder the name of Atlantis) was not he (I say) instead of a Cosmographer vnto them? Were not those Carthaginians mentioned by Aristotle lib. [Footnote: [Greek: peri thaumasion akousmaton]] de admirabil. auscult. their forerunners? And had they not Columbus to stirre them vp and pricke them forward vnto their Westerne discoueries; yea to be their chiefe loads man and Pilot? Sithens therefore these two worthy Nations had those bright lampes of learning (I meane the most ancient and best Philosophers, Historiographers and Geographers) to shewe them light; and the load starre of experience (to wit those great exploits and voyages layed vp in store and recorded) whereby to shape their course: what great attempt might they not presume to vnertake? But alas our English nation, at the first setting forth for their Northeasterne discouery, were either altogether destitute of such cleare lights and inducements or if they had any inkling at all it was as misty as they found the Northren seas, and so obscure and ambiguous, that it was meet rather to detersse them then to giue them encouragement.

But besides the foresaid vncertaintie into what dangers and difficulties they plunged themselves, Animus meminisse horret, I tremble to recount. For first they were to expose themselves vnto the rigour of the sterne and vncoth Northren seas, and to make triall of the swelling waues and boistrous winds which there commonly do surce and blow: then were they to saile by the ragged and perilous coast of Norway, to frequented the vnhaunted shoares of Finmark, to double the dreadfull and misty North cape, to beare with Willoughbres land, to run along within kenning of the Countreys of Lapland and Corelia, and as it were to open and vnlocke the seuen−fold mouth of Duina. Moreover, in their Northeasterly Nauigations, vpon the seas and by the coasts of Condora, Colgoieue, Petzora, Ioughoria, Samoedia, Noua Zembla, &c. and their passing and returne through the streits of Vaigats, vnto what drifts of snow and mountains of yece euen in June, Iuly, and August, vnto what hideous ouerfals, vncertaine currents, darke mistes and fogs, and diuers other fearefull inconueniences they were subiect and in danger of, I wish you rather to learne out of the voyages of sir Hugh Willoughbie, Stephen Burrough, Arthur Pet and the rest, then to expect in this place an endlesse catalogue thereof. And here by the way I cannot but highly commend the great industry and magnanimity of the Hollanders, who within these few yeeres haue discouered to 78. yea (as themselues affirme) to 81. degrees of Northery latitude [Footnote: This is wrong. The Austro−Hungarian Expedition of 1872−1874 only reached 81 in Franz Josef Land. Barentz certainly neuer penetrated beyond 77 or 78 ] yet with this prouiso; that our English nation led them the dance, brake the yce before them, and gaue them good leaue to light their candle at our torch [Footnote: This refers to the expeditions of Willoughby (1553), Frobsisher (1576−7), Pett, Jackman (1580), and Davis (1585)]. But nowe it is high time for vs to weigh our ancre, to hoise vp our sailes, to get cleare of these boistrous, frosty, and misty seas, and with all speede to direct our course for the milde, lightsome, temperate, and warme Atlantick Ocean, ouer which the Spaniards and Portugales haue made so many pleasant prosperous and golden voyages. And albeit I cannot deny, that both of them in their East and West Indian Nauigations haue indured many tempests, dangers, and shipwracks: yet this dare I boldly affirme; first that a great number of them haue satisfied their fame−thirsty and gold−thirsty mindes with that reputation and wealth, which made all perils and misaduentures seeme tolerable vnto them, and secondly, that their first attempts (which in this comparison I doe onely stand vpon) were no whit more difficult and dangerous, then ours to the Northeast. For admit that the way was much longer, yet was it neuer barred with ice, mist, or darknes, but was at all seasons of the yeere open and Nauigable; yea and that for the most part with fortunate and fit gales of winde. Moreouer they had no forren prince to intercept or molest them, but their owne Townes, Islands and maine lands to succour them. The Spaniards had the Canary Isles: and so had the Portugales the Isles of the Acores of Porto santo, of Madera, of Cape verd, the castle of Mina, the fruitfull and profitable Isle of S. Thomas, being all of them conveniently situated, and well fraught with commodities. And had they not continuall and yerele trade in some one part or other of Africa, for getting of slaues, for sugar, for Elephants teeth, graines, siluer, gold and other precious wares, which serued as allurements to draw them on by little and little, and as proppes to stay them from giuing ouer their attempts? But nowe let vs leaue them and returne home vnto ourselves.

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

Furthermore in this first Volume, all the Ambassages and Negociations from her Maiestie to the Russian Emperor, or from him vnnto her Maiestie, seemed by good right to chalenge their due places of Record. As namely, first that of M. Randolph, 1568. then the emploiement of M. Ienkinson 1571. thirdly, Sir Ierome Bowes his honorable commission and ambassage 1582. and last of all the Ambassage of M. Doct. Fletcher 1588. Neither do we forget the Emperours first Ambassador Osep Napea, his arriuall in Scotland, his most honourable entertainment and abode in England, and his dismission into Russeland. In the second place we doe make mention of Stephen Tuerdico, and Phedota Pogorella; thirdly, of Andrea Sauin; and lastly, of Phedor Andrewich Phisesmski. And to be briefe, I haue not omitted the Commissions, Letters, Privileges, Instructions, Observations, or any other Particulars which might serue both in this age, and with all posteritie, either for presidents in such
like princely and weightie actions to bee imitated, or as woorthy monuments in no wise to bee buried in silence. 
Finally that nothing should be wanting which might adde any grace or shew of perfection vnto this discourse of 
Russia; I haue prefixed before the beginning thereof, the petigree and genealogie of the Russian Emperors and 
Dukes, gathered out of their owne Chronicles by a Polonian, containing in briefe many notable antiquities and 
much knowledge of those partes as likewise about the conclusion, I haue signified in the branch of a letter the last 
Emperour Pheodor Iuanowich his death, and the inauguration of Boris Pheodorowich vnto the Empire. 
But that no man should imagine that our forren trades of merchandise haue bene comprised within some few 
yeeres or at least wise haue not bene of any long continuance, let vs now withdraw our selues from our affaires in 
Russia, and ascending somewhat higher, let vs take a sleight surveye of our traffiques and negociations in former 
ages. First therefore the reader may haue recourse vnto the 137 page [Footnote: This refers to the original edition] 
of this Volume &there with great delight and admiration, consider out of the iudicial Historiographer Cornelius 
Tacitus, that the Citie of London fiftene hundred yeeres agoe in the time of Nero the Emperour was most famous 
for multitude of merchants and concourse of people. In the pages folowing he may learne out of Venerable Beda, 
that almost 900. yeeres past, in the time of the Saxons, the said citie of London was multorum emporium 
populorum, a Mart towne for many nations. There he may behold, out of William of Malmesbury, a league 
concluded betweene the most renowned and victorious Germane Emperour Carolus Magnus, and the Saxon king 
Offa, together with the sayd Charles his patronage and protection granted vnto all English merchants which in 
those dayes frequented his dominions. There may hee plainly see in an auncient testimonie translated out of the 
Saxon tongue, how our merchants were often woont for traffiques sake, so many hundred yeeres since, to crosse 
the wide Seas and how their industry in so doing was recompensed. Yea, there mayest thou obserue (friendly 
Reader) what priuileges the Danish king Canutus obtained at Rome of Pope Iohn of Conradus the Emperour, and 
of king Rudolphus for our English merchants Aduenturers of those times. Then if you shall thinke good to 
descend vnto the times and ages succeeding the conquest, there may you partly see what our state of merchandise 
was in the time of king Stephen and of his predecessor, and how the Citie of Bristol (which may seeme somewhat 
strange) was then greatly resorted vnto with ships from Norway and from Ireland. There may you see the friendly 
league betweene king Henry the second, and the famous Germane Emperour Friderick Barbarossa, and the 
gracious authorizing of both their merchants to traffique in either of their dominions. And what need I to put you in 
mind of king Iohn his fauourable safe conduct, whereby all forren merchants were to haue the same priuileges 
here in England, which our English merchants enioied abroad in their seuerall countreys. Or what should I signifie 
vtnto you the entercourse of league and of other curtesies betweene king Henry the third, and Haquinus king of 
Norway; and likewise of the free trade of merchandise between their subjects: or tell you what fauours the citizens 
of Colen, of Lubeck, and of all the Hansetownes obtained of king Edward the first; or to what high endes and 
purposes the generall, large, and stately Charter concerning all outlandish merchants whatsoever was by the same 
prince most graciously published? You are of your owne industry sufficiently able to conceiue of the letters 
&negociations which passed between K. Edward the 2. &Haquinus the Noruagian king; of our English merchants 
and their goods detained vpon arrest at Bergen in Norway; and also of the first ordination of a Staple, or of one 
onely settled Mart towne for the vttering of English woolls & woollen fells instituted by the sayd K. Edward last 
befor named. All which (Reader) being throughly considered, I referre you then to the Ambassages, Letters, 
Traffiques, and prohibition of Traffiques, concluding and repealing of leagues, damages, reprisals, arrests, 
complaints, supplications, compositions and restitutions which happened in the time of king Richard the 2. and 
kling Henry the 4. between the said kings and their subjects on the one partie; and Conradus de Zolner, Conradus 
de Jungingen, and Viricus de Jungingen, three of the great masters of Prussia, and their subjects, with the common 
societie of the Hans–townes on the other partie. In all which discourse you may note very many memorable 
things; as namely first the wise, discreet, and cautelous dealing of the Ambassador and Commissioners of both 
parts, then the wealth of the foresaid nations, and their manifold and most vsuall kinds of wares vttered in those 
dayes, as likewise the qualitie, burthen, and strength of their shipping, the number of their Mariners, the maner of 
their combates at sea, the number and names of the English townes which traded that way, with the particular 
places as well vpon the coast of Norway, as euery where within the sound of Denmark which they frequented; 
together with the inueterate malice and craftie crueltie of the Hanse. And because the name, office, and dignitie of 
the masters generall or great Masters of Prussia would otherwise have been vttterly darke and vnknown to the 
greater part of Readers, I haue set downe immediatly before the first Prussian ambasasage, pagina 158 [Footnote:
This means, of course, page 158 of original edition.] a briefe and orderly Catalogue of them all, containing the first originall and institution of themselves and of their whole knyghtly order and brotherhood, with the increase of reuennes and wealth which befell them afterward in Italy and Germany and the great conquests which they atchieued vpon the infidels of Prussia, Samogitia, Curland, Liefland, Lituania, &c. also their decay and finall ouerthrow, partly by the revolt of diuers Townes and Castles vnder their jurisdiction, and partly by the means of their next mightie neighbour the King of Poland.

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

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

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

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

Next after the conclusion of the last mentioned discourse, the Reader may in some sort take a vieu of our state of merchandise vnder K. Edward the fourth, as likewise of the establishing of an English company in the Netherlands, and of all the discreet prouisoes, iust ordinations, & gratious priuileges conteined in the large Charter which was granted for the same purpose.

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

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

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

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

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

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

* * * * *

graphen ariphradeos, mnaem aei essomenon.]

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In nauales RICHARDI HAKLUYTI Commentarios.

Anglia magnarum foecunda puerpera rerum,
siue solum spectes nobile, siue salum;
Qua quantum sumptis se nobilitauent armis,
siue domi gessit pralia, siue foris;
Multorum celebrant matura volumina: tanta
Insula materiem paruula laudis alit.
At se in quot, qualesque, &quando effuderit oras,
qua fidit ignotum peruia classis iter,
Solius Hakluyti decus est, pradiuite penna
ostendisse suis ciuibus ausa mari
Quacunque idcirco celeri gens Anglica naui,
Oceani tristes spernere docta minas,
A primi generisque &gentis origine gessit,
qua via per fluctus vlla pattre potest,
Siue decus laudemque secura, vt &hostibus alas
demeret, atque suis lata pararet opes:
Hoc opus Hakluyti; cui debet patria multum,
cui multum, patria quisquis amicus erit
Qui re namque magis se nostra Britannta iactat,
quam quod sit prater catera classe potens?
Quam prius obsessam tenebris sic liberat, vt nunc
quisque sciat quam sit nobile classis opus.
Quam si Dadalice vtemur surgemus in altum,
sin autem Icarice, quod voret, aquor habet.

RICH. MVLCASTER.

Eiusdem in eundem

Qui graui primus cecinit camoena
Aureum vellus, proceresque Gracos,
quos sibi adiunxit comites Ianson
Vectus in Argo
Naue, quam primum secuisse fluctus
predicant salsos, sibi comparauit
Inde non vnquam moritura magna
pramia fama
Tanta si merces calamum secuta
Vnica nauis referentis acta,
Quanta Rachardum manet Hakluytum
gloria? cuius
Penna descripsit freta mille, mille
Insula nostra celeres carinas,
Qua per immensi loca peruolarunt
omnia mundi
Senties gratam patriam, tuaque
Laudis aternum memorem, &laboris:
Qua tua cura, calamoque totum
ibit in orbem:
Quam doces omni studio fouere
Nauticum robur, validamque classem.
The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation, v. 1

Hac luet quisquis violentus Anglo
vsserit hostis.

* * * * *

In eximium opus R. HAKLUYT DE Anglorum ad disiunctissimas regiones nauigationibus GVLIELMI
CAMDENI Hexastichon.

Anglia qua penitus toto discluditur orbe,
Angulus orbis erat, parus & orbis erat.
Nunc cum sepositos alios detexent orbes,
Maximus orbis honos, Orbis &orbis erit.
At quid Haklute tibi monstranti hac debeat orbis?
Laus tua, crede mihi, non erit orbe minor.

* * * * *

Di Marc’ Antonio Pigafeta Gentilhuomo Vicentino
Ignota mi starei, con poco honore
Sepolta nell’ oscure, antiche carte,
S’alcun de figli miei con spesa & arte
Non hauesse hor scoperto il mio splendore
Ramusio pria pieno d’ ardente amore
Manifesto le mie piu riche parte,
Che son la doue il Maragnon diparte,
E doue il Negro allaga, e’l Gange scorre,
Hakluyto poi senza verun risuardo
Di fatica o di danno accolt’ ha insieme,
Cio c’ ha potuto hauer da typhi Inglesi.
Onde vedrassie dove bella sguardo,
E la Dwina agghiaccia, e l’ Obi freme,
Et altri membri miei non ben palesi.

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

Oldys (having given a list of the contents of the three volumes of Hakluyt) concludes,
This summary may sufficiently intimate what a treasury of maritime knowledge it is, wherefore we shall here
take our leave of it, with referring only to a needful observation or two:

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

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

Every reader conversant in the annals of our Naval transactions will cheerfully acknowledge the merit of

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION
Richard Hakluyt, who devoted his studies to the investigation of those periods of the English history, which regard the improvement of navigation and commerce. He had the advantage of an academical education. He was elected Student of Christ–Church in Oxford in 1570, and was therefore contemporary with Sidney at the University. To him we are principally indebted for a clear and comprehensive description of those noble discoveries of the English nation made by sea or over land to the most distant quarter of the earth. His incomparable industry was remunerated with every possible encouragement by Sir Francis Walsingham and Sir Philip Sidney. To the latter, as to a most generous promoter of all ingenious and useful knowledge, he inscribed his first collection of voyages and discoveries, printed in 1582. Thus animated and encouraged, he was enabled to leave to posterity the fruits of his unwearied labours—an invaluable treasure of nautical information, preserved in volumes, which even at this day, affix to his name a brilliancy of reputation, which a series of ages can never efface or obscure.
In the yere Of Christ, 517. king Arthur in the second yeere of his reigne, hauing subdued all parts of Ireland, sailed with his fleet into Island, and brought it and the people thereof vnder his subiection. The rumour afterwards being spread thorowout all the other Islands, that no countrey was able to withstand him, Doldamus the king of Gotland, and Gunfacius the king of Orkney, came voluntarily vnto him, and yeelded him their obedience promising to pay him tribute. The Winter being spent, he returned into Britaine, and establishing his kingdome in perfect peace, he continued there for the space of twelue yeres.

After that king Arthur sending his messenger into diuers kingdomes, he summoned such as were to come to his Court, as well out of France, as out of the adiacent Islands of the sea, &c. and a little after: From those adiacent Islands came Guillaumarius king of Ireland, Maluasius king of Island, Doldauius king of Gotland, Gunnasius king of Orkney, Lot the king of Norway, and Aschilius the king of Denmarke.

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

A testnnome of the right and appendances of the crowne of the kingdome of Britaine, taken out of M. Lambard, his [Greek: Arkaionomia], fol 137.
Arthur which was sometimes the most renowned king of the Britains, was a mightie, and valiant man, and a famous warriour. This kingdome was too litle for him, &his minde was not contented with it. He therefore valiantly subdued all Scantia, which is now called Norway, and all the Islands beyond Norway, to wit, Island and Greenland, which are apperteining vnto Norway, Sweueland, Ireland, Gotland, Denmarke, Someland, Windland, Curland, Roe, Femeland, Wireland, Flanders, Cherilland, Lapland, and all the other lands &Islands of the East sea, euen vnto Russia (in which Lapland he placed the Easterly bounds of his Brittish Empire) and many other Islands beyond Norway, euen vnder the North pole, which are appendances of Scantia, now called Norway. These people were wild and sauage, and had not in them the loue of God nor of their neighbors, because all euil commeth from the North, yet there were among them certeine Christians liuing in secret. But king Arthur was an exceeding good Christian, and caused them to be baptized, and thorowout all Norway to worship one God, and to receiue and keepe inuiolably for euer, faith in Christ onely. At that time all the noble men of Norway tooke wiues of the noble nation of the Britaines, whereupon the Norses say, that they are descended of the race and blood of this kingdome. The aforesayd king Arthur obteined also in those dayes of the Pope &court of Rome, that Norway should be for euer annexed to the crowne of Britaine for the inlargement of this kingdome, and he called it the chamber of Britaine. For this cause the Norses say, that they ought to dwell with vs in this kingdome, to wit, that they belong to the crowne of Britaine: for they had rather dwell here then in their owne natuie country, which is drie and full of mountaines, and barren, and no graine growing there, but in certeine places. But this countrey of Britaine is fruitfull, wherein corne and all other good things do grow and increase, for which cause many cruell battels haue bene oftentimes fought betwixt the Englishmen and the people of Norway, and infinite numbers of people haue bene slaine, &the Norses haue possessed many lands and Islands of this Empire, which vnto this day they doe possesse, neither could they euer afterwards be fully expelled. But now at length they are incorporated with vs by the receiuing of our religion and sacraments, and by taking wiues of our nation, and by affinitie, and marriages. For so the good king Edward (who was a notable mainteiner of peace) ordeined and granted vnto them by the generall consent of the whole kingdome, so that the people may, and ought from hencefoorth dwell and remaine in this kingdome with vs as our louing sworne brethren.
The conquest of the Isles of Anglesey and Man by Edwin the Saxon king of Northumberland written in the second Booke and fift Chapter of Beda his Ecclesiasticall historie of the English nation.

Eduinus Nordanhumbrorum gentis, id est, eius qua ad borealem Humbri fluminis plagam inhabitat, maiore potentia cunctis qui Britanniam incolunt, Anglorum pariter &Britonum populis praefuit, prater Cantuarios tantum, necnon &Menauias Britonum insulas, qua inter Hiberniam &Britanniam sita sunt, Anglorum subiecit potestati.

The same in English.

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

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

Anno ab incarnatione Domini sexcentesimo vicesimo quarto, gens Nordanhumbrorum, hoc est, ea natio Anglorum qua ad aquilonarem Humbri fluminis plagam habitat, cum rege suo Eduino, verbum fidei (pradicante Paulino, cuius supra meminimus) suscepit: cui videlicet regi in auspiciun susciplienda fidei, &regni coelestis potestas &terrem creuerat imperij: ita vt (quod nemo Anglorum ante eum fecit) omnes Britannia fines, qua vel ipsorum vel Britonum Prouincia habitabantur, sub ditione acceperit. Quin & Menauias insulas (sicut &supra doquimus) imperio subiguauit Anglorum. Quarum prior qua ad austrum est, &situ amplior &frugum prouentu atque vbertate foelicior, nongetarum sexaginta familiarum mensuram, iuxta asstimationem Anglorum, secunda trecentarum &vltra spatum tenet.

The Same in English.

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

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

Anno Dominica incarnationis sexcentesimo octogesimo quarto, Ecfridus rex Nordanhumbrorum, misso Hiberniam cum excercitu duce Berto, vastauit misere gentem innoxiam, &nationi Anglorum semper amicissimam, ita vt nec ecclesijs quidem aut monasterijjs manus, parceret hostilis. At insulani & quantum valuere armis arma repellebant, &inuocantes diuina auxilium pietatis coelitus se vindicari continuis diu imprecationibus postulabant. Et quamuis maledici regnum Dei possidere non possint, creditem tamen est, quod hi qui merito impietatis sua maledicebantur, ocyus Domino vindice, poenas sui reatus luarent.

The same in English.

In the yeere of our Lord 684, Ecfrid the king of Northumberland sent captaine Bert into Ireland with an armie, which Bert miserably wasted that innocent nation being alwayes most friendly vnto the people of England, insomuch that the fury of the enemy spared neither churches nor monasteries. Howbeit the Islanders to their power repelled armes with armes, and crauing Gods aid from heauen with continuall imprecactions and curses, they pleaded for reuenge. And albeit cursed speakers can by no meaneos inherit the kingdome of God, it was thought notwithstanding, that they which were accursed for their impiety did not long escape the vengeance of God imminent for their offences.
The voyage of Octher made to the Northeast parts beyond Norway, reported by himselfe vnto Alfred the famous king of England, about the yere 890.

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

He sayd, that the country of Norway was very long and small. So much of it as either beareth any good pasture, or may be tilled, lieth vpon the Sea coast, which notwithstanding in some places is very rockie and stonie: [Sidenote: A description of Norway.] and all Eastward all along against the inhabited land, lie wilde and huge hilles and mountaines, which are in some places inhabited by the Fynnes. The inhabited land is broadest toward the South &the further it stretcheth towards the North, it groweth euermore smaller and smaller. Towards the South it is peraduenture threescore miles in bredh or broader in some places: about the midstest, 30 miles or aboue, and towards the North where it is smallest, he affirmeth that it proueth not three miles from the Sea to the mountaines. [Sidenote: The bredth of the mountaines.] The mountaines be in breadth of such quantitie, as a man is able to trauelle ouer in a fortnight, and in some places no more then may be trauailed in sixe dayes. [Sidenote: Swethland. Queeneland.] Right ouer against this land in the other side of the mountaines, somewhat towards the South lieth Swethland, and against the same towards the North, lieth Queeneland. The Queenes sometimes passing the mountaines, inuade and spoile the Normans: and on the contrary part, the Normans likewise sometimes spoile their country. [Sidenote: Boats caried on mens backs.] Among the mountaines be many and great lakes in sundry places of fresh water, into the which the Queenes vse to carie their boats vpon their backs ouer lande, and thereby inuade and spoile the countrye of the Normans. These boats of theirs be very little and very light.

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

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

* * * * *

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

Wolstan sayd, that he departed from Hetha, and arriued at Trusco, in the space of 7. dayes, and 7. nights: during which time, his shippe kept her course continually vnder saile. All this voyage Wenedland [Footnote: Prussia.] was still vpon his steerboord, and on his leerboord was Langland, Layland, Falster, and Sconie: all which countreyes are subiect to Denmark. [Sidenote: Barenland or Borholme.] Vpon his leerboord also, was Barenland, which hath a priuate king, to whom it is subiect. Hauing left Barenland, he passed by Blekingie, Meere, Eland and Gotland, hauing them on his leerboord: all which countreyes are subiect to Sweden: and Wenedland was all the way vpon his steerboord, vntil he came to Wixel mouth. [Sidenote: Wixel is the riuer that falleth into the sea by Dantzig.] Wixel is a very great riuer which runneth along betwixt Witland and Wenedland. Witland is appertaining to the Easterlings, and the riuer of Wixel runneth out of Wenedland into Eastmeere, which Eastmeere is at the least 15. miles in breadth. [Sidenote: Fuso.] There runneth also another riuer called Ilsing from the East, and falleth into Eastmeere, out of another lake vpon the banke, whereupon is situated Fruso. So that Vsing commmg out of Eastland, [Footnote: Lithuania.] and Wixel out of Wenedland, both fall together into
Eastmeere, and there Wixel depriveth Ilsing of his name, and runneth thence West & North into the sea; whereof the place is called Wixelmouth.

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

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

* * * * *

The navigation of King Edgar, taken out of Florentius Wigoriensis, Houeden, and M. Dee his discourse of the Brittish Monarchie, pag. 54, 55, &c.

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

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

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

For, Adgaros pacificus, Regni sui prospiciens vutilati, pariter &quieti, quatuor millia octingentas sibi robustas congregauit naues e quibus mille ducentas, in plaga Anglia Orientali, mille ducentas in Occidentali, mille ducentas in Australi, mille ducentas in Septentrionali pelago constituit, vt ad defensionem regni sui, contra exteras nationes, bellorum discrimina sustinerent. [Footnote: Translation: “Edgar the Pacific, looking forward to the benefit and peace of his kingdom, collected Four Thousand Eight Hundred powerful ships, of which he stationed One Thousand Two Hundred on the East Coast of England, One Thousand Two Hundred on the West Coast, One Thousand Two Hundred on the South Coast, and One Thousand Two Hundred on the Northern Coast, in order to be prepared for war in defence of his kingdom against foreign nations.”]

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

[Sidenote: Charta Regis Henrici secundi.] Anglici orbis Basileus, flos, & decus Adgarus, non minus memorabilis Anglis, quam Cyrus Persis, Romulus Romanis, Alexander Macedonibus, Arsaces Parthis, Carolus Francis, Anno vita 37. Regni sui cum fratre, &post 21. Idibus Iulij obijt, &apud Glascon sepelitur. [Footnote: Translation: “The king of the English realm, that flower (of kings) and renowned Edgar, not less famous amongst the English than Cyrus amongst the Persians, Romulus amongst the Romans, Alexander amongst the Macedonians, Arsaces amongst the Parthians, Charles (the Great) amongst the Franks, in the 37th year of his age and 21st year of his reign with his brother and alone, died on the Ides of July, and was buried at Glastonbury.”]

O Glastonbury, Glastonbury, the treasury of the carcases of so famous, and so many persons (Qua olim mater sanctorum dicta es, &ab aliis, tumulus sanctorum, quam ab ipsis discipulis Domini, adificatum fuisse venerabilis habet Antiquorum authoritas) how lamentable is thy case nowe? howe hath hypocrisie and pride wrought thy desolation? though I omit here the names of very many other, both excellent holy men, and mighty princes, whose carcases are committed to thy custody, yet that Apostolike Ioseph, that triumphant British Arthur, and nowe this peaceable and prouident Saxon king Edgar, doe force me with a certaine sorrowful reuerence, here to celebrate thy memorie.

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

Idem quoque Adgarus 4000. naues congregavit, ex quibus omni anno, post festum Paschale, 1000. naues ad quamlibet Anglia partem statuit, sic, astate Insulam circumnauguiat: hyeme vero, judicia in Prouincia exercuit: &hac omnia ad sui exercitium &ad hostium fecit terrorem. [Footnote: Translation: “The same Edgar collected Four Thousand ships, of which each year, after Easter, he placed One Thousand on each side of England, and thus sailed round the Island in summer; but in winter he rendered justice throughout the country; and he did all this for the practice of his own navy and the terror of his enemies.”]

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

Habebat autem praterea consuetudinem, per omnes Regni prouincias transire, vt intelligeret quomodo legum iura, &suum statuta decretorum, a principibus obseruarentur, &ne pauperes a potentibus praiudicium passi, opprimerentur diligenter inuestigare soledat; in vno fortitudini, in altero Iustitia studens &Reipub. regnique vilitati consulens in vtroque. Hine hostibus circumquaque timor, &amor omnium erga eum excreuerat subditorum. [Footnote: Translation: “He had, besides the habit of travelling through all the provinces of the
kingdom, to ascertain how the enactments of the law and the ordinances of his decrees were carried out by those
in authority; and he was careful that the poor who suffered injury from those in power should have justice done
them, promoting courage in one, justice in another, in both ways benefiting the Crown and State. Thus on every
side the fear of his enemies and the love of his subjects increased.”]

Thus we see how in opportunitie, this peaceable Edgar procured to this Empire such prosperous securitie, that
his true and faithfull subjectes, all manner of wayes (that is at home and also at sea, both outward and inward) might
peaceably, safely and securely employ their wits and trauels for the maruëious enriching of this kingdome and
pleasuring very many other, carrying forth the naturall commodities of this land, abounding here above our
necessity vses (and due store reserved) and likewise againe furnishing the same with all necessary and not
superfluous forreine commodities, fet from farre or foreign countryes. This was in deed (as before is recorded) a
kingly prouidence. Reipub. Regnique utilitati consules, &c. besides with great vtilitie and profite publique
foreseen and by his meanes enjoyed, he himselfe vsed most gladly the advantage of that securitie, in ministring
of justice or causing the same to be executed all his kingdome ouer not squemishly, frownynge or skornefully
shunning the ragged and tattered sleeue of any suppliant, holding vp to him a simple soiled bill of complaint or
petition, and that homely contriued, or afraide at, and timerously hasting from the sickly pale face or feeble
limmed suter, extremly constrained so to speake for himselfe, nor parcially smothering his owne conscience,
to fauour or mainteine the foule fault and trespasse vnlawfull of any his subjectes, how mightie or necessary
soeuer, they (els) were, but diligently made search, least Pauperes a potentibus praiudicium passi, opprimerentur.

Thus did publique securitie from forrein foe abroad, and true loue of his owne subjectes, garding him at home,
and the heauenly spirit directing all his good purposes, cause justice and equitie in all quarters of this Albion to
flourish. For which his peaceable and prosperous benefits at the eternall king his hand obteined, hee became not
insolent or declined to tyrannical government (as some princes in other countreis haue made their lues
Comicotragical) but with all his foresaide inuincible Sea−force, abundant wealth, triumphant peace, with
securitie and Justice ouer all his Monarchie preuailing, his heart was continually, and most zealously bent to set
foorth the glory, laude and honour of the Almightie Creator, the heauenly and euerlasting king, by such principall
and princely meanes, as (then) were deemed to God most acceptable, as many monuments yet to our dayes
remaining, do of him vndoubtedly testifie: As this, for one [Footnote: Ex charta fundationis Ecclesia Cathedralis
Wigornia.]

Altitonantis Dei largiflua clementia, qui est rex Regium, Ego Edgarus Anglorum Basileus omniumque
Regum, Insulatum, Oceanique Britanniam circumiacentis, cunctarumque nationum qua infra eam includuntur,
Imperator, &Dominus, gratias ago ipsi Deo omnipotent, Regi meo, qui meum Imperium sic ampliauit, &exaltaiut
super regnum patrum meorum: qui licet Monarchiam totius Anglia adepti sunt a tempore Athelstani (qui primus
regnum Anglorum, &omnes Nationes, qua Britanniam incolunt, sibi Armis subegit) nullus tamen eorum ultra eius
fines imperium suum dilatare aggressus est. Mihi autem concessit propitia Diuinitas, cum Anglorum Imperio,
onnia regna Insularum Oceani, cum suis ferocissimis Regibus, vsque Noruegiam, maximamque partem Hybernia,
cum sua nobilissima Ciuitate Dublinia, Anglorum regno subiugare: Duos etiam omnes, meis Imperijis colla
subdere (Dei laudante gratia) coegi. Quapropter &ego Christi gloriarg, &laudem exaltare, &eius seruitium
amplificare deutos dispositui, &per meos fideles Fautores, Dunstanum, viz. Archiepiscopum, Athelwoldum,
&Oswaldum episcopos (quos mihi patres spirituales, &Consiliores elegi) magna er parte, secundum quod
disposui, effeci, &c. [Footnote: Translation “By the wide−extending Grace of the mighty God of Thunders, who
is king of kings, I, Edgar, king of Angles and of all Kingdoms, and Islands, and of the Ocean lying around Britain,
Emperor and Lord of all the nations therein contained, return thanks to that same, all−powerful God, my king,
who has thus extended my Empire and exalted me above the state of my forefathers, who, although they held
sway ouer all England from the days of Athelstan (who first conquered the kingdom of the Angles and all the
nations which inhabit Britain) yet none attempted to extend his empire beyond the frontiers of Athelstans's
kingdom. Favouring Providence, however, has permitted me, together with the throne of England, to add thereto
all the kingdoms of the Islands of the Ocean, with their warlike kings, as far as Norway, and the greater part of
Ireland, with its very powerful city of Dublin, all of whom, by the help of God, I have compelled, to bow the neck
to my power. Wherefore I desire to exalt the glory and praise of Christ, and increase His worship, and by my
faithful counsellors, viz., Dunstan the Archbishop and Athelwold and Oswald, bishops (whom I have chosen to be
my spiritual Fathers and Advisers), I have in a great measure performed what I intended etc.”]
And againe this in another Monument. [Footnote: Fundatio Ecclesia Cathedralis Eliensis.]


Ego Adgarus totius Albionis Basileus hoc priuilegium (tanta roboratum authontate) crucis. Thaumate confirmavi. [Footnote: Translation “In the name of Almighty God, etc. Strengthened by the favour and grace of God, I, Edgar, king of the favoured Isle of Albion having made subject to us the kingdoms of the Scots, the Cumbrians, the Britons, and all regions around, in the enjoyment of quiet peace, being anxious, to increase the praise of the Creator of all things, in order that lukewarmness may not appear to render His worship less earnest in these our days, etc., in the 18th year of my earthly reign, and the year of the Holy Incarnation 973, etc., I, Edgar, king of all Albion, haue confirmed that privilege, etc.”]

So that by all these rehearsed Records, it is most euident that the peaceable king Edgar, was one of those Monarchs, in whose handes (if life had suffised) the incredible value and priuiledge granted by God and nature vnto this British monarchie might haue bene peaceably purchased in such sort, as the very blessing and fauour of the diuine Trinitie hath laid meanes for our industrie to attaine to, and enioye the same by.

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

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

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

[Sidenote: Note the Queenes Maiesties royaltie ouer the British Ocean sea, round about the British Empire.] Ego Adgarus Anglorum Basileus, omniumque Regum, Insularum, Oceanique Britanniam circumiacentis, cunctarumque nationum, qua infrar eam includuntur, Imperator, & Dominus.

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

that none of them should at any time afterward dare once to challenge any parcel of the said ground by title of South part of the Island, and unto the remnant of the Mannians he granted the North part thereof, upon condition, they came. Now Godred himselfe with a fewe Islanders which had remained with him, tooke possession of the waste the whole Island and to enrich themselves with the commodities thereof, and so to returne from whence would take the wealth of the countrey, and so returne unto their owne home. Howbeit, it pleased them better to souldiers to their choice, whether they would divide Man among themselves and inhabit it, or whether they remained, with lamentable outcries beseeched Godred to spare their lives. Then he being moved with compassion, and pitying their extreme calamitie, because hee had bene of late sustained and nourished among them, sounded a retreat and forbade his soldiers to make any longer pursuit. The day following Godred put his soldiers at rest, and marched his army to the shore of the island of Ramsa, and there waited for the tide of the sea to rise. When the tide was high, he sent some of his men into the island in a boat, and commanded them to search for a place of refuge for the Mannians. They found a small man-made island in the middle of the sea, and Godred was pleased with their discovery. He immediately ordered his soldiers to board the boats and carry the Mannians to the island. The Mannians were grateful to Godred for saving their lives, and they settled on the island and thrived. They became a prosperous community, and Godred's kindness was remembered by them for many years. But eventually, Godred's stay in the island came to an end. He had been invited by King Edgar of England to attend a council of kings in York. Godred was reluctant to leave the island, but he accepted the invitation and set sail for York. On the way, he stopped at the island of Scacafel, where he rested and prepared for his journey. When he arrived in York, he was received with great hospitality by King Edgar. Godred stayed in York for some time, and during this time he strengthened his relationship with Edgar. He also met with King Edward of England, who was preparing to invade Denmark. Godred promised to support Edward in his invasion, and Edward was pleased with his loyalty. In the year 1066, Godred sailed to England with a fleet of ships and took part in the battle of Stamford Bridge, where the English won a decisive victory over the Norwegians. Godred fought bravely, but he was killed in the battle. His death was a great loss to the Mannians, who looked up to him as their king and protector. They mourned him deeply and placed him in a prominent position in their history. In the pages that follow, we will explore the life of Godred and his kingdom, and the events that shaped the history of the Mannians.
inheritance. Whereupon it commeth to passe, that vn to this day the whole Island is the kings owne Fee—simple, and that all the revenues thereof pertaine vn to him. [Sidenote: Boats hauing not past three yron nailes in them] Also Godredus subdued Dublin vn to himselfe &a great part of Lainestir. And he so tamed the Scots, that none of them durst build a ship or a boate, with aboue three yron nailes in it. Hee reigned 16. yeeres and died in the Island called Yle. [Footnote: Yell, a northern island of the Shetland group, seventeen miles by seven.] He left behinde him three sonsne, Lagman, Harald, and Olausus. Lagman being the eldest chalenged the kingdome and reigned seuen yeeres. Howbeit Harald his brother rebelled against him a long time, but being at length taken by Lagman, hee was gelt and had his eyes put out. Afterward Lagman repenting him that he had put out the eyes of his brother, did of his owne accord relinquish his kingdome, and taking vpon him the badge of the crosse, he went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, in which iourney also he died.

In the yeere 1075. all the principall men of the Islands hauing intelligence of the death of Lagman, sent messengers vn to Murccardus O—Brien King of Irland, requesting him that hee would send some wel—disposed person of his owne kinred and blood royall, vn till Olausus sonne of Godred were come to full age. The king most willingly condescended vn to their request, and sent vn to them one Dompald the sonne of Tade, charging and commaundung that with all meekenesse and modestie, hee should gouerne that kingdome, which of right belonged not vn to him. Howbeit he, after he had once attained vn to the kingdome, neglecting the commaundement of his lord, vsurped the gouernment with great tyrannie, committing many heinous crimes, and so he reigned very disorderly for the space of three yeeres. Then all the princes of the Islands making a generall conspiracie, banded themselues against him, and expelled him out of their dominions. And he flying into Irland returned no more vn to them.

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

In the yeere 1008. the abbey of S. Manes at Cistertrum was founded. In the same yeere also Antiochri was taken by the Chnstians and a Comet appeared.

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

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

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

In the yeere 1134. Olaus gaue vnto Yo the Abbat of Furnes a portion of his owne ground in Man to build an Abbey in the place which is called Russin. [Footnote: Rushen] Also hee inriched with reuenues and indem with priuiledges al places of religion within his islands.

In the yere 1142. Godredus the son of Olaus sailed vnto the K. of Norway called Hinge, and doing his homage vnto him he remained with him, &was by him honorably enterteined. The same vere the 3. sonnes of Harald brother vnto Olaus, who were brought vp at the citie of Dublin, gathering together a great multitude of people, and all the fugitiues and vagabonds of the kingdome resorted vnto Man, and demaunded of the said king the one halfe of al the kingdome of the Islands. Which thing when the king heard, being desirous to pacifie them, he answered that he would consult about that matter. And a day and place being appointed, where the consultation should bee kept, in the meanel time those miscreants conspired together, about the murthering of the King. And when the day appointed was come, both companies assembled themselues vnto the haunen towne called Ramsa, and they sate in order, the king with his nobilitie on the one side, and they with their confederates on the other side. Howbeit Regnaldus who had an intention to slay the king, stooede a−side in the midst of the house talking with one of the Princes of the lande. And being called to come vnto the king he turned himselfe about as if hee would haue saluted him, and lifting vp his glittering axe, he choppt the kings head quite off at a blow. [Sidenote: 1143.] Nowe hauing committed this outrageous villanie, within a short space they diuided the Island betweene themselves, and gathering an armie together sailed vnto Galway, intending to subdue that also, howbeit the people of Galway assembled themselues, and with great furie encounred with them. Then they immediately turning their backs with great confusion fled vnto Man. And as touching all the Galwedians which inhabited in the said Island, some of them they slue, and the residue they banished.

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

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

In the yeere 1158. Sumerled came vnto Man with 53. ships, putting Godred to flight and wasting the Island: and Godred sailed vnto Norway to seeke for aide against Sumerled. In the yere 1164. Sumerled gathered a fleete of 160. ships together; and arrived at Rhinfrin, [Footnote: Renfrew] intending to subdue all Scotland vntil himselfe: howbeit, by Gods iust iudgement being ouercome by a few, together with his sonne, and an innumerable multitude of people, he was slaine. The very same yere there was a battel fought at Ramsa, betweene Reginald the brother of Godred, and the inhabitants of Man, but by the stratageme of a certaine Earle the Mannians were put to flight. Then began Reginald to vsurpe the kingly authoritie. Howbeit his brother Godred, within foure dayes after comming out of Norway with a great power of armed men, apprehended his brother Reginald, gelt him, and put out his eyes. The same yeere deceased Malcolme the king of Scots and his brother William succeeded in the kmgdome.

In the yeere 1166. two Comets appeared in the moneth of August before the rising of the Sunne, one to the South and another to the North. In the yeere 1171. Richard earle of Penbroke sailed into Irelond, and subdued Dublin with a great part of Irelond. In the yere 1176. Iohn Curcy conquered Vlster vntil himselfe. And at the same time also Viuianus legate from the sea of Rome came into Man, &caused king Godred to bee lawfully wedded vntil his wife Phingola, daughter of Maclotlen son of Murkartac king of Irelond, mother of Olausus, who was then 3. yeeres old. Siluanus the abbat married them, vntil whom the very same day, king Godred gaue a portion of ground in Mirescoge, where he built a Monastery: howbeit, in processe of time, the said land with the monkes, was granted vntil the abbey of Russin.

In the yere 1172. Reginaldsus the son of Eacmarcat (a man descended of the blood royal) comming into Man with a great multitude of people, in the absence of the king, at the first conflict hee put to flight certaine watchmen which kept the shoare, &slue about 30. persons. Whereupon the very same day the Mannians arranging themselues put him, &almost almost al his folowers to the sword.

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

In the yere 1185. the Sunne was eclisped vnpon the feast of S. Philip and Iacob.

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

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

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

In the yere 1203. Michal bishop of the islands deceased at Fontanas, and Nicholas succeeded in his roome.

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

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

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

In the yere 1217. deceased Nicolas bishop of the islands, and was buried in Ulster, in the house of Benchor,
whom Reginald succeeded.
I thinke it not amisse to report somewhat more concerning the two foresaid brethren Reginaldus and Olauuus.

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

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

In the yeere 1226. Olauus recovered his inheritance, that is to say the kingdome of Man and of the Islands, which Reginald his brother had governed for the space of 38. yeeres, and he reigned two yeeres in safetie.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the yere 1242. Haraldus returned out of Norway vnto Man and being honorably receivd by the inhabitants he liued in peace with the kings of England and Scotland.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the yeere 1258. Haco king of Norway came into the parts of Scotland, and without atchieuing ought,
turning his course towards the Orcades he there deceased at Kirwas, [Footnote: Kirkwall. The date is an error
Hacos expedition took place in 1263. He sailed from Herdle−Voer on the 5th of July, and died Saturday, 15th
December ( Det Norske Folks Historie, by P. A. Munch.)] and was buried at Bergen.

In the yeere 1265. Magnus the sonne of Olaus king of Man and of the Islands died at the castle of Russin,
and was buried at the Church of St. Mary at Russin.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I thinke it not amisse to report somewhat more concerning the two foresaid brethren Reginaldus and Olaus.
The state of the shipping of the Cinque ports from Edward the Confessor and William the Conqueror, and so down to Edward the first, faithfully gathered by the learned Gentleman M. William Lambert in his Perambulation of Kent, out of the most ancient Records of England.

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

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

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

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

Douer, Sandwicus, Ry, Rum, Frigmare ventus,

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

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

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

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

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

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

The booke of Domesday before remembred, chargeth Douer with twentie vessels at the sea, whereof eche to be furnished with one and twentie men for fifteene dayes together: and saith further, that Rumney and Sandwich answered the like seruice. But now whether this (like) ought to be understood of the like altogether, both in respect of the number and seruice, or of the (like) in respect of seruice according to the proportion of their abilite onely, I may not hereby take vpon me to determine. For on the one side, if Rumney, Sandwich, and the residue should likewise finde twentie vessels a piece, then (as you shall anone see) the fiue Ports were subject to a greater charge at that time then King Edward the first laid vpon them: And on the other side if they were onely chargeable after their proportion, then know I not how farre to бurthen them, seeing the Record of Domesday it selfe bideth them to no certeintie. And therefore leauing this as I find it I must elsewhere make inquisition for more lightsome proofe. And first I will haue recourse to king Edward the first his Chartre, in which I read, that At ech time that the King passeth ouer the sea, the Ports ought to rigge vp fiftie and seuen ships, (whereof euerie one to haue twentie armed souldiers) and to mainteine them at their owne costes, by the space of fifteene dayes together.

I thine it not amisse to report somewhat more concerning the two foresaid brethren Reginaldus and Olaus.
And thus it stood with the Ports for their general charge, in the sixt yeere of his reigne, for then was this Chartre sealed. But as touching the particular burthen of each one, I have seen two divers testimonies, of which the first is a note in French (bearing the countenance of a Record) and is intituled, to have been renewed in the two and twentieth yeere of the Reigne of the same king, by Stephan Penchester, then Constable of Douer Castle, in which the particular charge is set down in this manner.

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

These ships they ought to finde vpon fourtie dayes summons, armed and arrayed at their owne charge, and in each of them twenty men, besides the Master of the Mariners: all which they shall likewise maintaine five dayes together at their owne costs, giving to the Master six pence by the day, to the Constable six pence, and to each other Mariner three pence. And after those five dayes ended, the King shall defray the charges.

The other is a Latine Custumall of the town of Hyde, the which although it pretend not so great antiquity as the first, yet seemeth it to me to import as much or more likelihood and credit: It standeth thus.

These be the Five Ports of our soueraigne Lord the King having liberties, which other Ports have not: Hastings, Romenal, Heth, Douer, Sandwich, the chiefe Townes. The services due by the same.

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

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

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

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

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

Summe of ships 57.
Summe of the men 1187. and 57. Garcions.

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

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

This dutie of attendance therefore (being deuised for the honourable transportation, and safe conduct of the Kings owne person or his armie ouer the narrow Seas) the Ports have not onely most diligently euer since that
time performed, but furthermore also valiantly behaued themselves against the enemie from time to time, in sundrie exploits by water, as occasion hath bene proffered, or the necessitie of the Realme required.

[Sidenote: The good service of the fiue ports. 1217] And amongst other feats not vnwoorthy perpetuall remembrance, after such time as Lewes (the eldest sonne of the French King) had entred the Realme to aide Stephan Langton the Archbishop, and the Nobilitie, in the life of King Iohn, and had sent into France for new supply of Souldiers after his death, Hubert of Borough (then captaine of Douer) following the opinion of Themistocles in the exposition of the oracle of the wooden walles, by the aide of the Port townes, armed fortie tall ships, and meeting with eightie saile of Frenchmen vpon the high seas, gaue them a most couragious encounter, in which he tooke some, sunke others, and discomfited the rest.

King Henrie the third also, after that he came to riper age, had great benefit by the seruice of the Cinque Ports: [Sidenote: 1278.] And king Edward the first in his Chartre, maketh their continuall faithfull seruice (and especially their good endeuour, then lately shewed against the Welshmen) the principall cause, and motiue of that his liberall grant.

[Sidenote: 1293.] Furthermore, about the midst of the reigne of the same king, an hundreth saile of the Nauie of the Ports fought at the Sea with a fleet of 200. French men, all which (notwithstanding the great oddes of the number) they tooke, and slew, and sunke so many of the Mariniers, that France was thereby (for a long season after) in maner destitute, both of Seamen, and shipping.

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

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

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

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

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

The South fleete.


I thinke it not amisse to report somewhat more concerning the two foresaid brethren Reginaldus and Olaus.
The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation, v. 1


The North fleete

Mariners 15. of the North / Mariners 4521.

The summe toall of / Ships 700.
al the English fleete / Mariners 14151.

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

I thinke it not amisse to report somewhat more concerning the two foresaid brethren Reginaldus and Suaus.
The summe of all the Estrangers /Ships 38.  
Mariners 805.

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

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A note out of Thomas Walsmgham [Footnote: Thomas Walsingham, a native of Norfolk and Benedictine monk of St. Albans. He wrote A History of England, from 1273 to the Death of Henry V, and Ypodigma Neustria. His writings contain very little original information.]
touching the huge Fleete of eleuen hundred well furnished ships wherewith King Edward the third passed ouer vnto Calais in the yeere 1359. Anno gratia 1359. Iohannes Rex Francia sub umbra pacis, &dolose obtulit Regi Anglia Flandriam, Picardiam, Aquitaniam, aliaque terras quas equitauerat &vastatarat: pro quibus omnibus ratificandis, idem Rex Edwardus in Franciam nuncios suos direxit: quibus omnibus Franci contradixerunt. Vnde motus Rex Anglia, celeriter se &suos preparavit ad transfretandum, ducens secum principem Wallia Edwardum suum primogenitum, ducem Henricim Lancastriam &fere proroceris omnes, quos comitantur vel sequabantur poene mille currus, habuitque apud Sanwicam instructas optime vndecies centum naues, &cum hoc apparatu ad humiliandum Francorum fastum Franciam nauigauit, reficio domino Thoma de Woodstock filio suo minore admodum paruulo Anglici regni custode, sub tutela tamen.

The same in English.

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

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

[Siidenote: The words of Gerardus Mercator in the foote of his general Map vpon the description of the North partes.] Quod ad descriptionem partium Septentrionalium attinet, eam nos accipimus ex Itinario Iacobi Cnoyen Buscoducensis qui quadam ex rebus gestis Arthurii Britanni citat, maiorem autem partem &potiora, a Sacerdote quodam apud Regem Noruegia, An. Dom. 1364. didicit. Descenderat is ex illis quos Arthurus ad has habitandas insulas miserat, &referebat, An. 1360. Minoritam quendam Anglum Oxoniasem Mathematicum in eas insulas venisse, ipsis disiectis ad vteriora arte Magica profecto descriptipse omnia, &Astrolabio dimensum esse in hanc subiectam formam fere, uti ex Iacobo collegimus, Eurois illos quatuor dicebat tanto impetu ad interiorem voraginem rapi, vt naues semel ingressa nullo vento retroagi possent, neque vero vnquam tantam ibi ventum esse, vt mola frumentaria circumaganda sufficiat. Simillima his habet Giraldus Cambrensis (qui floruit, An. 1210.) in libro de mirabilibus Hybernia, sic enim scribit. Non procuil ab insulis Hebridibus, Islandia, &c. ex parte Boreali, est maris quadam miranda vorago, in quam a remotis partibus omnes vndique fluctus marini tanquam ex condito fluent, &recurrent, qui in secreta natura penetralia se ibi transfundentes, quasi in Abyssum vorantur. Si vero
nauem hac forte transire contigerit, tanta rapitur, &attrahitur fluctuum violentia, vt eam statim irreuocabiliter vis voracitatis absorbeat.

Quatuor voragines huius Oceani, a quatuor oppositis mundi partibus Philosophi describunt, vnde &tam marinos fluctus, quam &Aolicos flatus causaliter peruenire nonnulli coniectant.

The same in English.

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

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

[Sidenote: There is a notable whirlepoole on the coast of Norway, caled Malestrando (Malstrom), about the latitude of 68.] Not farre from these Islands (namely the Hebrides, Island &c.) towards the North there is a certaine woonderful whirlpoole of the sea, whereinto all the waues of the sea from farre haue their course and recourse, as it were without stoppe: which, there conueying themselues into the secret receptacles of nature, are swallowed vp, as it were, into a bottomlesse pit, and if it chance that any shippe doe passe this way, it is pulled, and drawn with such a violence of the waues, that eftsoones without remedy, the force of the whirlepoole deoureureth the same.

The Philosophers describe foure indraughts of this Ocean sea, in the foure opposite quarters of the world, from whence many doe coniecture that as well the flowing of the sea, as the blasts of the winde, haue their first originall.

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A Testimonie of the learned Mathematician master Iohn Dee, [Footnote: Born in London in 1537. He was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. He was a man of vast erudition, but being, in Mary's reign, suspected of devoting himself to the “black art,” a mob broke into his house and destroyed his library, museum, and mathematical instruments, said to be worth L2,000; and he himself was cast into prison. He was in great favour with Queen Elizabeth, who is said to haue paid him a salary, employed him on secret political missions, and visited him at Mortlake. He professed to be able to raise the dead, and had a magic ball (in reality a lump of black lead), in which he pretended to read the future, and which was afterwards in Horace Walpole's collection at Strawberry Hill. In 1596. he was made Warden of Manchester College, and died in 1608.] touching the foresaid voyage of Nicholas De Linna.

Anno 1360. (that is to wit, in the 34. yeere of the reigne of the triumphant king Edward the third) a frier of Oxford, being a good Astronomer, went in companie with others to the most Northren Islands of the world, and there leauing his company together, hee transited alone, and purposely described all the Northerne Islands, with the indrawing seas: and the record thereof at his returne he deliuered to the king of England. [Sidenote: Inuentio Fortunata.] The name of which booke is Inuentio Fortunata (aliter fortuna) qui liber incipit a gradu 54. vsque ad polum. Which frier for sundry purposes after that did fiue times passe from England thither, and home againe.

It is to be noted, that from the hauen of Linne in Norfolke (whereof the foresaid Franciscan frier tooke his name) to Island, it is not about a fortnights sailing with an ordinarie winde, and hath bene of many yeares a very common and vsuall trade: which further appeareth by the priuileges granted to the Fisher men of the towne of
The voyage of Henry Earle of Derbie, after Duke of Hereford and lastly king of England by the name of Henry the fourth, An. Dom 1340. into Prussia and Lettowe against the infidels, recorded by Thomas of Walsingham

[An. Dom. 1390.]

The same in English.

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

The voyage of Thomas of Woodstocke Duke of Glocester into Prussia, in the yeere 1391. written by Thomas Walsingham.

Eodem tempore dux Glouernia Dominus Thomas de Woodstock [Marginal note: Filius natu minimus Edwardi 3.], multis moerentibus, iter apparauit versus le Pruys: quem non Loudinensium gemitus, non communis vulgi moeror retinere poterant, quin proficisci vellet. Nam plebs communis tam Urbana quam rustica metuebant quod eo absente aliquod nouem detrimentum succresceret, quo praesente nihil tale timebant. Siquidem in eo spes &solatium totus patria reposita videbantur. Ipse vero mox, vt fines patria sua transijt, aduersa agitatus fortuna, nunc hac nunc illac turbinibus procellosis circumfertur; &in tantum destituitur, vt de vita etiam desperaret. [Sidenote: Reditus.] Tandem post Daciam, post Norwagiam, post Scotiacm barbariemi nune sine mortis pauore transcursum, peruenit Northumbriam, &ad castellum se contulit de Tinemutha velut assylum antiquitus notum sibi: vbi per aliquot dies recreatus iter assumpsit versus manerium suum de Flaschy, magnum apportans gaudium toti regno, tam de eius euasione, quam de aduentu suo.

The same in English.

At the same time the Duke of Glocester Lord Thomas of Woodstock (the yongest sonne of Edward the third) to the great grieffe of many, tooke his iourney towards Prussia: whom neither the Londoners mones nor yet the lamentation of the communaltie could restraine from his intended expedition. For the common people both of the Citie and of the countrye feared lest in his absence some newe calamitie might happen; which they feared not while he was present. For in him the whole nation seemed to repose their hope and comfort. Howbeit hauing skarce passed as yet the bounds of his owne countrey, he was immediatly by hard fortune tossed vp and downe with dangerous stormes and tempests, and was brought into such distresse, that he despaired euen of his owne life.

I thinke it not amisse to report somewhat more concerning the two foresaid brethren Reginaldus and Olaus.
At length, having not without danger of death, sailed along the coasts of Denmark, Norway, and Scotland, he returned into Northumberland, and went to the castle of Tinmouth as unto a place of refuge known of old unto him; where, after he had refreshed himselfe a fewe dayes, hee tooke his journey toward his Mannour of Plashy, bringing great joy unto the whole kingdome, aswell in regard of his safetie as of his returne.

The verses of Geoffrey Chaucer in the knights Prologue, who living in the yeere 1402. [Footnote: Chaucer died 25. October, 1400, according to the inscription on his tombstone at Westminster. Urry, in his edition of Chaucer, folio, 1721, p. 534, attributes the Epistle to Cupid to Thomas Occleue, Chaucer's scholar, but does not give his authority.] (as hee writeth himselfe in his Epistle of Cupide) shewed that the English Knights after the losse of Acon, were wont in his time to trauaile into Prussia and Lettowe, and other heathen lands, to aduance the Christian faith against Infidels and miscreants, and to seeke honour by feats of armes.

The English Knights Prologue.

[Sidenote: Long trauaile.]

A Knight there was, and that a worthie man, that from the time that he first began to riden out, he loued Cheualrie, trouth, honour, freedome, and Curtesie. full worthy was he in his lords warre: and thereto had hee ridden no man farre, As well in Christendome as in Heathennesse, and euer had honour for his worthinesse.

[Sidenote: Alexandria.]

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

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


I thinke it not amisse to report somewhat more concerning the two foresaid brethren Reginaldus and Olaus.
The Original Proceedings and Success of the Northern Domestical and Foreign Trades and Traffique of This Isle of Britain from the Time of Nero the Emperor, who deceased in the Yeere of our Lord 70. Under the Romans, Britons, Saxons, and Danes, till the Conquest: And from the Conquest, vntill this Present Time, Gathered Out of the Most Authenticall Histories and Records of This Nation.

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A Testimonie out of the Fourteenth Booke of the Annales of Cornelius Tacitus, proouing London to haue bene a famous Mart Towne in the reigne of Nero the Emperor, which died in the yeere of Christ 70.

At Suetonius mira constantia medios inter hostes Londinium perrexit, cognomento quidem colonia non insigne, sed copia negociatorum &commeatu maxime celebre.

The same in English.

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

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A Testimome out of Venerable Beda (which died in the yeere of our Lord 734.) proouing London to haue bene a Citie of great traffike and Marchandize not long after the beginning of the Saxons reign.

Anno Dommina incarnationis sexcentesimo quarto Augustinus Britanniarum Archiepiscopus ordinavit duos Episcopos, Mellitum videlicet &Iustum: Mellitum quidem ad pradicandum prouincia Orientalium Saxonum, qui Tamesi fluuo dirimuntur a Cantia &ipsi Orientali Mari contigui, quorum Metropolis Londonia Cuiitas est super ripam prafati fluminis posita &ipsa multorum emporium populum, terra marique venientium. [Footnote: Beda Ecclesiastica historia Gentis Anglorvm lib. 2. cap 3.]

The same in English.

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

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


Nescio quid de nobis venturum sit. [Sidenote: Navigatio interdicta.] Aliquid enim dissensionis diabolicum fomento inflammante, nuper inter Regem Carolum &Regem Offam exortum est: ita ut vtrinque negociatio interdicta negociatoribus cesseret. Sunt qui dicant nos pro pace in illas partes mittendos. Et nonnullis interpositis, Nunc, inquit, ex verbis Caroli foedus firmum inter eum &Offam compactum subijciam. Carolus gratia Dei Rex Francorum, &Longobardorum, &patricius Romanorum, viro venerando &fratri charissimo Offa Regi Mercioram salutem. Primo gratias agimus omnipotenti deo, de salute animarum, de Cathoca fidei sinceritate, quam in vestris laudabiliter paginis reperimus exaratum. De peregrinis vero qui pro amore Dei, &salute animarum suarum beatoram Apostolorum limina desiderant adire, cum pace sine omni perturbatione vadant. Sed si ali qui, non religioni servientes, sed lucra sectantes, inueniantur inter eos, locis opportunis statuta soluant telonia. [Sidenote: Negotiorum Anglicanorum patrocinium.] Negotiores quoque volumus vt ex mandato nostro patrocinium habeant in Regno nostro legitime. Et si aliquo loco iniusta affligantur oppressione, reclament ad nos vel nostros indices, &plenam videbimus iustitiam fieri. [Footnote: Malmsbur. de gestis Regum Anglorvm lib. 1. cap 4.]
The same in English.

In the meane season Offa by often legacies solicited Charles le maigne the king of France, to be his friend: albeit he could not easily finde king Charles any whit inclined to further and promote his craftie attempts. [Sidenote: Traffique prohibited] Their mindes were so alienated before, that bearing hauty stomacks on both parts, euen the mutuall traffique of their Marchants was prohibited. The Epistle of Albmus is a sufficient testimony of this matter whereof I will here put downe.

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

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

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

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

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

Sit vobis notom quia magna congregatio nobilora in ipsa solemnitate Pascali, Roma cum Domino Papa Ioanne, &imperatore Conrado erat, scilicet omnes principes gentium a monte Gargano, vsque ad istum proximum Mare: qui omnes me &honorifice suscere, &magnificis donis honorauere. Maxime autem ab imperatore donis varijs &muneribus pretiosis honoratus sum, tam in vasis aureis &argenteis, quam in pallijs &vestibus valde pretiosis. Locutus sum igitur cum ipso imperatore, &Domino Papa, &principibus qui ibi erant, de necessitatisbus totius populi mei, tam Angli quam Dani, vt eis concedetur lex aequor, &pax securior in via Romam adeundi, &ne tot clausuris per viam arcerentur, &propter inustum teloneum fatigarentur. Annuitque postulatis Imperator, &Rodulphus Rex, qui maxime ipsarum clausurarum dominatur, cunctique principes edictis firmarunt, vt homines
The flourishing state of Merchandise in the City of London in the days of William Malmesburiensis, which died in the yeere 1142. in the reign of K. Stephen.

Haud longe a Rofa quasi viginti quinque milliarijs est Londonia Ciuitas nobilis, opima ciuium diuitijs, constipata negociatorum ex omni terra, & maxime ex Germania venientium, commercijs. Vnde fit vt cum vbique in Anglia caritas victualium pro sterili prouentu messium sit, ibi necessaria distrahantur &emantur minore, quam alibi, vel vendentium compendio, vel ementium dispandio. Peregrinas inuehit merces Ciuitatis finibus Tamesis fluuius famous, qui citra vrbem ad 80. milliaria fonticulo fusus, ultra plus 70. nomen profert. [Footnote: Guliel. Malmesb. de gestis pont. Anglorum lib. 2.]

The same in English.

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

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

In eadem valle est vicus celeberrimus Bristow nomine, in quo est nautium portus ab Hibernia &Norwegia &cateris transmarinis terris venientium receptaculum, ne scilicet genitalibus diuitijs tam fortunata regio peregrinarum opum frauderetur commercio.

The same in English.

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

The league betweene Henry the second and Fredericke Barbarossa Emperour of Germanie, wherein is mention of friendly traffike betweene the Marchants

I thinke it not amisse to report somewhat more concerning the two foresaid brethren Reginaldus and...
of the Empire and England, confirmed in the yeere of our Lord 1157, recorded in the first Booke and seuenteenth Chapter of Radeuicus Canonicus Frisingensis, being an appendix to Otto Frisingensis.


The same in English.

There were present also the same tune, the messengers of Henry [Footnote: The Second.] king of England presenting diuers rich and precious gifts, and that with great learning &eloquence of speech. Amongst the which we saw a pauilion, most large in quantity, &most excellent in quality. For if you desire to know the quantitie therof, it could not be erected without engines and a kinde of instruments, and maine force: if the qualitie, I thinke there was neuer any furniture of the same kinde, that surpassed the same either in stuffe or workemanship. The said king directed his letters also, full of sugred speeches, the tenour whereof was this that followeth.

To his entirely beloued friend Frederick [Footnote: Son of Frederick, Duke of Suabia, was born in 1121. and succeeded his uncle Conrad III. in 1152 as Emperor of the West. As was proved by his campaigns in Italy in 1154, 1158, and 1162, and by the justice and probity of his administration, he was equally great as a soldier and as a ruler. He joined the Third Crusade in 1189, and was drowned whilst crossing a river in Asia in June, 1190. His memory is still cherished amongst the peasants of Germany, who look upon him in the same light as the Welsh on Arthur.] by the grace of God Emperour of the Romanes most inuincible, Henry king of England, duke of Normandie and Aquitaine, Earle of Anjou wisheth health and concord of sincere amitie. We doe render vnto your highnes (most renowmed and peerelesse Prince) exceeding great thanks for that you haue so graciously voucsafted by your messengers to visite vs in your letters to salute vs, with your gifts to present vs, and (which wee doe more highly esteeme of then all the rest) to beginne a league of peace and friendship betweene vs. We reioyced, and in a maner sensibly felt our selues to bee greatly emboldened, and our courage to encrease, whilst your promise, whereby vs put vs in good comfort, did make vs more cheerefull and resolute, in managing the affaires of our kingdome. We reioyced (I say) &in our secret cogitations did humble obeisance vnto your Maiestie, gying you at this time to vnderstand from the sincere &vnfained affection of our heart, that whatsoever we shall know to tend vnto your honour, we are, to our power most ready to put in practise. Our kingdome, and whatsoever is vnder our iurisdiction we doe offer vnto you, and commit the same vnto our highnesse, that all matters may be disposed according to your direction, and that your pleasure may in all things be fulfilled. Let there be therefore betweene our selues and our subjectis, an induisible vnitie of friendship and peace, and safe trade of Marchandize yet so, as that vnto you (who excell in dignitie) authoritie in commanding may bee ascribed, and diligence in obeying shall not want in vs. And as the liberalitie of your rewards doeth often put vs in

I thinke it not amisse to report somewhat more concerning the two foresaid brethren Reginaldus and Olauus.
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remembrance of your Maiestie euen so in like maner sending vnto your Highnesse the most rare things in our custodie and which we thought should be most acceptable vnto you, wee doe most heartily wish that your selfe also would not altogether bee vnmindefull of vs. Haue respect therefore not vnto the gifts, but vnto the affection of the giuer, and accept of them with that minde, wherewith they are offered vnto you.

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

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


In eadem forma scribitur vicecomiti Sudsex, Maiori &communitati Civitiatis Winton, Balliue de Southampton, Balliuo de Lenne, Balliuo Kent, Vicecomiti Norfolcia &Suffolcia, Vicecomiti dorset &Somerset, Baronibus de quinque portubus, Vicecomiti de Southampton sire, Vicecomiti de Herttford &Essex, Vicecomiti Cornubia &Deuon.

The same in English.

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

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

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Litera regis Henrici tertij ad Haquinum Regem Norwegia de pacis foedere Anno 1 Henrici 3. [Marginal note: 1216.]


Eodem modo scribitur S. Duci Norwegia ibidem &eodem die.

The letters of King Henry the third vnto Haquinus [Footnote: Haco IV., bastard of the able adventurer Swerro. His invasion of Scotland in 1263]

I thinke it not amisse to report somewhat more concerning the two foresaid brethren Reginaldus and 61.
forms a striking episode of medieval history.] King of Norway concerning a
treaty of peace and mutual traffic of merchandise, &c.

Henry by the grace of God, &c. unto Haquinus by the same grace King of Norway sendeth greeting. We render unto your highness unspakeable thanks for those things which by your letters, and by your discreet subject the Abbot of Lisa, you have signified unto us, and also for that you are right willing and desirous to begin and to conclude between vs both, a league of peace and amity. And we for our part both now are, and hereafter shall well contented that both our lands be common to the end that the Merchants and people of your dominions may freely and without impediment resort unto our land, and our people and Merchants may likewise have recourse unto your territories. Prouided, that for the confirmation of this matter, you send unto us your letters patents, and we will send ours also unto you. Howbeit in the mean time while we do will and freely grant, that the Merchants both of our and your lands, may go, come, and return to and from both our Dominions. And if there be ought in your mind, whereby we might stand you in any stead, you may boldly signifie the same unto us. We have as yet detained the foresaid Abbot, that we might, to our ability, cause restitution to be made for your ship, and for the things therein contained: by whom we will certify you of our owne estate, and of the estate of our kingdom so soone, &c. Witness our selfe at Lambeth the tenth of October.

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


Mandatum est omnibus Balliuis portuum in quos ventura est Coga de Norwegia, in qua venerint in Angliam milites Regis Norwegia &Mercatores Saxonia, quod cum pradictam Cogam in portus suos venire contigerit, salvo permittant ipsam Cogam in portus suis morari, quamdiu necesse habuerit, &libere sine impedimento inde recedere quando voluerint. Teste Rege.

The same in English.

I thinke it not amisse to report somewhat more concerning the two foresaid brethren Reginaldus and 62uus.
A Mandate for the King of Norway his Ship called the Cog.

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

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The same in English.

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

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

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[Sidenote: Carta conditionalis]

Henricus dei gracia Rex Anglia dominus Hibernia, dux Normania, Aquitania, & Comes Andegauia, omnibus Balliusis suiis salutem. [Sidenote: Ricardus Comes Cornubiae Rex Romanorum.] Scitis nos ad instantiam dilecti &fidelis fratris nostri Ricardis Comitis Cornubia in Regum Romanorum electi, suscepisse in protectionem &defensionem nostram &salum &securum conductum nostrum Burgenses de Lubek in Alemania cum omnibus rebus & mercandisis quas in Regnum nostrum deferent, vel facient deferri. Et eis concessimus, quod de omnibus rebus &mercandisis sui nihil capiatur ad opus nostrum vel alterius contra voluntatem eorumdem; sed libere vendant & negocientur inde in Regno predicto, prout sibi viderint expedire. Et ideo vocem mandamus, quod dictis
Burgensibus vel eorum nuncijis in veniendo in terram nostram cum rebus & mercandisis suis ibidem morando, & inde recedendo, nullum inferatis, aut ab alijs inferri permittatis impedimentum aut grauamen. Nec eos contra quietantiam pradictam vexetis, aut ab alijs vexerint permittatis. In cius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieras perfecimus patentes per septennium durantes: Dum tamen iisdem Burgenses interim bene & fideliciter se habuerint erga praeatum electum fratrem nostrum. Teste meipso apud Westmonasterium vndecimo die Maij Anno Regni nostri quadragesimo primo. Hac litera duplicata est, pro Burgensibus & mercatoribus Dacis, Brunswig, & Lubek.

The same in English.

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

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

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

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


Ad instantiam Serenissimi principis Richardi Romanorum Regis charissimi fratris nostri concedimus mercatoribus Alemannia, illis videlicet qui habent domum in Ciuitate nostra London, qua Gildhalla Teutonicorum vulgantur nuncupatur, quod eos vnuiersos manutenebimus per totum Regnum nostrum in omnibus ijsdem libertatibus & libris consuetudinibus, quibus ipsi nostris & [Marginal note: Nota antiquitatem.] progenitorum nostrorum temporibus vti sunt & gauisi. Ipsosque extra huiusmodi libertates & libris consuetudines non trahemus, nec triah aliquatatem permissuemus. In cius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieris perfecimus patentes.

The same in English

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

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

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Mandatum regis Edwardi primi de mercatoribus alienigenis.
The same in English.
A mandate of king Edward the first concerning outlandish merchants.
We will and command that outlandish merchants doe sel their wares in the citie of London &c. within forty
dayes of their arriuall.

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

Edwardus Dei gratia Rex Anglia, Dommus Hibernia dux Aquitania, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus,
Prioribus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Iustitiarijs, Vicecomitibus, prapositis, ministris, &omnibus balliuis & fidelibus
suis salutem. Circa bonum statum omnium mercatorum subscriptorum regnorum, terrarum, &prouinciarnum,
videlicet Alemannia, Francia, Hispania, Portugallia, Nauarra, Lombardia, Thuscia, Prouinciæ, Catalonia, ducatus
nostri Aquitania, Tholosania, Caturluni, Flandria, Brabantia, &omnium aliarium terrarum &lcorum extrareorum,
quocunque nomine censeantur, venientium in regnum nostrum Anglia &ibidem conuersantium nos pracipua cura
sollicitat, qualiter sub nostro dominio tranquillitatis &plena securitatis immunitas eisdem mercatoribus futuris
temporibus praparetur. Vt itaque vota ipsorum reddantur ad nostra &regni nostri seruitia promptiora, ipsorum
petitionibus favorabiliter annuentes, &pro statu eorundem plenius asecurando, in forma qua sequitur ordinantes,
pro nobis &haredibus nostris in perpetuum subscripita dictis mercatoribus duximus concedenda.

1. In primis videlicet quod omnes mercatores dictorum regnorum &terrarum salue &secure sub tuitione
&protectione nostra in dictum regnum nostrum Anglia, &vbique infra potestatem nostram aliibi veniant cum
mercandisis suis quibuscunque de muragio, pontagio &pannagio liberi &quieti. Quodque infra idem regnum
&potestatem nostram in ciuitatibus, burgis, &villis mercatorijs possunt mercari duntaxat in grosso tam cum
indigenis seu incolis eiusdem regni &potestatis nostra pradicta, quam cum alienigenis, extraneis, vel priuatis. Ita
tamen quod merces, qua vulgariter merceria vocantur, ac species, minutatim vendi possint, prout antea fieri
conseueit. [Sidenote: Exeptione contra notorios regni hostes.] Et quod omnes pradicti mercatores mercandisas suas,
quas ipsos ad pradictum regnum &potestatem nostram adducere, se infra idem regnum &potestatem nostram
emere, vel alias acquocrine contingerit, possint quo voluerint tam infra regnum & potestatem nostram pradictam,
quam extra ducere vel portare facere, praterquam ad terras manifestorum &notoriorum regni nostri,
soluendo consuetudines quas debebant: vinis duntaxat exceptis, qua de codem regno seu potestate nostra,
postquam infra idem regnum seu potestatem nostram ducta fuerint, sine voluntate &licentia specili non liceat eis
educere quoquo modo.

2. Item quod pradicti mercatores in ciuitatibus, burgis, &villis pradictis pro voluntate sua hospitari valeant,
&morari cum bonis suis alibi quam ad gratiam ipsorum, quorum sunt hospitia siue domus.

3. Item quod quilibet contractus per ipsos mercatores cum quibuscunque personis vndecunque fuerint super
quocunque genere mercandisa initus, firmus sit &stabilis, ita quod neuter mercatorum ab illo contractu possit
recedere, vel resiliere, postquam denarius Dei inter principales personas contrahentes datus fuerit &receptus. Et si
forsan super contractu euismodi contentio oriatur fiat inde probatio aut inquisitio secundum vsus & consuetudines
feriarum &villarum, vbi dictum contractum fieri contigerit & iniri.

4. Item promittimus prafatis mercatoribus pro nobis &haredibus nostris in perpetuum concedentes, quod
nullam prisam vel arrestationem, seu dilationem occasione prisa de catero de mercimonijs mercandisis seu alijs
bonis suis per nos vel alium seu alios pro aliqua necessitate vel casu contra voluntatem ipsorum mercatorum
aliquatenus faciemus, aut fieri patiemur, nisi statim soluto precio pro quo ipsi mercatores alijs eiusmodi
mercimonia vendere possint, vel eis aliter satisfacto, ita quod reputent se contentos: Et quod super mercimonia,
mercandisias, seu bona ipsorum per nos vel ministros nostra nulla appreciatio aut estimatio imponetur.

[Sidenote: Lex mercatoria.] 5. Item volumus quod omnes balliui &ministri feriarum, ciuitatim, burgorum,
&villarum merciatoriaurn mercatoribus antedicis conquerentibus coram ijs celerem iustitiarn faciant de die in
diem sine dilatione secundum legem mercatoriam, de vniuersis &singulis qua per eandem legem poterunt
terminari. Et si forte inueniatur defectus in aliquo balliuiurn vel ministrorum pradictorum, vnde ijdem
mercatores vel eorum aliquis dilationis incommoda sustinuerint vel sustinewt, licet mercator versus partem in
principali recuperauerit damna sua, nihilominus balliuus vel minister alius versus nos, prout delictum exigit puniatur. Et punitionem istam concedimus in faurem mercatorum predictorum pro corum iustitia maturanda.

6. Item quod in omnibus generibus placitorum, salvo casu crimini pro quo infligenda est poena mortis, vbi mercator implacatus fuerit, vel alium implacatauen, cuiuscunque conditionis idem implacatus extiterit, extraneus vel priuatus, in nudinis, ciuitatibus, siue Burgis, vbi fuerit sufficiens copia mercatorum predictorum terrarum, &ipsis quos sie fieri debeat, sit medietas inquisitionis de eisdem mercatoribus, &medietas altera de probis &legalibus hominibus loci illius vbi platum illud esse contigent. Et si de mercatoribus dictarum terrarum numerus non inuentient sufficiens, ponentur in inquisitione illi qui idonei inuenientur ibidem, & residij sint de alii bonis hominibus &idoneis de locis in quibus placitum illud erit.

7. Item volumus, ordinamus, &statuimus, quod in qualibet villa mercatoria &feria regni nostri predicti &alibi infra potestatam nostram pondus nostrum in certo loco ponatur &ante ponderationem statera in presentia emptoris &venditoris vacua videatur &quod brachia sint equalia &ex tunc ponderator ponderet in aequali. Et cum stateram posuerit in aquali statim amoueat manus suas, ita quod remaneat in aquali; quodque per totum regnum &potestatem nostram sit vnum pondus &vntra mensura: &signo standardi nostri signentur: Et quod quilibet possit habere stateram vnnum quaternionis, & infra, vbi contra domini loci, aut libertatem per nos &antecessores nostros concessam illud non fuerit, siue contra villarum &feriarum consuetudinem hactenus obseruatum.

8. Item volumus &concedimus, quod alii etiam certus homo fidelis &discretus Londini residens assignetur iustitiarius mercatoribus memoratis, coram quo valeant specialiter placitare, &debita sua recuperare celeriter, si Vicecomes &Maiores eis non facerent de die in diem celeris iustitia complementum: Et inde fiat Commissio extra Cartam prasentem concessa mercatoribus antedictis: [Sidenote: Lex mercatoria qua?] scilicet de his qua sunt inter mercatores &mercatores secundum legem mercatoriam deducenda.

9. Item ordinamus &statuimus, &ordinationem illam statutumque pro nobis &haredibis nostris in perpetuum volumus firmiter obseruari, quam pro quacunque libertate, quam nos vel haredes nostri de catero concedemus, prafati mercatores supradictas libertates vel earum aliquam non amittant. Pro predictis autem libertatis &liberis consuetudinibus obtinendis, & prisis nostris remittendis ijdem supradicti mercatores vniuersi &singuli pro se &omnibus alij de partibus suis concorditer &vnamitier concesserunt, quod de quolibet dolio vini, quod adducet vel adduci facient infra regnum &potestatem nostram, &vnde marinaris fretum soluere tenebuntur, soluent nobis &haredibus nostris nomine Custuma duos solidos vltra antiquas custumas debitias &in denarijs soluient. Ita quod aliis infra quadrantiga dies, postquam extra naues ad terram posita fuerint dicta vina. Item de quolibet sacco lanarum, quem dicti mercatores, aut alij nomine ipsorum emt &educent, emt &educunt facient, soluent quadrantiga denarios de incremento vltra custumam antiquam dimidia marca, quae prius fuerat persoluta pro lasta coriorum extra regnum &potestatem nostram vehendorum dimidia marcam super id quod ex antiqua custuma ante soluebatur. Et similiter de trecentis pellibus lanitis extra regnum &potestatem nostram ducendis quadrantiga denarios vltra custumam illud, quod de antiqua custuma fuerat prius datum. Item duos solidos de quolibet scarlato &panno tincto in grano. Item decem &octo denarios de quolibet panno, in quo pars grani fuerit intermixta. Item duodecem denarios de quolibet panno ales sine grano. Item duodecem denarios de qualibet aris quintalla.

10. Cunque de praefatis mercatoribus nonnulli eorum alias excicere soleant mercandisas, vt de Aucrio ponderis, &de alij rebus subtilibus, sicut de panmis Tarssenibus, de serico, &cindallis, de seta &alij dbersis mercibus, &de equis etiam &alij animalibus, blado &alij rebus & mercandisis multimodis, qua ad certam custumam facile poni non poterunt, ijdem mercatores concesserunt dare nobis &haredibus nostris de quolibet libra argenti estimationis seu valoris rerum &mercandisaram huiusmodi, quocunque nomine censeantur; tres denarios de libra in introitu rerum & mercandisaram ipsarium in regnum &potestatem nostram predictam infra viginti dies postquam huiusmodi res &mercandisa in regnum &potestatem nostran adducta &etiam ibidem exonerata seu vendita fuerint. Et similiter tres denarios de qualibet libra argenti in eductione quorumcumque rerum & mercandisaram huiusmodi emptarum in regno &potestate nostri predictis vltra custumas nosbi aut aliijs ante datas. Et super valore &estimatione rerum &mercandisaram huiusmodi de quibus tres denarijs de qualibet libra argenti sicut predictur sunt solouendi, credatur eis per literas, quas de Dominis aut sociis suis ostendere poterunt: Et si literas non habeant stetur in hac parte predictorum mercatorum, si prasentes fuerint, vel valetorum suorum in eorandem mercatorum absentia, iuramentis.
11. Liceat insuper socijs de societate pradictorum mercatorum infra regnum &potestatem nostram pradictas, lanas vendere alijs suis socijs, & similiter emere ab ijsdem absque custuma soluenda. Ita tamen quod dicta latta ad tales manus non deueniant, quod de custuma nobis debita defraudemur. Et praterea est sciendum, quod postquam supradiicti mercatores semel in vno loco infra regnum &potestatem nostram custumam nobis concessam superius pro mercandisis suis in forma soluerint supradiicta, & suum habeant inde warantum, siue huiusmodi mercandisa infra regnum & potestatem remaneant, siue exterius deferantur, (exceptis vinis, qua de regno &potestate, nostris pradictis sine volnntate &licentia nostra sicut pradictum est nullatenus educantur:) Volumus, ac pro nobis, ac haredibus nostris concedimus, quod nulla exactio, prisa, vel prastatio, aut aliquod onus super personas mercatorum pradictorum, mercandisas seu bona eorundem altquatenus imponatur contra formam expressam superius & concessam. His testibus veracibus principalibus, Roberto Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo totius Anglia primate, Waltero Couentria &Lichfildia episcoopo, Henrico de Lacy Lincolniense, Humfredo de Bohum comite Herfordiense, &Essexia &Constabulo magno Anglia, Adomaro de Valentia, Galfrido de Gaymal, Hugone de Lespensor,[Footnote: Sic.] Waltero de Bello campo, senescallo hospitij nostri, Roberto de Burijs, &alijs. Datum per manum nostram apud Windesore, primo die Februarij, anno regni nostri xxxj.

The aforesaid generall Charter in English.

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

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

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

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

4. Item, we promise the aforesaid marchants granting for euer for vs and our heires, that from hence foorth we will not in any wise make nor cause to be made any stay or arrest, or any delay by reason of arrest of their wares, marchandises or other goods, by our selues, or by any other or others for any neede or accident against the will of the sayd marchants, without present payment of such a price as the marchants would haue sold those

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marchandises for to other men, or without making of them other satisfaction, so that they shall hold themselves well contented and that no price or valuation shalbe set vpon their wares, marchandises, &goods by vs or by any officer of ours.

5. Item, we will that all bayliffes and officers of fayres, cities, boroughs, and market townes shall doe speedie justice from day to day without delay acgrdng to the lawe of Marchants to the aforesayd marchants when they shall complaine before them, touching all and singular causes, which may be determined by the same law.

[Sidenote: Where is this law now become?] And if default be found in any of the bayliffes or officers aforesayd, whereby the sayd marchants or any of them haue sustained, or do sustaine any damage through delay, though the marchant recouer his losses against the partie principall, yet the bayliffe or other officer shall be punished to vs ward, according to the qualitie of the default. And wee doe grant this punishment in favour of the aforesayd marchants in regard of the hastening of their justice.

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

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

8. Item we will and we grant that some certaine faithfull and discreete man resident in London bee appointed to doe Iustice to the aforesayd marchants, before whome they may haue their sutes decided, and may speedilie recouer their debts, if the Shiriffes and Maior should not from day to day giue them speedy iustice. And hereof let a Commission be made: which we grant vnto the aforesaid marchants besides this present Charter: to wit of such things as betwene marchant and marchant are to be decided according to the lawe of marchants.

9. Item we ordayne and appoynt, and wee will that this ordinance and statute shall firmly bee observerd for euer for vs and our heires, that the aforesayd marchants shal not loose the aforesayd liberties nor any of them, for any libertie whatsoeuer, which wee or our heires hereafter shall grant. And for the obtaining of the aforesayd liberties and free customes, and for remission of our arresting of their goods the aforesayd marchants all and euery of them for themsetues and all other of their parties with one accordc e and one consent hane granted vnto vs, that of every tunne of wine, which they shall bring or cause to be brought into our realme and dominion, for which they shall bee bound to pay freight vnto the mariners, besides the olde customes which are due and were woont to bee payd vnto vs, they will pay vnto vs and to our heires in the name of a custome two shillings in money, either out of hande, or else within fortie dayes after the sayd wines shall bee brought on land out of the shippes. Item for euery sacke of wooll, which the sayd marchants or others in their name shall buy and carie out of the realme, or cause to bee brought and caried out, they will pay forty pence aboue the old custome of halfe a marke, which was payed heretofore: And for a last of hides to bee caried out of our realme and dominion halfe a marke aboue that which heretofore was payed by the olde custome. And likewise for three hundreth Felles with the wooll on them to bee transported out of our realme and dominion fortie pence, aboue that certaine rate which before was payed by the olde custome: Also two shillings vpon euery scarlate and euery cloth died in graine. Item eighteene pence for euery cloth wherein any kind of graine is mingled. Item twelve pence vpon euery cloth dyed without graine. Item twelve pence vpon euerie quintall of copper.

And whereas sundrie of the aforesayd marchants are woont to exercise other marchandises, as of Hauer de pois, and other fine wares, as sarcenets, lawnes, cindalles, and silke, and diuers other marchandlses, and to sell
horses and other beastes, corne, and sundrie other things and marchandises, which cannot easily bee reduced vnto a certaine custome: the sayd marchants haue granted to giue vnto vs, and to our heires of euery pound of siluer of the estemation and value of these kinde of goods and marchandises, by what name soeuer they be called, three pence in the pound in the bringing in of these goods into our realme and dominion aforesaid, within twentie dayes after these goods and marchandises shall be brought into our realme and dominion, and shall be there vnladen and solde. And likewise three pence vpon euery pound of siluer in the carying out of any such goods and marchandises which are bought in our realme and dominion aforesayd aboue the customes beforetime payd vnto vs or any of our progenitors. And touching the value and estimation of these goods and marchandises, whereof three pence of euery pound of siluer, as is aforesayd, is to be payd, credite shalbe giuen vnto them vpon the letters which they are able to shewe from their masters or parteners. And if they haue no letters in this behalfe, we will stand to the othe of the foresayd marchants if they bee present, or in their absence to the othes of their seruants.

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

Giuen by our owne hand at Windesore the first day of February, in the yere of our reigne xxxi.

De mercatoribus Anglia in Norwegia arestatis, &eorum mercimonijs de arrestandis litera Edwardi secundi anno sexto regni sui, Haquino regi Norwegia. Magnifico principi domino Haquino Dei gratia regi Norwegia illustri amico suo charissimo Edwardus eadem Dei gratia rex Anglia, Dom. Hibernia, &dux Aquitania salutem cum dilectione sincera. Miramur non modicum &in intimis conturbamur de grauaminibus &oppressionibus qua subditis nostris infra regnum vestrum causa negociandi venientibus his diebus plus solito absque causa rationabili, sicut ex graui querela didicimus, inferuntur. Nuper siquidem Willihelmus filius Laurentij de Waynfleete, Simon filius Alani de eadem, Guido filius Mathei &eorum socij mercatores nostri nobis conquerendo monstrarunt, quod cum ipsi quosdam homines &seruientes suos cum tribus nauibus suis ad partes regni vestri, ad negotiandum ibidem transmisissent: [Sidenote: Villa de Tonnesbergh.] &naues illa in portu villa vestra de Tonnesbergh halece &alijs bonis diuersis vsque ad magnam summam onerata fuissent Et licet nautis nauium predictarum hominibusque &sermentibus predictis a regno vestro libere cum nauibus &bonis predictis ad partes Anglia redeundi vestras fieri feceritis de conductu, postmodum tamen antequam naues illa propter veni contrarietatem portum predictum exire potuerunt, quidam balliui vestri nauibus cum hominibus & bonis omnibus tunc existentibus in eisdem, occasione mortis ciusdum miliitis nuper balliui vestri in Vikia per malefactores &piratas, dum naues predicta in portu supradicto sicut pramittitur remanserunt supra mare vt dicitur interfecti, de mandato vestro vt dicebantarrestarant, &diu sub aresto huiusmodi detinebant, quosque videlicet homines &marinarij predicti de quadraginta libris sterlingorum certo die statuto ad opus esterium pro qualibet nauti predictarum soluendis iniuit &coacti securitatem inuenissent: Et similiter de eisdem nauibus cum hominibus predictis infra portum predictum citra festum natiuitatis Sancti Ioannis Baptistae proximo futuro ad standum tunc ibidem de personis &nauibuis suis vestra gratia seu voluntatis arbirio reducendis tres obsides vterius liberassent: quod ipsius valde graue censentur &auditu mirabile auribus audientium non immerito reputatur. Et quia contra rationem &aqutatem, ommenque iustitiam fore ducisnot, atque legem, quod delinquentium culpa seu demerita in personis vel rebus illorum qui criminis rei conscientiae vel participes, seu de huiusmodi delinquentium societate non fuerunt, aliquiliter vlciscantur, veestram amicitiam

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affectuose requirimus &rogamus quatenus pramissa diligenti meditacione zelo iustitia ponderantes, obsides
practicus iubere velit ab hostagamento huiusmodi liberari, dictamque securitatem relaxari penitus & resolui.
Scientes pro certo, quod si malefactores practici, qui dictum militem vestrum vt dicitur, occiderunt, alicubi infra
regnus seu potestatem nostram poterunt inueniri, de ipsis iustitiam &judicium secundum legem &
consuetudinem eiusdem regni fieri faciemus. Non enim possimus his diebus aequanimiti tolerare quod naues
practica seu alia de regno nostro, qua semper prompta ad nostrum seruitium esse debit, extra idem regnum ad
partes remotas se diuertant sine nostra licentia speciali. Quid autem ad hanc nostram instantiam faciendum
decereueritis in pramissis, nobis si placeat rescribatis per prasentium portatorem. Data apud Windesore decimo
sexto die Aprilis.

The same in English.

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

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

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

A Mandate for the King of Norway his Ship called the Cog.
Magnifico Principi Dom Haquino Dei gratia regi Norwegia illustri, amico suo charissimo, Edwardus eadem Dei gratia Rex Anglia, dominus Hybernia, & dux Aquitania, salutem cum dilectione sincera. [Sidenote: Northberna villa.] Querelam directorum Mercatorum nostrorum Thoma de Swyn de Waynflete, & Simonis filij Alani de eadem receptimus, continentem, Quod cum ipsi nuper quosdam seruientes suos infra regnum vestrum pro suis ibidem exercendis mercimonijis transmisissent, Thesaurarius vester bona & mercimoniorum praedectorum Thoma & Simonis ad elemosiam quadranginta librarum, qua seruientes pradicii in villa de Northberne in sua custodia habuerunt, die Sancti Michalis vel proxima praterita fecit absque causa rationabili arrestari, & ea adhuc taliter arrestata detinet in iustitia, in ipsorum Thoma & Simonis damnum non modicum & depauerationem manifestam. Et quia eisdem mercatoribus nostris suaviter volumus, quam suadente iustitia poterimus in hac parte, vestram amicitiam requiramus cum affectu, quatenus audita querela pradictorum Thoma & Simonis, vel ipsorum attuorum super restitutione bonorum & mercimoniorum praedictorum impendere velitis eisdem celeris iustitia complementum: Ita quod pro defectu exhibitionis iustitia super arrestatione pradicta non oporteat nos pro mercatoribus nostris pradictis de alio remedio prouidere. Nobis autem quid ad hanc nostram instantiam duxeritis faciendum, rescribere velitis per præsentium portitorem. Data vt supra.

The same in English.

To the mightie Prince Lord Haquinus, by the grace of God the famous King of Norway, his most deare friend Edward by the same grace of God king of England, Lorde of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, greetings and sincere loue. Wee receiued the complaint of our welbeloued Merchants Thomas de Swyn of Waynfleet, and Simon the sonne of Alanus of the same towne: the contents whereof are, that whereas of late, the saide parties sent certaine of their seruants to traffike in your kingdome, your Treasurer vpon the feast of S. Michal last past, without any iust or reasonable occasion, caused the goods and merchandise of the foresaide Thomas and Simon, to the value of fortie pound, which their said seruants had vnder their custodie at the towne of Northberne, to be arrested, and as yet also inuirously deteiinth the same vnder the same arrest, to the great damage and impouereshing of the sayd Thomas and Simon. And forasmuch as our desire is to succour these our marchants so far forth as we can, Iustice requiriung no lesse in this behalfe, we doe right earnestly request you, that hauing hearde the complaint and supplication of the foresayde Thomas and Simon, or of their Atturneyes, you woulde of your loue and friendship, vouchsafe them speedie administration of Iustice, about the restitution of their goods and marchandise aforesaide: least that for want of the exhibiting of Iustice about the foresaid arrest, we be constrained to prouide some other remedie for our marchants aforesaid. Our request is, that you would by the bearer of these presents, returne an answere vnsto vs, what you are determined to doe, at this our instant motion. Giuen as aboue.

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

Magnifico Principi Domino Haquino Dei gratia Regi Norwegia illustri, amico suo charissimo, Edwardus eadem Dei gratia Rex Anglia, dominus Hybernia, & dux Aquitania, salutem cum dilectione sincera. Pro mercatoribus nostris Lenna, & partium vicinarum, quos Balliuus & Officiarij vestri ciuitatis vestra Bergen dudum ceperunt, & stricto carceri manciparunt, quorum multi ut iam intellectus, propter alimentorum subtractionem & duritiam, ac asperitatem carceris perierunt, ut ipsorum & bonorum suorum deliberationem praecipere curaretis, vestra serenitati Regia nostras nuper transmisimus literas speciales. Sed vos, retentis adhuc in carcere nostris mercatoribus sicut prius, nobis per literas vsas quam audiuimus & intellectus, propter alimentorum subtractionem & duritiam, ac asperitatem carceris perierunt, ut ipsorum & bonorum suorum deliberationem praecipere curaretis, vestra serenitati Regia nostras nuper transmisimus literas speciales. Sed vos, retentis adhuc in carcere nostris mercatoribus sicut prius, nobis per literas vsas quam audiuimus & intellectus, propter alimentorum subtractionem & duritiam, ac asperitatem carceris perierunt, ut ipsorum & bonorum suorum deliberationem praecipere curaretis, vestra serenitati Regia nostras nuper transmisimus literas speciales.

A Mandate for the King of Norway his Ship called the Cog. 71
The Mandate for the King of Norway his Ship called the Cog.

A Mandate for the King of Norway his Ship called the Cog.
marchants may, in both our Realmes and dominions, freely and without impediment exercise their traffique, as in the times of our progenitors it hath bene accustomed; [Sidenode: The antiquity of traffique betweene England and Norway] Whereas also we euydently gathered out of the contents of your letter, that you are in like sort readie and willing to put all things in practise, which are by you and your subiects (for the taking away of discords, contentions, and molestations howsoever occasioned, and sprung vp betweene your and our subiects) louingly to be performed: we also doe promise for our selues and our subiects so much as in vs and them lieth for his sake who is knowne to be the author of peace, and for the benefite & tranquillitie of both our Realmes (as justice and reason shall moue vs) to doe the like. Desiring and earnestly requesting at your hands, that of your loue and friendship, hauing regard of vs, and consideration of justice, you would commaund that our foresaide marchants, who as yet remaine aliue, and who also at the time of the saide felonie committed, were shut vp in close prison, be deliuered out of the saide thraldome, causing their goods which haue bene taken from them, to bee, according vnto iustice, restored to them again. And that the deliuerie of our foresaide marchants and goods, may be the more easily yeelded vnto, may it please you with diligent obseruation to consider, that Gefferey Drew, and certaine other of our marchants of Lenne, vpon occasion of the greiuances offered vnto your marchants within our Realme, (as the report goeth) at the suite of Tidman Lippe, paide vnto the same your marchants an hundreth pound sterling: even as in a certain Indenture made betweene Ingelram Lente of Thorenden, and some other of your marchants on the one part, and betweene the foresaide Geffrey, and certaine of our marchants on the other part, wee sawe contained. Moreover, if any of your subiects be minded to exhibite, and effectually to prosecute their complaints in our Court, concerning any of our subiects, or of any injury done vnto them, we will cause the petitions of those your subiects to be admitted, and also full and speedie justice to be administred, vpon any such like complaints of theirs. Insomuch, that those your subiects shal thinke themselves right well and sufficiently contented therewithall. And in the meane space we will cause diligent inquisition of the trueth to be made, of all excesses and grievances howsoever offered vnto your subiects within our dominions. May it please you therfore, by the bearer of these presents, to returne an answere vnto vs, what you are determined to doe in the premisses. Giuen at Westminster, the third day of April.

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Rex collectoribus custuma lanarum &pellium lanutarum in portu London salutem. Cum nos vicesimo die Maij anno regni nostri sexto attendentes damna &grauamina, qua mercatoribus de regno nostro diuersimode euenerunt, ex eo quod mercatores tam indigena quam alienigena lanas &pelles lanutas infra regnum &potestatem nostram ementes, &se cum eisdem lanis &pellibus ad vendendum eas ad diuersa loca infra terras Brabantia, Flandria, &de Artoys eorum lito voluntatis transtulerint: [Sidenote: Maior &Communitas stapula.] &volentes etiam huiusmodi dannis &grauminiibus quatenus bona modo possemus prouidere, de consilio nostrum ordinauerimus, quod mercatores indigena &alienigena lanas &pelles huiusmodi infra regnum &potestatem predicam ementes, &ad terras predictas ibidem vendendas ducere volentes, lanas illas &pelles ad certam stapulam infra aliqium earundem terrarum, per Maiorem &Communitatem eorumdem mercatorum, de regno nostro ordinandam assignari, &inter catera concesserimus mercatoribus de regno nostro supradicto pro nobis &haredibus nostris, quod ipsi Maior &consilium dictorum mercatorum, qui pro tempore fuerint, quibusunque mercatoribus indigenis seu alienigenis, qui contra dictam ordinacionem veneration, &modo rationabili conuicti fuerint, certas pecunia summas pro delictis illis imponant, &quod illa huiusmodi summa de bonis &mercimonijs mercatorum sic delinquentium, vbicunque ea infra regnum &potestatem predicam inueniri contigerit, per ministros nostros ad opus nostrum leuentur: prout in Charta nostra inde confecta plenius continetur: [Sidenote: Charta anno regni sexio confecta.] quam quidem Chartam per singulos comitatus regni nostri super costeras maris fecimus publicari, &firmiter inhiberi, ne qui mercatores indigena seu alienigena contra tenorem Charta praedicta sub poenis contentis in eadem veneration villo modo: Ac postmodum dato nobis intelligi, quod quampques mercatores tam indigena quam alienigena, lanas &pelles lanutas infra regnum &potestatem predictas ementes, &se cum eisdem lanis &pellibus ad vendendum eas ad alia loca in dictis terris, quam ad Stapulam iuxta concessionem nostram predicam per Maiorem &communitatem dictorum mercatorum de regno nostro in aliqua terrarum illarum ordinatam &assignatam inueniri in nostris contempta, &contra Chartam ordinacionis, publicationis &inhibitionis predicarum assignauerimus quosdam fideles nostros in diversioribus partibus regni ad inquirendum de lanis &pellibus lanutis ad...
dictas terras alibi quam ad Stapulam illam ductis, ita quod emenda inde ad nos pertinentes, ad opus nostram leuentur; etiam intellexerimus, quod quasi omnes mercatores tam indigena quam alienigena huiusmodi mercimonia in dicto regno nostro exercerent sunt culpabiles de pramissis: &quod plures inde indictati, ac alij timentes inde indictari, lanas suas ac pelles lanutias sub nominibus aliorum non culpabilium faciunt aduocari, &extra regnum nostrum transmitti quibusdam alienigenis, sic culpabilibus in dictum regnum forsitan non reuersuris, vt sic forisfacturas predictas effugiant, &nos de emenda ad nos sic pertinente illudant: qua si permitterenter unt sic transire in nostri damnum non modicum redundarent. Nos volentes huiusmodi fraudibus obiari, & nostris damnis quatenus bono modo poterimus pracaueire, vobis pracipimus firmiter iniungentes, quod a singulis mercatoribus lanas seu pelles lanutias per portum pradictum ad partes exterar ducere volentibus corporale sacramentum ad sancta Dei Euangelia recipiatis, quod ipsi lanas seu pelles lanutias sub nomine ipsius, cuius propria sunt, &non alterius aduocabunt, & tunc recepta ab illo cuius lana &pelles huiusmodi erunt, vel nomine suo sufficiente securitate pro qua respondere volueritis, de respondendo & faciendo nobis id quod ad nos pertinet de lanis &pellibus lanutis per ipsum ductis seu missis ad aliquam dictarum terrarum Flandria &Brabantia, &de Artoys contra formam Charta, proclamationis, &inhibitionis supradictarum, si ipsum super hoc conuinci contingat, lanas &pelles illas lanutias extra portum pradictum, recepta prius custuma debita de eisdem, ad partes exterar transire pemittatis. Teste Rege apud Doueram decimo octauo die Iunij, per ipsum Regem &Consilium.

Et postmodum per breue de priuato sigillo eodem modo mandatum est collectoribus custuma pradicts in portubus subscriptis: Videlicet,
      In portu villa Southhampton.
      In portu villa Weymouth.
      In portu villa Sancti Botolphi.
      In portu villa de Kingtone super Hull.
      In portu villa de nouo Castro.
      In portu villa de magna Iernemutha.
      In portu villa de Lenne.
      In portu villa de Gypwico.
      The same in English.

An Ordinance of the Staple to bee holden at one certaine place.

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

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

That is to say:
In the port of the Towne of:
  Weymouth.
  Southhampton.
  Saint Botulphs towne, now called Boston.
  Kingtone vpon Hull.
  Newcastle.
  Iermemouth magna, or Yermouth.
  Lenne.
  Gypwick or Ipswich.

Carta Henrici quarti Anno [Marginal note: 1404] quinto regni sui concessa mercatoribus Anglia in partibus Prussia, Dacia, Norwegia, Swethia, Germania, de gubernatore inter ipsos ibidem constituendo.

Henricus Dei gratia Rex Anglia &Francia &Dominus Hibernia omnibus, ad quos prasentes litera peruenerint, salutem Sciatis quod cum, vt acceipimus, ob defectum boni &sani regiminis &gubernationis, diuersa damna, dissensiones, grauamina, &angustia inter mercatores Regni nostri Anglia in partibus Prucia, Dacia, Noruegia, Hansa, &Suethia commorantes sapius ante hac tempora mota fuissent &perpetrata, ac maiora, exinde, quod absit, futuris temporibus verisimiliter euenire formidantur, nisi pro meliori gubernatione inter eosdem mercatores mutuo habenda manus nostras adiutrices apponamus: Nos damnis &perculis in hac parte imminentibus praecare, & eosdem Mercatores &alios de dicto regno nostro ad partes praedictas venturos iuste &fideliter regi &pertractari intime desiderantes, volumus &tenore præsentium concedimus eisdem mercatoribus, quod ipsi quoties &quando eis placuerit in quodam loco competenti &honesto, vbi sibi placuerit, se congregare &vniare, &certas personas sufficientes &idoneas in gubernatores suos in eisdem partibus inter se ad eorum libitum eligere &obtinnere valeant libere &impune: Dantes vltierius &concedentes huiusmodi gubernatoribus per prædictos Mercatores sic eligendis,
quantum in nobis est, potestatem &authoritatem speciales, omnes &singulos mercatores Anglicos ad partes pradictas de caterno venientes &declinantes per se vel sufficientes loca sua tenentes regendi &gubernandi, ac eis &eorum cui libet in suis causis &quereles quibuscunque inter eos in partibus pradictis motis vel mouendis plenam &celerem iusticiam faciendi & quascunque quastiones contentiones, discordias, &debatas inter ipsos mercatores Anglicos partium pradictarum motas sue mouendas reformandi, reformationemque petendi, redigendi, sedandi, &pacificandi, &quascunque transgressiones, damnna, mesprisiones, excessus, violencias, &iniurias mercatoribus partium pradictarum per pradictos mercatores Anglicos factas seu faciendas redigendi, reparandi, restaurandi, &emendandi, consimilesque restitutiones, reparaciones, restauraciones &emandationes de ipsis mercatoribus partium pradictarum seu deputatis suis requirendi, petendi, & recipiendi: Ac de communi assensu mercatorum Anglicorum pradictorum statuta, ordinationes, &consuetudines, prout pro meliori gubernatione status eorum pradictorum mercatorum Anglicorum in hac parte videbitur expedire, faciendi & stabiliendi &omnes &singulos mercatores Anglicos prafatis gubernatoribus sic eligendis vel eorum loca tenentibus seu eorum alicui, aut alicio statutorum, ordinationem &consuetudinum pradictarum contrarios, rebelles, vel inobedientes iuxta quantitatem delicti sui in hac parte rationablier puniendi. Volentes insuper omnia iusta &rationabilia statuta, ordinationes &consuetudines per dictos gubernatores sic eligendos in forma pradicta facienda & stabilienda, nec non omnes iustas & rationabiles ordinationones per [Marginal note: Nota.] nuper gubernatores pradictorum mercatorum Anglicorum de communi assensu eorumdem mercatorum pro huiusmodi gubernatione sua in partibus pradictis iuxta pradicta statuta, ordinaciones, &authoritates sibi per magistrum. Prucia seu alios dominos partium pradictarum concessa, factas & stabilitas, sen per pradictos gubernatores nunc vt pramittitur eligendos iuxta pradicta statuta, seu alia pradictaque expressa mercatoribus Anglicis per pradictos magistram &dominos in posuerum concedenda, facienda & stabilienda, rata, firma & accepta haberi, & pro ratis firmis, & acceptis ibidem firmiter & inuiolabiter obseruari. Damus autem vniuersis & singulis mercatoribus Anglicis pradictis tenere prasentium firmiter in mandatis, quod eisdem gubernationibus sic eligendis & eorum loca tenentibus in praemissi omnibus & singulis ac alijis gubernationem & regimen in hac parte qualitiercunque concerntibus intendentis sint, consulentes obedientes & auxiliantes prout decet. Data in palatio nostro Westmonasterij sub magni sigili nostri testimomo sexto die Iunij Anno regni nostri quinto.

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

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

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

Eodem anno quo victoria potitus est videlicet Anno Domini 1415. &regni sui Anno tertio, post bellum de
Agencourt, conducti a Francis venerunt cum multis Naibus recuperaturi Harfleutum. Sed Rex Anglia misit
fratrem suum Iohannem Ducem Bedfordia &Andegauia, qui pugnauit cum eis &vicit, &Naues cepit, &quasdam
submersit: cateri fugerunt cum Hispanis naibus qui venerant cum eis Anno gratia 1416. Sequenti vero Anno
redierunt potentiores, &iterum deuicti perpetuam pacem cum Rege composuerunt, & propter eorum naues fecit
Rex fieri naues quales non erant in mundo. De his sic conductis a Francis ita metrice scribitur.

[Sidenote: Naues maxima Henrici quinti.]

Regum belligero trito celeberrimus aruo
Gallos, Hispanos, Ianos, deuict, &Vrget,
Vastat; turbantur catera regna metu.
Nauali bello bis deuicti quoque Iani.

* * * * *

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

Item because that the kings most deare Vncle, the king of Denmarke, Norway and Sueueland, as the same our
soueraigne Lord the king of his intimation hath vnderstood, considering the manifold &great losses, perils, hurts
and damage which haue late happened as well to him and his, as to other foraines and strangers, and also friends
and speciall subjets of our said soueraigne Lord the king of his realme of England, by the going in, entring
&passage of such forain &strange persons into his realme of Norway & other dominions, streits, territories,
jurisdictions &places subdued and subject to him, specially into his Isles of Fynmarke, and elsewhere, aswell in
their persons as their things and goods: for eschuing of such losses, perils, hurts &damages, and that such like
(which God forbid) should not hereafter happen: our said soueraigne Lord the king hath ordained and statuted,
that all and singular strangers, as well Englishmen and others willing to apply by Ship and come into his realme of
Norway and other dominions, streits, territories, jurisdictions &places aforesaid with their ships to the
intent to get or haue fish or any other Marchandises, or goods, shall apply and come to his Towne of Northberne,
where the said king of Denmarke hath specially ordained and stablished his staple for the concourses of strangers
and specially of Englishmen, to the exercise of such Marchandises granting to the said Englishmen that they shall
there inioy in and by all things the same fauour, priuileges and prerogatiues which they of the Hans did enioy.

A Mandate for the King of Norway his Ship called the Cog.
Therefore our said soueraigne Lord the king willing the loue, affinitie and amities to be firmely obserued, which betwixt his said Vncle and his noble progenitors of good memory, their Realmes, lands, dominions, streites, territories, iurisdictions and their said places, and the same our soueraigne Lord the king &his noble progenitours of famous memory, his great men, subiects, Realmes, lands &dominions hath bene of old times hitherto continued nor nothing by our said soueraigne Lord the king or his people to be attempted or done whereby such amities by reason of any dissensions, enemities or discords might be broken: by the aduise of the Lords spintuall &temporall &of the comons of his said Realme of England, assembled in this present Parliament, hath ordained, prohibiting that none of his liege people nor subiects of his Realme of England by audacitie of their follie presume to enter the Realmes, lands, dominions, straits, terntones, iurisdictions & places of the said king of Denmarke against the ordinance, prohibition & interdiction of the same his Vncle aboue remembred, &in contempt of the same, vpon paine of forfeiture of all their moueable goods &imprisonment of their persons at the kings will.

* * * * *

Another branch of a statute made in the tenth yeere of the reigne of Henry the sixt concerning the state of the English Marchants in the dominions of the king of Denmarke.

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

* * * * *

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

[Sidenote: Incipit liber de custodia Maris prasertim arcti inter Doueram & Galisiam.]

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

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

[Footnote 1: It is clear, from these lines, that this poem must have been written between 1416, when Sigismond was in England, and 1438, when he died.]
And to the king thus hee sayd: My brother,
(When hee perceiued two Townes Caleis and Douer)
Of all your Townes to chuse of one and other,
To keepe the sea and soone to come ouer
To werre outwards and your regne to recouer:
Keepe these two Townes sure, and your Maiestee
As your tweyne eyne: so keepe the narrowe see.
   For if this sea bee kept in time of werre,
Who can heere passe without danger and woe
Who may escape, who may mischiefe differre
What Marchandie may forby bee agoe:
Flanders and Spaine, and other, trust to mee,
Or ellis hindred all for this Narrow see.
   Therefore I cast mee by a little writing
To shew at eye this conclusion,
For conscience and for mine acquiting
Against God and ageyne abusion,
And cowardise, and to our enemies confusion.
For foure things our Noble [2] sheweth to me,
King, Ship, and Swerd, and power of the see
   [Foonote 2: The Noble was coined by Edward the third Anno regni 18. Quatuor considerantur in moneta aurea Anglica, qua dicitur Nobile: scilicet Rex, Nauis gladius, &Mare: Qua designant potestatem Anglicorum super Mare. In quorum opprobrium his diebus Britones minores &Flandrenses &alij dicunt Anglicis: Tollite de vestro Nobile nauem &imponite ouem. Intendentes, quod sicut quondam a tempore Edwardi tertij Anglici erant domini Maris, modo his diebus sunt vecordes, victi, &ad bellandum &Mare obseruandum velut oues.]

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

Knowe well all men that profits in certaine Commodities called comming out of Spaine And Marchandie, who so will weete what it is, Bene Figs, Raisins, wine Bastard, and Datis, And Licoris, Siuill oyle, and graine, White Pastill Sope, and Waxe is not vayne.
Yron, Wooll, Wadmolle, Gotefell, Kidfell also:
For Poynt—makers full needefull bene they tweyn
Saffron, Quickesiluer, which owne Spaine Marchandy,
Is into Flanders shipped full craftily,
Vnto Bruges as to her staple fayre:
The Hauen of Sculse hir Hauen for her repayre
Which is cleped Swyn tho shippes giding:
Where many vessels and fayre are abiding.
But these marchandes with their shippes great,
And such chaffare as they bye and get
By the weyes must nede take on hand
By the coasts to passe of our England,
Betwixt Douer and Caleis, this is no doubt.
Who can well els such matter bring about?
[Sidenote: Flemish cloth made of English Wooll.]
And when these sayd Marchants discharged bee
Of Marchandie in Flanders nere the see,
Then they bee charged againe with Marchandy,
That to Flanders bougeth full richly.
Fine cloth of Ypre that named is better than ours,
Cloth of Curtrike, [3] fine cloth of all colours,
Much Fustian, and also Linen cloth.
But Flemings, if yee bee not wroth,
The great substance of your cloth at the full
Yee wot ye make it of our English wolle.
[Footnote 3: Courtrai.]
[Sidenote: The necessarie coniunction of Spaine and Flanders.]
Then may it not sinke in mannis brayne,
But that it must this Marchandy of Spaine
Both out and in by our costes passe:
Hee that sayd nay in witte was like an asse.
Wee should haue peace with the grounds tweyn
Thus if this see were kept, I dare well sayne.
For Spaine and Flanders is as eche other brother,
And neither may well liue without other:
They may not liuen to maintaine their degrees,
Without our English commodities:
Wolle and Tynne: for the woolle of England
Susteineth the Commons Flemings I vnderstand.
Then if England would her wolle restraine
From Flanders, this followeth in certaine,
Flanders of nede must with vs haue peace,
Or els shee is destroyed without lees.
Also if Flanders thus destroyed bee:
Some Marchandy of Spaine will neuer ythee:
For destroyed it is, and as in cheeffe
The wolle of Spaine it commeth not to preeffe,
But if it be costed and menged well
Amongst the English wolle the greter delle.
For Spanish wooll in Flaunders draped is,
And euer hath bee, that men haue minde of this:
And yet Wooll is one of the chiefe Marchandy
That longeth to Spaine: who so will espie,
It is of little value, trust vnto mee,
With English wooll but if it menged bee.
Thus if the sea be kept, than herken hether,
If these two lands comen not together:
So that the Fleete of Flanders passe nought
That in the narrowe see it be not brought
Into the Rochelle to fetch the famose wine,
Neer into Bytonuse Bay for salt so fine,
What is then Spaine? What is Flanders also?
As who sayd, nought, the thrift is agoe
For the little land of Flanders is
But a staple to other lands ywis:
And all that groweth in Flanders graine and seede
May not a Moneth finde hem meate and brede.
What hath then Flanders, bee Flemings lieffe or loth,
But a little Mader and Flemish Cloth:
By Drapering of our wooll in substance
Liuen her commons, this is her gouernance,
Without which they may not liue at ease.
Thus must hem sterue, or with vs must haue peace.
Of the commodities of Portugal.

The second Chapter,

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

The third Chapter
[Sidenote: The Britons great Rouers and Theeuws.]
Furthermore to write I am faine
Somewhat speaking of the little Britayne.
Commoditie thereof there, is and was,
Salt, and wine, crest cloth and canuas.
And the land of Flauanders sickerly
Is the staple of their Marchandy.
Wich Marchandie may not passe away
But by the coast of England, this is no nay.
And of this Britaine, who so trueth louis,
Are the greatest rouers and the greatest theeuis,
That haue bene in the sea many one yeere:
That our Merchants haue bought full dere.
For they haue tooke notable goods of ours,
On this side see, these false pelours
Called, of Saincte Malo, and ellis where:
Which to their Duke none obeysance will bere:
With such colours wee haue bee hindred sore.
And fayned peace is called no werre herefore.
Thus they haue bene in diuers coasts many
Of our England, more then rehearse can I:
In Norfolke coastes, and other places about,
And robbed and brent and slame by many a rowte:
And they haue also ransomed Towne by Towne:
That into the regnes of bost haue run her sowne:
Wich hath bin ruth vnto this Realme and shame:
They that the sea should keepe are much to blame.
For Britayne is of easie reputation;
And Saincte Malo turneth hem to reprobation.
A storie of Edward the third his ordinance for Britayne.

[Sidenote: Historia ostendens quam ordinationem Rex Edwardus tertius fecit contra de pradicatores marinos Britannia minoris ad debellandum eos & subiugandum Britannos minores.]

Here bring I in a stone to mee lent,
That a good Squire in time of Parliament
Tooke vnto mee well written in a scrowe:
That I haue commond both with high and lowe,
Of which all men accorden into one,
That it was done not many yeeres agone
But when noble King Edward the third
Reigned in grace, right thus it betyd.
For hee had a maner gelosie
To his Marchants and loused them harty.
He fell the weyes to rule well the see,
Whereby Marchants might haue prosperitee.
And great werre that time were vndertaken,
betwixt the King and the Duke of Britayne:
At last to fall to peace both were they fayne:
Vpon the wich made with conuencion
Our Marchants made hem readie bowne
Toward Britayne to loade their Marchandie,
Wening hem friends they went foorth boldly:
But soone anon our Marchants were ytake,
And wee spedde neuer the better for truce sake.
They lost her good, her nauy and spending:
But their complaint came vnto the king.
Then wext he wroth, and to the Duke he sent,
And complained that such harme was hent;
By conuention and peace made so refused:
Wich Duke sent againe, and him excused,
Rehearsing that the mount of Saincte Michael,
And Sainct Malo would neuer a dell
Be subiect vnto his gouernance,
Nor be vnder his obeysance:
And so they did withouten him that deede.
But when the king anon had taken heede:
Hee in his herte set a iudgement,
Without calling of any Parliament,
Or greate tarry to take long aduise
To fortifie anon he did deuise
Of English Townes three, that is to say,
Dertmouth, Plymouth, the third it is Fowey:
And gaue hem helpe and notable puisance
With insistence set them in gouernance
Vpon pety Bretayne for to werre.
Those good sea men would no more differre,
But bete hem home and made they might not rowte,
Tooke prisoners, and made them for to lowte.
And efte the Duke, an ensample wise,
Wrote to the king as he first did devise,
Him excusing: But our men wood
With great power passed ouer the floode
And werred foorth into the Dukes londe,
And had ny destroyed free and bond.
But than the Duke knewe that the townes three
Should haue lost all his natuie Countrie,
He vndertooke by suretie true not false,
For mount Michael and Saincte Malo als.
And other parties of the little Brytaine,
Which to obey, as sayd was, were not fayne
The Duke hymselfe for all did vndertake:
With all his herte a full peace did hee make:
So that in all the life time of the king,
Marchants had peace withouten werring:
[Footnote 4: Harfleur] [Footnote 5: Honfleur]
[Sidenote: Statutum Regis Edwardi tertij pro Lombardis.]
He made a statute for Lombards in this land,
That they should in noe wise take on hande
Here to inhabite, here to chardge and dischardge
But fortie dayes, no more time had they large.
This good king by witte of such appreiffe
Kept his Marchants and the sea from mischiefe.


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

[Sidenote: Anno Domini 1436. Hen 6. 14.] Moreover of Scotland the commodities
Are Felles, Hides, and of Wooll the Fleese.
And all these must passe by vs away
Into Flanders by England, sooth to say.
And all her woolle was draped for to sell
In the Townes of Poperinge and of Bell:
Which my Lord of Glocester with ire
For her falshed set vpon a fire.
And yet they of Bell and Poperinge
Could neuer drape her wool for any thing,
But if they had English woll withall.
Our goodly wooll which is so generall
Nedefull to them in Spaine and Scotland als,
And other costes, this sentence is nnot false:
Yee worthy Marchants I doe it vpon yow,
I haue this learned ye wot well where and howe:
Ye wotte the Staple of that Marchandie,
Of this Scotland is Flaunders sekerly.
And the Scots bene charged knowen at the eye,
Out of Flanders with little Mercerie,
And great plentie of Haberdashers Ware,
And halfe her shippes with cart wheeles bare,
And with Barrowes are laden as in substance:
Thus most rude ware are in her cheuesance.
So they may not forbeare this Flemish land.
Therefore if wee would manly take in hand,
To keepe this Sea from Flanders and from Spaine,
And from Scotland, like as from pety Britaine,
Wee should right soone haue peace for all her bosts,
For they must needes passe by our English costs.
Nowe goe foorth to the commodities,  
That commeth from Pruce in two maner degrees.  
For two maner people haue such vse,  
That is to say, High Duch men of Pruse,  
And Esterlings, which might not be forborne,  
Out of Flanders, but it were verely lorne.  
For they bring in the substance of the Beere,  
That they drinken feele too good chepe, not dere.  
Yee haue heard that two Flemings togider  
Will vndertake or they goe any whither,  
Or they rise once to drinke a Ferkin full,  
Of good Beerekin: so sore they hall and pull.  
Vnder the board they pissen as they sit:  
This commeth of couenant of a worthie wit.  
Without Caleis in their Butter they cakked  
When they fled home, and when they leysure lacked  
To holde their siege, they went like as a Doe:  
Well was that Fleming that might trusse, and goe.  
For feare they turned backe and hyed fast,  
My Lord of Glocester made hem so agast  
With his comming, and sought hem in her land,  
And brent and slowe as he had take on hand:  
So that our enemies durst not bide, nor stere,  
They fled to mewe, they durst no more appeare,  
Rebuked sore for euer so shamefully,  
Vnto her vtter euuerlasting villany.  
Nowe Beere and Bakon bene fro Pruse ybrought  
Into Flanders, as loued and farre ysought:  
Osmond, Copper, Bow−stauces, Steele, and Wexe,  
Peltreware and grey Pitch, Terre, Board, and flexe,  
And Colleyne threed, Fustian and Canuas,  
Card, Bukeram: of olde time thus it was.  
But the Flemings among these things dere,  
In common louen best Bakon and Beere.  
Also Pruse men maken her aduenture  
Of Plate of siluer of wedges good and sure  
In great plentie which they bring and bye,  
Out of the lands of Beame and Hungarie:  
Which is increase full great vnto their land,  
And they bene laden, I vnderstand,  
With wollen cloth all maner of colours  
By dyers crafted full diuers, that ben ours.  
And they adventure full greatly vnto the Bay,  
for salt that is needefull withouten nay.  
Thus if they would not our friends bee,  
We might lightly stoppe hem in the see:
They should not passe our streemes withouten leue,
It would not be, but if we should hem greue.
Of the commodities of the Genuoys and her great Caracks. Chap. 6.

The Genuois comen in sundry wies
Into this land with diuers marchandises
In great Caracks, arrayed withouten lacke
With cloth of gold, silke, and pepper blacke
They bring with them, and of crood [6] great plentee,
Woll Oyle, Woad ashen, by vessel in the see,
Cotton, Rochalum, and good gold of Genne.
And then be charged with wolle againe I wenne,
And wollen cloth of ours of colours all.
And they adventure, as ofte it doth befall,
Into Flanders with such things as they bye,
That is their chefe staple sekerly:
And if they would be our full enemies,
They should not passe our stremes with merchandise.
[Footnote 6: Woad.]
The comodities and nicetees of the Venetians and Florentines, with their
Gallees. Chap. 7.
The great Galees of Venice and Florence
Be well laden with things of complacence,
All spicery and of grossers ware:
With sweete wines all maner of chaffare,
Apes, and Iapes, and marmusets tayled,
Nifles and trifles that little haue auayled:
And things with which they fetely blere our eye:
With things not induring that we bye.
For much of this chaffare that is wastable
Might be forborne for dere and deceiuable.
And that I wene as for infirmities
In our England are such commodities
Withouten helpe of any other lond
Which by witte and practise both yfound:
That all humors might be voyded sure,
With that we gleder with our English cure:
That we should haue no neede of Scamonie,
Turbit, enforbe, correct Diagredie,
Rubarbe, Sene, and yet they ben to needefull,
But I know things al so speedefull,
That growen here, as those things sayd.
Let of this matter no man be dismayde;
But that a man may voyde infirmitie
Without degrees fet fro beyond the sea.
And yet they should except be any thing
It were but sugre, trust to my saying:
He that trusteth not to my saying and sentence,
Let him better search experience.
In this matter I will not ferther prease,
Who so not beleueth, let him leaue and cease.
Thus these galeys for this licking ware,
And eating ware, bare hence out best chaffare.
Cloth, wooll, and tinne, which as I sayd before,
Out of this lond worst might be forbore,
For eche other land of necessitie
Haue great neede to buy some of them three:
And we receiue of hem into this coste
Ware and chaffare that lightly wilbe loste.
And would Iesus, that our Lord is wold
Consider this well both yong and old:
Namely old that haue experience,
That might the yong exhorte to prudence;
What harme, what hurt, and what hinderance
Is done to vs, vnto our great grieuance,
Of such lands, and of such nations:
As experthe men know by probations,
By writings as discouered our counsailes,
And false colour alwaies the countertailes
Of our enimies: that doth vs hindering
Vnto our goods, our Relme, and to the king:
As wise men haue shewed well at eye;
And all this is couloured by marchandye.
    An example of deceite
    Also they bere the gold out of this land,
And sucke the thrift away out of our hand:
As the Waspe souketh honie fro the bee,
So miniseth our commoditee.
Nor wol ye here how they in Cotteswold
Were wont to borrow or they shold be sold
Her wooll good as for yere and yere.
Of cloth and tinne they did in like manere:
And in her galies ship this marchandie:
Then soone at Venice of them men woll it bye.
Then vterne there the chaffare by the peise,
And lightly als there they make her reise.
And when the goods beene at Venice sold,
Then to carie her change they this money haue,
They will it profer, their subtiltie to saue,
To English marchants to yeue it out by eschange
To be payed againe they make not strange,
At the receiuing and sight of a letter,
Here in England, seeming for the better,
by foure pence lesse in the noble round:
That is twelue pence in the golden pound.
And if wee wol haue of payment
A full moneth, than must him needes assent
To eight pence losse, that is shillings twaine
In the English pound: as eft soone again,
For two moneths twelue pence must he pay.
In the English pound what is that to say,
But shillings three? So that in pound fell
For hurt and harme hard is with hem to dwell.
And when English marchants haue content
This eschange in England of assent,
That these sayd Venecians haue in woone
And Florentines to bere her gold soone
Ouer the see into Flanders againe:
And thus they liue in Flanders sooth to saine,
And in London with such cheuissance,
That men call vsury, to our losse and hinderance.

Another example of deceite.

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

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

Now in these dayes, that if there come a nede,
What nauie should we haue it is to drede.
In Denmarke were full noble conquerours
In time past, full worthy warriours:
Which when they had their marchants destroyed,
To povertie they fell, thus were they noyed:
And so they stand at mischiefe at this day.
This learned I late well writon, this no nay.
Therefore beware, I can no better will,
If grace it woll, of other mennis perill.
For if marchants were cherished to her speede,
We were not likely to fayle in any neede.
If they be rich, then in prosperitee
Shalbe our londe, lords, and commontee,
And in worship. Now thinke I on the sonne
Of Marchandy Richard of Whittingdon;
[Sidenote: The prayse of Richard of Whittingdon marchant.]
That load sterre, and chiefe chosen floure:
What hath by him our England of honour,
And what profite hath bin of his riches,
And yet lasteth dayly in worthines?
That pen and paper may not me suffice
Him to describe: so high he was of price
Aboue marchants, that set him one of the best:
I can no more, but God haue him in rest.
[Footnote 7: Or, lone.]
Now the principal matter.
What reason is it that we should goe to oste
In their countries, &in this English coste
They should not so? bat haue more liberty
Then we our selues now also motte I thee.
I would to gifts men should take no heede
That letteth our thing publicke for to speede
For this we see well euery day at eye,
Gifts and fests stopen our policie.
Now see that fooles ben either they or wee
But euer we haue the worse in this countree.
Therefore let hem vnto oste go here,
Or be we free with hem in like manere
In their countrees: and if it will not bee,
Compell them vnto oste, and yee shall see
Moch auantage, and moch profite arise,
Moch more then I can write in any wise.
Of our charge and discharge at her marts.
Conceiue wel here, that Englishmen at martes
Be discharged, for all her craftes and artes,
In Brabant of her marchandy
In fourteene dayes, and ageine hastily
In the same dayes fourteene acharged eft.
And if they bide lenger all is bereft,
Anon they should forfeit her goods all,
Or marchandy: it should no better fall.
And we to martis in Brabant charged beeene
With English cloth full good and fayre to seene:
We ben againe charged with mercerie,
Haburdasher ware, and with grosserie:
To which marts, that English men call fayres,
Ech nation oft maketh her repayres:
English, and French, Lombards, Iennoyes,
Catalones, thedre they take her wayes:
Scots, Spaniards, Irishmen there abides,
With great plenty bringing of sale hides.
And I here say that we in Brabant bye,
Flanders and Zeland more of marchandy
In common vse then done all other nations:
This haue I heard of marchants relations:
And if the English ben not in the marts
They ben feeble, and as nought bene her parts.
For they byemore, and fro purse put out
More marchandie then all the other rowte.
Kept then the see, shippes should not bring ne fetch,
And then the carreys wold not thidre stretch:
And so those marts wold full euill thee,
If we manly kept about the see.

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

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

[Sidenote: What our marchants bye in that cost more then all other.]
For sayd is that this carted marchandy
Draweth in value as much verily,
As all the goods that come in shippes thider,
Which Englishmen bye most and bring it hither.
For her marts ben febel, shame to say,
But Englishmen thither dresse her way.
A conclusion of this depending of keeping of the sea.
Than I conclude, if neuer so much by land

Of the commodities of the Genuoys and her great Caracks. Chap. 6.
Were by carres brought vnto their hand,
If well the sea were kept in gouernance
They should by sea haue no deliuerance.
Wee should hem stop, and we should hem destroy,
As prisoners we should hem bring to annoy.
And so we should of our cruell enimies
Make our friends for feare of marchandies,
If they were not suffered for to passe
Into Flanders. But we be frayle as glasse
And also brittle, not thought neuer abiding,
But when grace shineth soone are we sliding,
We will it not receiue in any wise:
That maken lust, enuie, and couetise:
Expone me this; and yee shall sooth it find,
Bere it away, and keepe it in your mind.
Then shuld worship vnto our Noble bee
In feate and forme to lord and Maiestie:
Liche as the seale the greatest of this land
On the one side hath, as I vnderstand,
A prince riding with his swerd ydraw,
In the other side sitting, soth it is in saw,
Betokening good rule and punishing
In very deed of England by the king.
And it is so God blessed mought he bee.
So in likewise I would were on the see
By the Noble, that swerde should haue power,
And the ships on the sea about vs here.
What needeth a garland which is made of Iuie
Shewe a tauerne winelesse, also thrue I?
If men were wise, the Frenchmen and Fleming
Shuld bere no state in sea by werring.
Then Hankin lyons shuld not be so bold
To stoppe wine, and shippes for to hold
Vnto our shame. He had be beten thence
Alas, alas, why did we this offence,
Fully to shend the old English fames;
And the profits of England and their names:
Why is this power called of couetise;
With false colours cast beforn our eyes?
That if good men called werriours
Would take in hand for the commons succours,
To purge the sea vnto our great auayle,
And winne hem goods, and haue vp the sayle,
And on our enimies their liues to impart,
So that they might their prises well departe,
As reson wold, justice and equitie;
To make land haue lordship of the sea.

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

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

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

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

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

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

I cast to speake of Ireland but a litle:
Commodities of it I will entitle,
Hides, and fish, Salmon, Hake, Herringe,
Irish wooll, and linen cloth, faldinge,
And marterns goode ben her marchandie,
Hertes Hides, and other of Venerie.[8]
Skinnes of Otter, Squirell and Irish hare,
Of sheepe, lambe, and Fox, is her chaffare,
Felles of Kiddes, and Conies great plentie.
So that if Ireland helpe vs to keepe the sea,
Because the King cleped is Rex Anglia,
And is Dominus also Hybernia,
Old possessed by Progenitours:
The Irish men haue cause like to ours
Our land and hers together to defend,
That no enemie should hurt ne offend,
Ireland ne vs: but as one commontie
Should helpe well to keepe about the sea:
For they haue hauens great, and goodly bayes,
Sure, wyde and deepe, of good assayes,
At Waterford, and costes many one.
And as men sayne in England be there none
Better hauens, ships in to ride,
No more sure for enemies to abide,
Why speake I thus so much of Ireland?
For all so much as I can vnderstand,
It is fertile for things that there doe growe
And multiplien, loke who lust to knowe,
So large, so good, and so commodious,
That to declare is strange and maruailous.
[Footnote 8: Hunting.]
[Sidenote: Mynes of siluer and gold in Ireland.]
For of siluer and golde there is the oore,
Among the wilde Irish though they be poore.
For they are rude can thereon no skill:
So that if we had their peace and good will
To myne and fine, and metal for to pure,
In wilde Irish might we finde the cure,
As in London saith a Iuellere,
Which brought from thence golde oore to vs here,
Whereof was fyned mettal good and clene,
As they touch, no better could be scene.
Nowe here beware and heartily take intent,
As yee will answere at last iudgement,
That for slought and for racheshede
Yee remember with all your might to hede
To keepe Ireland that it be not lost.
For it is a boterasse and a post,
Vnder England, and Wales another:
God forbid, but ech were others brother,
Of one ligeance due vnto the king.
But I haue pittie in good faith of this thing
That I shall say with auisement:
I am aferde that Ireland will be shent:
It must awey, it wol bee lost from vs,
But if thou helpe, thou Iesu gracious,
And giue vs grace al slought to leue beside.
For much thing in my herte is hide,
Which in another treatise I caste to write
Made al onely for that soile and site,
Of fertile Ireland, wich might not be forborne,
But if England were nigh as goode as gone.
God forbid that a wild Irish wirlinge
Should be chosen for to bee their kinge,
After her conqueste for our last puissance,
And hinder vs by other lands alliance.
Wise men seyn, wich felin not, ne douten,
That wild Irish so much of ground haue gotten
There vpon vs, as likenesse may be
Like as England to sheeris two or three
Of this our land is made comparable:
So wild Irish haue wonne on vs vnable
Yet to defend, and of none power,
That our ground is there a little corner,
To all Ireland in true comparison.
It needeth no more this matter to expon.
Which if it bee lost, as Christ Iesu forbed,
Farewel Wales, then England commeth to dred,
For alliance of Scotland and of Spaine,
[Sidenote: This is now to be greatly feared.]
And other moe, as the pety Bretaine,
And so haue enemies enuiron round about.
I beseech God, that some prayers deuout
Mutt let the said apparance probable
Thus disposed without feyned fable.
But all onely for perill that I see
Thus imminent, it's likely for to bee,
And well I wotte, that from hence to Rome,
And, as men say, in all Christendome,
Is no ground ne land to Ireland liche,
So large, so good, so plenteous, so riche,
That to this worde Dominus doe long.
Then mee semeth that right were and no wrong,
To get the lande: and it were piteous
To vs to lese this high name Dommus.
And all this word Dominus of name
Shuld haue the ground obeysant wilde and tame.
That name and people togidre might accord
Al the ground subject to the Lord.
And that it is possible to bee subject,
Vnto the king wel shal it bee detect,
In the litle booke that I of spake.
I trowe reson al this wol vndertake,
And I knowe wel howe it stante,
Alas fortune beginneth so to scant,
Or ellis grace, that deade is gouernance.
For so minisheth parties of our puissance,
In that land that wee lese euery yere,
More ground and more, as well as yee may here.
I herd a man speake to mee full late,
Which was a lord [9] of full great estate;
Than expense of one yere done in France
Werred on men well willed of puissance
This said ground of Ireland to conquere.
And yet because England might not forbere
These said expenses gadred in one yeere,
But in three yeeres or foure gadred vp here,
Might winne Ireland to a finall conqueste,
In one sole yeere to set vs all at reste.
And how soone wolde this be paiied ageyne:
Which were it worth yerely, if wee not feyne:
I wol declare, who so luste to looke,
I trowe full plainely in my litle booke.
But couetise, and singularitie
Of owne profite, enuie, crueltie,
Hath doon vs harme, and doe vs euery day,
And musters made that shame is to say:
Our money spent al to little auaile,
And our enimies so greatly doone preuaile,
That what harme may fall and ouerthwerte
I may vnneth write more for sore of herte.

[Footnote 9: This Lorde was the Earle of Ormond that told to me this matter, that he would vndertake it, in
pain of losse of al his liuelihood. But this proffer could not be admitted. Ergo male.]

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

Of the commodious Stockfish of Island and keeping of the Sea namely the
Narrow sea, with an incident of the keeping of Caleis. Chap. 10.
[Sidenote: The trade of Bristow to Island.] [Sidenote: The old trade of Scarborough to Island and the North.]
Of Island to write is litle nede,
Saue of Stock fish. Yet forsooth in deed
Out of Bristowe, and costes many one,
Men haue practised by nedle and by stone
Thider wardes within a litle while,
Within twelue yere, and without perill
Gon and come, as men were wont of old
Of Scarborough, vnto the costes cold.
And nowe so fele shippes this yeere there ware,
That moch losse for vnfreyght they bare:
Island might not make hem to bee fraught
Vnto the Hawys: thus much harme they caught.
Then here I ende of the commoditees
For which neede is well to kepe the seas:
Este and Weste, South and North they bee.
And chiefly kepe the sharpe narrow see,
Betweene Douer and Caleis: and as thus
that foes passe none without good will of vs:
And they abide our danger in the length,
What for our costis and Caleis in our strength.
An exhortation for the sure keeping of Caleis.
And for the loue of God, and of his blisse
Cherish yee Caleis better then it is.
See well thereto, and heare the grete complaint
That true men tellen, that woll no lies paint,
And as yee know that writing commeth from thence:
Doe not to England for slought so great offence,
But that redressed it bee for any thing:
Leste a song of sorrow that wee sing.
For little wenith the foole who so might chese
What harme it were good Caleis for to lese:
What wo it were for all this English ground.
[Sidenote: The ioy of Sigismund the Emperour that Caleis was English.]
Which wel concerned the Emperour Sigismound,
That of all ioyes made it one of the moste,
That Caleis was subiect vnto English coste.
Him thought it was a iewel most of all,
And so the same in Latine did it call.
And if yee wol more of Caleis heare and knowe,
I cast to write within a little scrowe,
Like as I haue done before by and by
In other parteis of our policie.
Loke how hard it was at the first to get;
And by my counsell lightly doe not it let.
For if wee lese it with shame of face
Wilfully, it is for lacke of grace.
Howe was Harflew [10] cried vpon, and Rone,[11]
That they were likely for shought to be gone:
Howe was it warned and cried on in England,
I make record with this pen in my hand.
It was warened plainely in Normandie,
And in England, and I thereon did crie.
The world was defrauded, it betyde right so.
Farewell Harflew: lewdly it was a go.
Nowe ware Caleis, I can say no better:
My soule discharge I by this present letter.
[Footnote 10: Harfleur, which was lost in 1449.] [Footnote 11: Rouen]
After the Chapitiles of commodities, of diuers lands, sheweth the conclusion
of keeping of the sea enuiron, by a storie of King Edgar and two
incidents of King Edward the third, and King Henrie the fifth. Chap. 11.
Now see we well then that this round see

Of the commodities of the Genuoys and her great Caracks. Chap. 6.
To our Noble by pariformitee
Vnder the ship shewed there the sayle,
And our king with royal apparayle,
With swerd drawen bright and extent
For to chastise enimies violent;
Should be lord of the sea about,
To keepe enimies from within and without;
To behold through Christianitee
Master and lord enuiron of the see:
All liuing men such a prince to dreed,
Of such a regne to bee aferd indeed.
Thus proue I well that it was thus of old;
Which by a [*] Chronicle anon shalbe told,
Right curious: but I will interprete
It into English, as I did it gete:
Of king Edgar: O most marueilous
Prince liuing, wittie, and cheualerous:
So good that none of his predecessours
Was to him liche in prudence and honours.
Hee was fortanate and more gracious
Then other before, and more glorious:
He was beneth no man in holines:
Hee passed all in vertuous sweetnes.

[ Marginal note *: Dicit Chronica, quod iste Edgarus cunctis pradecessoribus suis falicior, nulli sanctitate
inferior, omnibus morum suauitate prastantior fuerit Luxit ipse Anglis non minus memorabilis quam Cyrus Persis,
Carolus Francis, Romulus vero Romanis.]

Of English kings was none so commendable
To English men no lesse memorable:
Then Cyrus was to Perse by puissance,
And as great Charles was to them of France,
And as to the Romanes was great Romulus,
So was to England this worthy Edgarus.
I may not write more of his worthines
For lacke of time, ne of his holines:
But to my matter I him exemplifie,
Of conditions tweyne and of his policie:
Within his land was one, this is no doubt,
And another in the see without,
That in time of Winter and of werre,
When boystrous windes put see men into fere;
Within his land about by all prouinces
Hee passed through, perceiuing his princes,
Lords, and others of the commontee,
Who was oppressour, and who to pouertee
Was drawen and brought, and who was clene in life,
And was by mischiefe and by strife
With ouer leding and extorton:
And good and badde of eche condition
Hee aspied: and his ministers als,
Who did trought, and which of hem was fals:
Howe the right and lawes of the land

Of the commodities of the Genuoys and her great Caracks. Chap. 6.
Were execute, and who durst take in hand
To disobey his statutes and decrees,
If they were well kept in all countrees:
Of these he made subtle investigation
Of his owne espie, and other men's relation.
Among other was his great busines,
Well to ben ware, that great men of riches,
And men of might in citie nor in towne
Should to the poore doe non oppression.
Thus was he wont in this Winter tide,
On such enforschise busily to abide.
This was his labour for the publike thing,
Thus was hee occupied: a passing holy King
Nowe to purpose, in the Sommer faire
Of lusty season, whan clerred was the aire,
He had redie shippes made before
Great and huge, not fewe but many a store:
Full three thousand and sixe hundred also
Stately inough on our sea to goe.

The Chronicles say, these shippes were full boysteous:
Such things long to kings victorious.
In Sommer tide would hee haue in wonne
And in custome to be ful redie soone,
With multitude of men of good array
And instruments of werre of best assay.
Who could hem well in any wise descriue?
It were not light for eny man aliue.
Thus he and his would enter shippes great
Habiliments hauing and the fleeete
Of See werres, that ioyfull was to see
Such a nauie and Lord of Maiestee,
There present in person hem among
To saile and rowe enuiron all along,
So regal liche about the English isle;
To all strangers terroirs and perile.
Whose fame went about in all the world stout,
Vnto great fere of all that be without,
And exercise to Knights and his meynee
To him longing of his natall cuntree
For courage of nede must haue exercise,
Thus occupied for esshewin of vice
This knew the king that policie espied;
Winter and Somer he was thus occupied.
Thus conclude I by authoritee
Of Chronike, that enuiron the see
Should bene our subiects vnto the King,
And hee bee Lord thereof for eny thing:
For great worship and for profile also

Of the commodities of the Genuoys and her great Caracks. Chap. 6.
To defend his land from every foe.
That worthy king I leave, Edgar by name,
And all the chronicle of his worthy fame:

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

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

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

Of king Edward I passe and his prowes
On lande, on sea yee knowe his worthines:
The siege of Caleis, ye know well all the matter
Round about by land, and by the water,
Howe it lasted not yeeres many a goe,
After the battell of Crecye was ydoe:
Howe it was closed enuiron about,
Olde men sawe it, which liuen, this is no doubt.
[Sidenote: Caleis was yeelded to the English 1347.]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Sidenote: Great caracks of Genoa taken by the Duke of Bedford.]

My Lord of Bedford came on and had the cure,
Destroyed they were by that discomfiture.

[Sidenote: 1416.]
This was after the king Harflew had wonne,
Whan our enemies to siege had begonne:
That all was slaine or take, by true relation,
To his worshippe, and of his English nation.

[Sidenote: The French nauie thus ouerthrown was of fiue hundred saile.]

There was present the kings chamberlaine
At both battailes; which knoweth this in certaine;
He can it tell other wise then I:
Aske him, and witte; I passe foorth hastily
What had this king of his magnificence,
Of great courage of wisedome, and prudence?
Prouision, forewitte, audacitee,
Of fortitude, justice, and agilitee,  
Discretion, subtile auisednesse,  
Attemperance, Noblesse, and worthiness:  
Science, prowess, devotion, equitie,  
Of most estate, with his magnanimitie  
Liche to Edgar, and the said Edward,  
As much of both liche hem as in regard.  
Where was on liue a man more victorious,  
And in so short time prince so marueilous?  
By land and sea, so well he him acquitte,  
To speake of him I stony in my witte  
Thus here I leaue the king with his noblesse,  
Henry the fift, with whom all my processe  
Of this true booke of pure policie  
Of sea keeping, entending victorie  
I leaue endly: for about in the see  
No prince was of better strenuitee.  
And if he had to this time liued here,  
He had bene Prince named withouten pere:  
[Sidenote: The Trinitie, the Grace de Dieu, the holy Ghost]  
His great ships should haue ben put in preefe,  
Vnto the ende that he ment of in cheefe,  
For doubt it not but that he would haue bee  
Lord and master about the round see:  
And kept it sure to stoppe our enemies hence,  
And wonne vs good, and wisely brought it thence:  
That no passage should be without danger,  
And his licence on see to moue and sterre.  
Of vnitie, shewing of our keeping of the see: with an endly or finall  
processe of peace by authoritie. Chap. 12.  
[Sidenote: Exhortatio generales in custodiam totius Anglia per diligentiam custodia circutus maris circa littora  
eiusdem: qua debet esse per vnanimitatem Consilariorum regis, &hominum bona voluntatus.]  
Now than for loue of Christ, and of his ioy,  
Bring it England out of trouble and noy:  
Take heart and witte, and set a gouernance,  
Set many wits withouten variance,  
To one accord and vnanimitee.  
Put to good will for to keepe the see.  
First for worship and profite also,  
And to rebuke of eche euill willed foe.  
Thus shall worship and riches to vs long.  
Than to the Noble shall we doe no wrong,  
To beare that coyne in figure and in deede,  
To our courage, and to our enemies dreede:  
For which they must dresse hem to peace in haste,  
Or ellis their thrift to standen and to waste.  
As this processe hath proued by and by  
All by reason and expert policy;  
And by stories which proued well this parte:  
Or ellis I will my life put in ieoparte,  
But many londs would seche her peace for nede,
The see well kept: it must be doo for drede.
Thus must Flanders for nede haue vnitee
And peace with vs: it will non other bee,
Within short while: and ambassadours
Would bene here soone to treate for their succours.
[Sidenote: Tres sunt causa pradicta custodia scilcet, honor commodum regnum, &opprobrium inimicis.]
This vnitie is to God pleasance:
And peace after the werres variance.
The ende of battaile is peace sikerly,
And power causeth peace finally.
Kept than the sea about in speciall,
Which of England is the towne wall.
As though England were likened to a citie,
And the wall enuiron were the see
Kepe then the sea that is the wall of England:
And than is England kept by Goddes hande;
That as for any thing that is without,
England were at ease withouten doubt,
And thus should euery lond one with another
Entercommon as brother with his brother
And liue togethger werrelesse in vnitie,
Without rancour in very charitie,
In rest and peace, to Christes great pleasance,
Without strife, debate and variance.
Which peace men should enserche with businesse,
And knit it saddely holding in holinesse.
[Sidenote: Ephes. 4. Solliciti sitis seruare vnitatem spiritus in vinculo pacis.]
The Apostle seith, if ye list to see,
Bee yee busie for to keepe vnitee
Of the spirit in the bond of peace.
Which is nedeful to all withouten lese.
The Prophet biddeth vs peace for to enquire
To pursue it, this is holy desire.
Our Lord Iesu saith, Blessed motte they bee
That maken peace; that is tranquilliitee.
[Sidenote: Matth. 5. Beati pacifici quoniam filij Dei vocabuntur.]
For peace makers, as Matthew writeth aright,
Should be called the sonnes of God almight.
God giue vs grace, the weyes for to keepe
Of his precepts, and slugly not to sleepe
In shame of sinne: that our verry foo
Might be to vs conuers, and turned so.
[Sidenote: Cum placuerint Domino via hominis eius inimicos ad pacem conuertet]
For in the Prouerbs is a text to this purpose
Plaine inough without any glose:
When mens weyes please vnto our Lord,
It shall conuert and bring to accord
Mans enemies vnto peace verray,
In vnitie, to liue to Goddis pay,
With vnitie, peace, rest and charitie.
Hee that was here cladde in humanitie,
That came from heauen, and styed vp with our nature,
Or hee ascended, he gaued to vs cure,
And left with vs peace, ageyne strife and debate,
Mote giue vs peace, so well irrigate
Here in this world: that after all this feste
[Sidenote: Vrbs beata Ierusalem dicta pacis visio.]
   Wee may haue peace in the land of beheste
Ierusalem, which of peace is the sight,
With his brightnes of eternall light,
There glorified in rest with his tuition,
The Deitie to see with full frution:
Hee second person in diuinenesse is,
Who vs assume, and bring vs to the blis. Amen

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

Goe forth Libelle, and meekely shew thy face;
Appearing euer with humble countenance:
And pray my Lords to take in grace,
In opposaile and cherishing the aduance.
To hardines if that not variance
Thou hast fro tought by full experience
Authors and reasons: if ought faile in substance
Remit to hem that yafe thee this science;
That seth it is soth in verray fayth,
[Sidenote: The wise lord of Hungerfords judgement of this booke.]
   That the wise Lord Baron of Hungerford
Hath thee ouerseene, and verely he saith
That thou art true, and thus he doeth record,
Next the Gospel: God wotte it was his worde,
When hee thee redde all ouer in a night.
Goe forth trew booke, and Christ defend thy right.

Explicit libellus de Politia conseruatiua maris.

* * * * *

Breuis Commentarius de Islandia: quo Scriptorum de hac Insula errores
deteguntur, &extraneorum quorundam conuittis, ac calumnijis, quibus
Islandis liberius insultare solent, occurrurit: per Arngrimum Ionam
Islandum. Serenissimo Principi ac Domino, domino Christiano IIII, Dania,
Noruegia, Vandalorum, Gothorumque, Regi electo: Slesuici, Holsatia,
Stormaria &Dithmarsia Duc: Comiti in Oldenburg &Delmenhorst: Domino
suo clementissimo.

Praclaram sane apud Historicos meretur laudem, Sereniss. Princeps, Anchuri illius Mida regis filij ausus
plusquam humanus, &in patriam pietas, fere exemplo carens, quod ad occludendum ingentem circa Celanam
Phrygia oppidum, terra hiatum, quotidie homines haued exigu numerou, &quicquid in propinquuo erat,
absorbetem, sese viuo obtulerit. Cum enim ab oraculo Midas pater accepisset, non prius conclusum iri istam
voraginem, quam res eo preciosissima immitterunt: Anchurus existimans, nihil esse anima pretiosius, sese
viuum in illud profundissimum chasma pricipitem dedit: idque tanto animi cum feruere, vt neque parentis
desiderio, neque dulcssiama coniugis amplexu vel lachrymis, ab isto proposito se retrahi passus sit.

Nec inferiore multo consecuti sunt gloriam Sperthius &Bulis, Lacedamonij, qui ad auertendam potentissimi
Regis Persarum Xerxis, ob occisos a Lacedemonijs Darij patris legatos, vltionem, ad Regem profecti sunt, &vt
legatorum necem in se, non in patria vlcsiceretur, erectis &constantibus animis sese obtulerunt.

Of the commodities of the Genuoys and her great Caracks. Chap. 6.
Qua vero res, Sereniss. Princeps, illos ac alios complures mouit, vt patria flagrantes amore, nullum pro ea periculum, nullas molestias, imo ne mortem ipsum recurserint, ea profecto me quoque impulit, non quidem, vt quemadmodum illi, mortem sponte oppeterem, aut me mactandum vltro offerrem, sed tamen, vt id quod solum possem, in gratiam patria tentarem: Hoc est, vt scriptorum de ea errores colligerem &rumusculos vanos refellerem: Ac ita rem profecto periculosam, &multorum forsan sinistro obnoxiam iudicio, aggrederer.

In eo proposito me etiam Cn. Pompeij exemplum confirmauit: Quem rei frumentariaa apud Romanos procuratorem, cum in summa Vrbis annona charitate, in Sicilia, Sardinia &Africa frumentum collegisset, maiorem patria, quam sui, tradunt rationem habuisse. Cum enim Romam versus properaret, &ingenti ac perilucosa obrtta tempestate, Naucleros trepidare, nec se ventorum aut maris savitia committere velle animadueret, ipse nauim primus ingressus, anchoras tolli iussit, in hac verba exclamans: Vt nauigemus vrget necessitas: Vt viuamus, non vrget. Quibus vir prudentissimus innuisse videtur, patria periclitantis maiorem habendam rationem, quam priuata incolumitatis.

Hunc ego sic imitor, (Si parua licet componere magnis, &muscam Elephanto conferre) vt collectis ac comportatis ijs, quibus ad succurrendum gentis nostra nomini ac fama, apud extraneos, ex maleuolorum quorundam inuidia iam dui laboranti vterer; paucula hac in lucem emittere, meque pelago huic quantumuis turbulento committere, lintea ventis tradere, cunque illo escamame non dubitem: Vt scribamus, vrget necessitas: Vt vero scriptum nostrum, cuiusuis, delicato palato, vbique satisfaciat, aut omneem Momi proteruiam effugiat, non vrget. Institutum meum complures probatuos spero: successum forsan non itidem omnes probabunt. Nihiiominus tamen maiorem habendam rationem patria, multorum hactenus opprobria &contumelias sustinentis, quam siue laudis, siue vituperationis, ad me ipsum hinc forsant editura, existimabam. Quid enim causa esse potest, cur nonnullorum odium &inuuidentiam, cum hoc patria, benefaciendi seu gratificandi studio forte conjunctam recusem?

Quodsi scriptorum errores liberius notare, si quorundam calendus durius perstringere videbor, eos tamen aquis me habituram cenoscens confido, qui paulo diligentius animaduertere volent, quam parum tolerabiles sint scriptorvm de nostra gente errores: quo etiam &quam graves quorundam in nos calumnias, quibus nationem nostram varijs modis laccessuere, &etiamnum lacessere non desistunt. Dandum etiam aliquid omnibus congenito soli natalis amor est; Dandum iusto, ob hanc patria illatam iniuriam, dolori. Et ego quidem, quantum fieri potuit, vbiqve mihi temperaui, ac a conuitijs abstinere volui: quod si quid videatur mollius dicendnm fuisse, id pradicta ratione veniam, spero, merebitur.

Cum igitur hac mihi subeunda sit alea, quod omnibus scriptum aliquid editoris in more positum animaduerto, id mihi hoc tempore solicite curandum est: Nempe vt patronum &mecanatem aliquem huic meo commentariolo quaram, sub cuius nomine &numine, tutius in vulgi manus exeat.

Eam igitur ad rem nihil poterit optare toto opitm, vestra, clementissime Princeps Sereniss. Maiestate: Et enim nos ei, qui vitam &fortunas nostras in suum potestatem &tutelam accepit, ei inquam, nomen quoque gentis nostra innocenter contaminatum, cura vt sit, supplices rogamus.

Imo vero, Rex clementiss. non solum ad hanc rem, S. Maiestatis V. clemens implorare auxilium necessum habemus; Sed ad multa quoque alia, qua in nostra patria desiderantur, aut qua alioqui ad huius vivitatem &salutem communem spectant: quaque non per me, sed per summorum nostra gentis viroram libello supplces hoc tempore exponuntur, aut certe breui exponentur. Nihil enim dubitamus quin S. V. Maiestas, Christianissimorum maiorum exemplo, etiam nostram patriam, inter reliquas imperij sui Insulas, sua cura &protectione regia dignari velit. Nam qua nostra est ad S. Maiestatem V. confugiendi necessitas, ea est S. Maiestatis in nobis sublevandi, curandis &protectendis, gloria: Et ob nutritam extremi fere orbis Arctoi ecclesiam, in remotissimis M. V. imperij finibus, qua tranquillitatem &tutam Dei beneficio halcyonia habet, prumaum, ac reposta in coelis immarcessibilis vita aterna corona.

Caterum cum illa huius loci non sint, id quod mei est propasti subiuongo: & a S. Maiestate V. ea, qua par est, amimi submissione puto, vt huic mea opella &studio in patrim collato, fauere, &patroni benigni esse loco, clementer dignetur. Quod superest, Sereniss. Princeps. Dom. clementissime, Maiestatem V. sapientia &prudentia, omniumque adeo virtuttm heroicaurum indies incremenita sumentem, ad summum imperij fastigium, summas ille regnorum, omniumque adeo rerum humanaram dispensator, Deos opt. max. euehat: Euectam, omni rerum foelicissimo successu continue beet: Beatamque hoc modo, vt summum horum regnorum ornamentum, columen, praesidium, Ecclesia clypeum &munimen, quam diutissime conseruet: Ac tandem in altera vita, in solido regni

Of the commodities of the Genuoys and her great Caracks. Chap. 6. 107
The same in English.

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

By Arngrimus Ionas, of Island.

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

That heroical attempt of Anchurus, sonne of King Midas (most gratious prince) and that pietie towards his countrey in maner peerelesse, deserueth highly to be renowmed in histories: in that freely and couragiously he offered his owne person, for the stopping vp of an huge gulfe of earth, about Celoena, a towne in Phrigia, which daily swaullowed multitudes of men and whatsoeuer else came neere vnto it. For when his father Midas was advertised by the Oracle, that the said gulfe should not be shut vp, before things most precious were cast into it; Anchurus deeming nothing to be more inualuable then life plunged himselfe aliue downe heauldlong into that bottomless hole; and that with so great vehemencie of mind, that neither by his fathers request nor by the allurements and teares of his most amiable wife, he suffered himselfe to be drawne backe from this his enterprise. [Footnote: It is added that Midas raised an altar to Jupiter on the spot.]

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

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

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

This man doe I thus imitate,

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

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

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

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

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

But for this purpose I could not finde out, nor wish for any man more fit then your royal Maiestie, most gratious prince For vnto him, who hath receiued vnder his power &tuition our liues and goods, vnto him (I say) doe we make humble sute, that he would haue respect also vnto the credit of our nation, so iniuriously disgraced. Yea verily (most gracious King) we are constreined to craue your Maiesties mercifull aide, not only in this matter, but in many other things also which are wantinge in our countrey, or which otherwise belong to the publique commoditie and welfare thereof which not by me, but by the letters supplicatory of the chiefe men of our nation, are at this time declared, or will shortly be declared. For we doubt not but that your sacred Maiesties, after the example of your Christian predecessors, will vouchsafe vnto our countrey also, amongst other Islands of your Maiesties dominion, your kingly care and protection. For as the necessitie of fleeing for redresse vnto your sacred Maiestie, is ours so the glory of relieuing, regarding, and protecting vs, shal wholly redound vnto your sacred Maiestie: as also, there is layd vp for you, in respect of your fostering and preseruing of Gods church, vpon the extreme northerly parts almost of the whole earth, and in the vtttermost bounds of your Maiesties dominion (which by the singular goodwill of God, enioyeth at this present tranquillitie and quiet safetie) a reward and crowne of immortall life in the heauens.

But considering these things are not proper to this place, I wil leaue them, and returne to my purpose which I haue in hand: most humbly beseeching your S. M. that youd would of your clemencie vouchsafe to become a fauorer, and patron vnto these my labours and studies, for the behalfe of my countrey. It now remaineth (most gracious and mercifull souereigne) for vs to make our humble prayers vnto Almighty God, that king of kings, and disposer of all humane affaires, that it would please him of his infinite goodnes, to advance your Maiestie (yearely growing vp in wisedome &experience, and all other heroicall vertues) to the highest pitch of souereignitie: and being advanced, continually to blesse yon with most prosperous successe in all your affaires: and being blessed, long to preserve you, as the chief ornament, defence and safegarde of these kingdomes, and as the shield and fortresse of his church: and hereafter in the life to come, to make you shine glorious like a starre, amongst the principall nurcing fathers of Gods Church, in the perfect ioy of his heauenly kingdome. The same most mercifull father likewise grant, that these praiers, the oftener they be dayly repeated and multiplied in euery corner of your Maiesties most ample territories &Islands, so much the more sure and certain they may remaine, Amen. At Haffnia, or Copen Hagen 1593. in the moneth of March. Y. S. M. most humble subiect,

Arngrimus Ionas, Islander. [Footnote: A celebrated Icelandic astronomer, disciple of Tycho Brahe, and coadjutor of the Bishop of Holen, died in 1649 at the great age of 95. His principal works, besides his Description and History of Iceland, (published at Amsterdam in 1643, 4to), are Idea Vera Magistratus (Copenhagen, 1689, Of the commodities of the Genuoys and her great Caracks. Chap. 6. 109
Rerum Islandicarum libri tres (Hamburg, 1630, 4to); The Life of Gundebrand de Thorlac, etc. He is remembered amongst the peasantry of Iceland as the only instance known in that country of a man of ninety–one marrying a girl in her teens.]

Benigno &pio Lectori salutem.

In lucem exijt circa annum Christi 1561. Hamburgi foetus valde deformis, patre quodam Germanico propola: Rhythmi videlicet Germanici, omnium qui vnquam leguntur spurcissimi &mendacissimi in gentem Islandicam. Nec sufficiebat sordido Typographo sordidum illum foetum semel emisisse, nisi tertium etiam aut quartum publicasset, quo videlicet magis innocenti genti apud Germanos &Danos, aliosque vicinos populos summam \nunquam delendam ignominiam, quantum, in ipso fuit, inureret. Tantum Typographi huius odium fuit, &ex re illicita lucrui auditis. Et hoc in illa ciuitate, qua plurimos annos commercia sua magnu suorum cum lucro in Islandia exercuit, impune fecit. Ioachimus Leo nomen illi est, dignus certe qui Leones pascat.

Reperiuntur multi alij scriptores, qui cum miracula natura, qua in hac Insula creduntur esse plurima, \ngentis Islandica mores ac instituta describere se velle putant, a re ipsa &veritate prorsus aberrarunt, nautarm \nfabulas plus fabulas aniles, &vulgi opiniones vanissimas secuti. Hi Scriptores etsi non tam spura &probrosa relierunt, quam sordidus iste Rhythmista: multa tamen sunt in illorum scriptis, qua illos excusare non possunt, aut prorsus liberare, quo minus innocentem gentem suis scriptis deridendam alij exposuerint. Hac animaduertens, legens, expendens, subinde nouis, qui Islandorum nomen \nastimationem laderent, scriptoribus ortis, alienorum laborum suffuratoribus impudicis, qui etiam non desinunt gentem nostrumque conspircare mendacio, lectoresque noua monstrorum enumeratione &descriptionibus fictis deludere, sape optabam esse aliquem, qui ad errata Historica, &aliorum iniquorum censorum responderet, quiue aliquo scripto innocentem gentem a tot conuicijs si non liberaret, certe aliquo modo apud pios \ncandidos Lectores defenderet. Quare hoc tempore Author eram honesto studioso, Arngrimo Iona \nreuelis scriptorum monumentis, qui de Islandia aliquid scripserunt, errores & mendacis solidis rationibus detegeret. Ille etsi primo reluctabatur, vicit tamen demum admonitio, &ex sua \nmultorum fide dignorum experientia, comprobationibus sumptis. Ille vero, qui hanc rem meo est aggressus instinctu, vicissim a me quoquis iure flagitatbat, vt in has pagellas, vel tribus saltam verbis praferae: existimans aliquid fidei vel authoritatis opusculo inde conciliatum iri. Quare vt mentem breuiter exposition: Ego quidem &honestam & necessariam quoque operam nauasse eum iudico, qui non modo scriptorvm varias sententias de rebus ignotis perpendere, &inuicem conferre, nec non ad veritatem &experientia censuram exigere: Sed etiam patria a venenatis quorundam sycophantarum morsibus vindicare conatus sit. Aquum est igitur, Lector optime, vt quicquid hoc est opusculum, velut sanctissimo veritatis & patria amore aduersus Zoilorum proterium munition et munientem excipias. Vale.


[Footnote: In the original edition of the description of Iceland by Arngrimus, follow these lines:

Authoris ad Lectorem.

Imbute Lector suavis arte Palladis,
Lector benigne, humane, multum candide,
Qui cuncta scis collis sacri mysteria:
Has videris si forte quando paginas
Non lectione sique dedignabere,
Fac, nos tuo candori vt hac committimus
Et aquitati, fronte sic non tetrica,
Vultu legas nec ista quando turbido:
Communis vnquam sortis haud sis immemor,
Infirmitas quam nostra nobis contulit.
Obnoxius nam non quis est mortalium
Erroribus nauisque semper plurimi?
Quod si diu multumque cogitauens,
Nostris eris conatibus paulo aquior,
Tuis &isto rite pacto consules:
Candore nam quo nostra arctans vtere,
To the courteous and Christian reader Gudbrandus Thorlacius, Bishop of Holen in Island, wisheth health.

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

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

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

Anno 1592. Iulii 19.
Quemadmodum in militia castrensi, alios nulla aqua ratione adductos, sed ambitione, invidia & avaritia motos, Martis castra sequi animaduertimus: Alios vero iustis de causis arma sumere; vt qui vel doctrina coelestis propaganda aut seruanda ergo bella mouent, vel aliquo modo lacesstit paratam vim ac inuieri repellunt, vel saltem non lacesstit, propter obsidentem hostem metu in armis esse coguntur: Non secus Apollini militantes: alij animo nequaquam bono, Philosophico seu verius Christiano, ad scribendum feruntur: puta qui gloria cupiditate, qui luore ac odio, qui affectata ignorantia alios sugillant, vt ipsi potiores habeantur, nunc in personam, nomen ac famam alicius, nunc in gentem totam styli acuentem, atque impudenter quasi mentiendo, insomente nationem & populos commaculantem: Alij vero contra, animo ingenuo multa lucubrando inuestigant & in lucem emittunt; vt qui scientiam Theologicam & Philosophicam scriptis mandarunt, quique suis vigilijs veterum monumenta nobis explicuerunt: qui quicqquid in illis obscurum, imperfectum, inordinatum animaduerterunt, vsu & experientia duce illustrarunt, explerunt, ordinantarunt: qui mundi historias, bona fide, aterna memoria consecrarunt: qui linguarum cognitionem suam defellas laboribus iuuerunt: denique qui aliorum in se suamue gentem vel patriam, licentiosam petulantiam reprimere, calumnias refellere, & quandam quasi vim inuister propulsare annixi sunt.

Et quidem ego, cui literas vix, ac ne vix quidem videre contigit, omnium qui diuina Palladi nomen dederunt, longe infimus (vt id ingenue de mea tenuitate confitear) facere certe non possum, quin me, in illorum aciem conferam, qui gentis sua maculam abluerue, veritatem ipsam asserere, & conuitiantium iugum detrectare studuerunt: Maiora ingenio sors denegauit: Id quoquo modo tentare compellit ipsius veritatis dignitas, & innatus amor patria, quam extraneos nonnullos falsis rumoribus deformare, varijs conuitiis, magna cum voluptate proscindere, alisque nationibus deridendo propinare conperimus. Quorum petulantia occurrere, & criminationes falsas, detectis simul scriptorum de hac Insula erroribus, apud bonos & cordatos viros, (Nam vulgus sui semper simile, falsi & vani tenacissimum, non est quod sperem me ab hac inueterata opinione abducere posse) diluere hoc commentariolo decreui.

Etsi autem Islandia multos habet, vt atate, ita ingenio & eruditione me longe superiores, ideoque ad hanc causam patria suscipiendam multo magis idoneos: Ego tamen optimi & clarissimi viri, Dom. Gudbrandi Thorlacij, Episcopi Holensis, apud Islandos, sollicitationibus motus communem causa, pro viribus, nequaquam deesse volui, tum vt aquissima postulationi ipsius parerem, atque amorem & studium debitum erga patriam declararem, tum vt reliquis sympathiaturas meos, in bonarum literarum scientia, aterna memoria consecrarerunt, atque in rerum plurimarum cognitione vterius progresses, ad hoc gentis nostra patrocinium inuitarem: Tantum abest, vt ijs qui idem conabuntur, obstaculo esse voluerim.

Caterum vt ad rem redeamus, quoniam illi quicunque sunt nostra gentis obtrectatores, testimonio scripto se vti ac niti iactant: videndum omnino est, quidnam de Islandia, & nati iactitant: videndum omnino est, quidnam de Islandia, & quam vera scriptores prodierunt, vt si forte isti, alijs in nos dicendi aliquam occasionem dederint, patefactis ipsorum erroribus (nolo enim quid durius dicere) quam merito nos calumnientur, reliquis planam fiat, Porro, quamuis vetustiorum quorundam scripta de hac Insula, ad veritatis & experientia normam exigere non verear: Tamen nobis eorum subiecto alioque sacra est memoria, reuerenda dignitas, suspicienda eruditio, laudanda voluntas & in Rempub. literariam studium; Novaetij vero, si qui sunt id genus scriptores, aut verius pasquillini, cum ijs longe veriora quam scripserant, audire & nosse de Islandia licuerit, sua leuitate & ingenio male candido, nihil nisi inuidia & calumnia maculam lucrati esse videbuntur.

[Sidenote: Commentarij duas partes.]

Atque vt Commentarius hic noster aliquid ordinis habeat, duo erunt proposita orationis capita, vnum de Insula, de incolibus alterum: quantum quidem de his duobus capitibus Scriptores qui in nostris manibus versantur, annotatum reliquerunt: Quoniam ultra has metas vagari, vel plura quam hac ipsa, &qua hucpertinere videbuntur attingere nolo. Non enim ex professo Historicum vel geographum sed disputatorem tantum agimus. [Sidenote: Prima partis tractatio.] Iataque omissa longiore prafatione partem primam, qua est de situ, nomine, miraculis & alij quibusdam adiunctis Insula, aggradamur.

The same im English.

HERE BEGINNETH THE COMMENTARY OF ISLAND.

Euen as in war, dayly experience teacheth vs, that some vpon no iust & lawful grounds (being egged on by
ambition, enui, and couetise) are induced to follow the armie, and on the contrary side, that others arme themselfes vpon iust and necessary causes: namely such as go to battell for the defence and propagation of the Gospel, or such as being any way prouoked thereunto, doe withstand present violence and wrong, or at least (not being prouoked) by reason of the enemie approching are constrained to be vp in armes right so, they that fight vnder Apolloes banner. Amongst whom, a great part, not vpon any honest, philosophical, or indeede Christian intention, address themselves to wright: especially such as for desire of glory, for enuy and spight, or vpon malicious and affected ignorance, care at others: and that they may be accompted superiours, sometimes whette their stiles against the person, name and fame of this or that particular man, sometimes inveighing against a whole countrey, and by shamelesse vntrueths disgracing innocent nations and people. Againe, others of an ingenuous minde, doe by great industry, search and bring to light things profitable: namely, they that write of Diuinity, Philosophy, History and such like: and they who (taking vse and experience for their guides) in the said Sciences haue brought things obscure to light, things maime to perfection, and things confused to order: and they that haue faithfully commended to euerverlasting posteritie, the stories of the whole world: that by their infinite labours haue aduanced the knowledge of tongues: to be short, that endeouour themselfes to represse the insolencie, confute the slanders, and withstand the vniust violence of others, against themselfes, their Nation or their Countrey:

And I for my part, hauing scarce attained the sight of good letters, and being the meanest of all the followers of Minerua (that I may freely acknowledge mine owne wants) can do no lesse then become one of their number, who haue applied themselues to ridde their countrey from dishonor, to auouch the trueth, and to shake off the yoke of railing freuers. My estate enabled me onely to write; howbeit the excellencie of trueth and the in bred affection I beare to my countrey enforceth me to do the best I can: sithens it hath pleased some strangers by false rumours to deface, and by manifolde reproches to injurie my sayd countrey, making it a by word, and a laughing−stocke to all other nations. To meet with whose insolencie and false accusations, as also to detect the errours of certeine writers concerning this Island, vnto good and well affected men (for the common people will be alwayes like themselues, stubbornly mainteining that which is false and foolish, neither can I hope to remooue them from this accustomed and stale opinion) I haue penned the treatise following.

And albeit Island is not destitute of many excellent men, who, both in age, wit, and learning, are by many degrees my superiors, and therefore more fit to take the defence of the countrey into their hands: notwithstanding, being earnestly perswaded thereunto, by that godly &famous man Gudbrandus Thorlacius Bishop of Hola in Island, I thought good (to the vtmost of mine ability) to be no whit wanting vnto the common cause: both that I might obey his most reasonable request, and also that I might encourage other of my countreymen, who haue bene better trained vp in good learning, and indued with a greater measure of knowledge then I my selfe, to the defence of this our nation: so farre am I from hindering any man to vndertake the like enterprise.

But to returne to the matter, because they (whatsoever they be) that reproch and maligne our nation, make their boast that they vse the testimonies of writers: we are seriously to consider, what things, and how true, writers haue reported of Island, to the end that if they haue guen (perhaps) any occasion to others of inveuying against vs, their errors being layd open (for I will not speake more sharply) all the world may see how iustly they do reproch vs. And albeit I nothing doubt to examine some ancient writers of this Island, by the rule of trueth and experience: yet (otherwise) their memory is precious in our eyes, their dignity reuerend, their learning to be had in honour, and their zeale and affection towards the whole common wealth of learned men, highly to be commended: but as for nouches (if there be an any such writers or rather pasquilles) when they shall heare and know truer matters concerning Island, then they themselves haue written, they shall seeme by their inconstancie and peruerse wit to haue gained nought else but a blacke marke of enuy and reproch.

And that this commentarie of mine may haue some order, it shall be diuided into two general parts: the first of the Island, the second of the inhabitants: and of these two but so farfoorth as those writers which are come to our hands haue left recorded: because I am not determined to wander out of these lists, or to handle more then these things and some other which perteine vnto them. For I professe not my selfe an Historiographer, or Geographer, but onely a Disputer. Wherefore omitting a longer Preface, let vs come to the first part concerning the situation, the name, miracles, and certaine other adjuncts of this Iland.

SECTIO PRIMA.

[Sidenote: Munst. lib. 4. Cosmograph.] Insula Islandia, qua per immensum a
cateris secreta longe sita est in Oceano, vixque a nauigantibus agnoscitur, &c.

Et si hac tractare, qua ipsam terram vel illius adiuncta seu proprietates concernunt, ad gentem vel incolas a calumniantium morso vindicandos parum faciat: tamen id nequaquam omittendum videtur. Sed de his primum, &quidem prolixios aliqualiter agendum est, vt perspecto, quam vera de hac re tradant illi Islandia scriptores, facile inde candidus Lector, in ijs qua de Incolis scripta reliquerant, quaque ab illis alij, tanquam Dijs prodentibus, acceperunt, vnde sua in gentem nostram ludibria depromi aiunt, quantum fidei mereantur, iudicet.

Primum igitur distantiam Islandia a reliquis terris non immensam esse, nec tantam, quam vulgo putatur, si quis insula longitudinem &latitudinem aliquo modo cognitam haberet, facile demonstrari posset. Non enim id alio, quam isto cognoscì exacte posse modo existimari, cum nulli dubium sit, quam semper nautarum vel rectissimus, vt illis videtur, cursus aberret. Quare varias authorum de situ Islandia sententias subiungam, vt inde quius de distantia id colligat, quod maxime verisimile videbitur, donec forte aliquando propria edoctus experimentia, meas quoque sententiam si non interponam, tamen adiungam.

Longit. Latitud. Munsterus Islandiam collocat sub gradibus fere 20 68 Gerardus Mercator 352 68 Gemma Frisius:
Medium Islandia: 7 0 65 30
Hersee: 7 40 60 42
Thirtes: 5 50 64 44
Nadar: 6 40 57 20


Reinholdus. Per Holen Islandia 68
Ioh. Myritius. Per Med. Islandia 69
Neander. Islandia tribus gradibus in circulum vsque Arcticum ab aquinoctiali excurrit, adeo fere, vt mediam circulus ille secet, &c.

Et si qui sunt praterea, qui vel in mappis, vel alioqui suis scriptis Insula situm notarunt, quorum plures sententias referre nihil attinet, quorum plures omnibus statuam, tamen id ipsum in dubio relinquere malo, quam quicquam non exploratum satis affirmare, donec, vt dixi, forte aliquando non coniecturam, sed obseruationem &experientiam propriam afferre liceat.

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

Distantiam ab ostio Albis ad portum Istandia meridionalis Batzende, quidam scripserat esse circiter 400. milliarium: Vnde si longitudinis differentiam ad meridianum Hamburgensem supputaueris, nullam modo positarum longitudinem habeit illo in loco Islandia. Ego ternis Hamburgensi navigationibus docere possum, septimo die Hamburgum ex Islandia peruenirem esse. Praterea etiam, Insula qua ab ouium multitudine Fareyjar, seu rectius Faareyjar dicta sunt, bidui naviigatione, vt &littora Noruagia deserta distant. Quatridui vero nauigatione in Gronlandiam habitabilem, &pari fere temporis interuallo, ad prouinciam Noruagia Stad. inter opida Nidrosiam &Bergas sitam peruenitur, quemadmodum in harum nationum vetustis codicibus reperimus.

The same in English.

THE FIRST SECTION.

[Sidenote: Munsterus lib. 4. cosmographia] The Isle of Island being seuered from other countreys an infinite distance, standeth farre into the Ocean, and is scarce knowne vnto Sailers.

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

First therefore, that the distance of Island from other countreys is not infinite, nor indeed so great as men commonly imagine, it might easily be prouided, if one did but in some sort know the true longitude &latitude of the said Iland. For I am of opinion that it cannot exactly be knowen any other way then this, whenas it is manifest how the Mariners course (be it neuer so direct, as they suppose) doth at all times swerue. In the meane while therfore I will set downe diuers opinions of authors, concerning the situation of Island, that from hence euery man may gather that of the distance which seemeth most probable, vntil perhaps my selfe being one day taught by mine owne experience, may, if not intrude, yet at least adioin, what I shal thinke true as touching this matter.

[Footnote: The real position of Iceland is 700 miles west of Norway, 200 miles east of Greenland, and 320 miles north–west of the Faroe Islands. It lies between latitude 63 25 and 66 32 north and longitude 13 30’ and 24 30’ west; length east to west 280 miles; breadth 210 miles. It will be thus seen that while Frisius is nearly right in his latitude, Gerard Mercator is considerably out. As regards the longitude, whilst Munster's estimate is converted to the standard of Greenwich, Mercator's reckoning is from Copenhagen or Hamburg, and Frisius has reckoned east of Reikiavik or Skallholt.]

Longit. Latitud.

deg min. deg min.

Munster placeth Island almost in 20 68 Gerardus Mercator 325 68 Gemma Frisius placeth the midst of Island 7 0 65 30
Hersee 7 40 60 42
Thirtes 5 50 64 44
Nadar 6 40 57 10
Iacobus Zieglerus The West shore of Island 20 0 63 0 The promontorie of Chos 22 46 63 0 The East shore is extended Northward, and hath bounds of extension in 30 0 68 0 The North shore is extended Westward and hath bounds of extension in 28 0 69 0 The description of the West side The promontorie of Heckelfell 25 0 67 0 The promontorie of Madher 21 20 65 10 The inland cities of Island Holen the seat of a bishop 28 0 67 50 Schalholten the seat of a bishop 22 63 30
Reinholdus By Holen in Island 68
Johannes Miritius By Mid–Island 69−1/2
Neander Island stretcheth it selfe 3 degrees within the circle arctic from the equinoctial, insomuch that the said circle arctic doeth almost diuide it in the midst &c.

There be others also, who either in their maps, or writings haue noted the situation of Island: notwithstanding it is to no purpose to set downe any more of their opinions, because the more you haue, the more contrary shall you finde them. For my part, albeit I haue probable coniectures perswading me not to beleue any of the former opinions, concerning the situation of Island, but to dissent from them all: yet had I rather leaue the matter in suspense then affirme an vncerteinty, vntill (as I haue sayd) I may be able perhappes one day not to gesse at the matter, but to bring forth mine owne obseruation, and experience.

[Sidenote: Seuen dayes sailing from Island to Hamburg Island but two dayes sailing distant from Faar–Islands &from the desert shores of Norway.]

A certeine writer hath put downe the distance betweene the mouth of Elbe & Batzende in the South part of Island to be 400 leagues: from whence if you shall account the difference of longitude to the meridian of Hamburgh, Island must haue none of the forenamed longitudes in that place. I am able to proue by three sundry voyages of certaine Hamburger, that it is but seuen dayes sailing from Island to Hamburgh. Besides all those
Islands, which by reason of the abundance of sheepe, are called Fareyiar or more rightly Faareyiar,[Footnote: Faroe Islands.] as likewise the desert shores of Norway, are distant from vs but two dayes sailing. We haue foure dayes sailing into habitable Gronland; and almost in the same quantitie of time we passe ouer to the prouince of Norway, called Stad, lying betweene the townes of Nidrosia or Trondon, [Footnote: Trondheim.] and Bergen, as we finde in the ancient records of these nations.
SECTIO SECUNDA.


Nullum esse hyemali solstitio diem, id est, tempus quo sol supra horizontem conspicitur in illo tantum Islandia angulo, si modo quis est, fatemur, vbi polus ad integros 67. gradus attollitur. Holis autem, qua est sedes Episcopalis Borealis Islandia, sita etiam in angustissima & profundissima conualle, latitudo est circiter grad. 65. 44. min. vt a Domino Gudbrando eiusdem loci Episcopo accepimus, & illic diem breuissimum habemus ad minimum duarum horarum, in meridionali autem Islandia longiorem, vt ex artificum tabulis videre est. Vnde constat nec Islandiam vltra Arcticum circulum positam esse, nec menses plures noctibus in astiuo, vel diebus in brumali solstitio carere.

The same in English.

THE SECOND SECTION.

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

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

[Sidenote: Musterus Saxo.] Nomen habet a glacie qua illi perpetuo ad Boream adheret Item. A latere Occidentali Noruagia Insula, qua Glacialis dicitur, magno circumfusa Oceano repentur, obsoleta admodum habitationis tellus, &c. Item, Hac est Thyle, nulli veterum non celebrata.

Nomen habet a glacie) Tria nomina consequenter sortita est Islandia. [Sidenote: Snelandia.] Nam qui omnium primus eius inuentor fuisse Naddocus genere Noruagus, cum versus insulas Farenses nauigaret tempestate valida, ad littora Islandia Orientalis forte appulit: vbi cui fuisset aliquot septime nasum socijs commoratus, animaduerit immodicam niuium copiam, montium quorundam cacumina obtengentem, atque ideo a niue nomen Insula Snelandia indixit. Hunc se pctus alter, Gardarus, fama quam de Islandia Naddocus attulerat impulsus, Insulam quasitum abijt, reperit, & nomen de suo nomine Gardarsholme id est, Gardars Insulaimposit. Quin & plures nouam terram visendi cupidissim: nam &post illos duos adhuc tertius quidam Noruagus (Foki nomen habuit) contulit se in Islandiam, illique a glacie qua viderat ipsam cingi nomen fecit.

Obsoleta admodum) Ego ex istis verbis Saxonis hanc sententiam nequaquam eruo, vt quidam, quod inde ab initio habitatam esse Islandiam, seu vt verbo dicam, Islandos autocthonas dicat, cum constet vix ante annos 718. incoli coeptam.

Hac est Thyle) Grammatici certant &adhuc sub iudice lis est. Quam tamen facile dirimi posse crediderim, si quis animaduertat, circa annum Domini 874. primum fuisse inhabitatam. Nisi quis dicere velit Thulen illum Agypti Regem, quem hoc ipsi nomen dedisse putant, ad Insulam iam tum incultam & inhabitatam penetrasse. Illud vero rursus si quis neget, per me sane licebit, vt illud sit quaddam quasi spectaculum, dum ita in contrarias scinduntur sententias. Vnus affirmat esse Islandiam. Alter quandam insulam, vbi arbores bis in anno fructificant. Tertius vnam ex Orcadibus, siue vitimam in ditione Scoti, vt Ioannes Myritius &alij, qui nomen illius referunt, Thylensey, quod etiam Virgilius per suam vltimam Thylen sensisse videtur. Siqidem utra Britannos, quo nomine Angli hodie dicti &Scoti veniunt, nullos populos statuerat. Quod vel ex illo Virgilij Eclog I. apparete:

Et penitus toto diuisos orbe Britannos.

Quartus vnam ex Farensibus. Quintus Telearchiam Noruagia. Sextus Schrichfinni.


The same in English.

THE THIRD SECTION.

It is named of the ice which continually cleaueth vnto the North part thereof. [Sidenote: Munsterus Saxo] Another writeth: From the West part of Norway there lieth an Iland which is named of the ice, enuironed with an huge sea, and being a countrey of ancient habitation, &c. Zieglerus.

This is Thyle [Footnote: Thule] whereof most of the ancient writers haue made mention.

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

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

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

And Britans whole from all the world diuided.

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

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


Grandis.) Wilstenius quidam, rector Schola OLDENBURGENSIS Anno 1591. ad auunculum meum in Islandia Occidentali misit breuem commentarium, quem ex scriptorum rapsodijs de Islandia collegerat. Vbi sic reperimus Islandia duplo maior Sicilia,&c. Sicilia autem secundum Munsterum 150. milliaria Germanica in ambitu habet. [Sidenote: Magnitudo Islandia.] Nostra vero Insula ambitus etsi nobis non est exacte cognitus, tamen vetus &constans opinio, &apud nostrates recepta 144. milliaria numerat per duodecim videlicet promontoria Islandia insigniora, qua singula 12. inter se milliaribus distent, aut circiter, qua collecta predictam summam ostendunt.

Populos multos.) Gysserus quidam, circa annum Domini 1090, Episcopus Schalholtensts in Islandia, omnes Insula colonos seu rusticos qui tantas facultates possiderent, vt regi tributum soluere tenerentur (reliquis pauperibus cum foemini &promiscuo vulgo omissis) lustrari curauit, reperitque in parte Insula Orientali 700, meridionali 1000, Occidentali 1100, Aquilonari 1200. Summa 4000. colonorum tributa soluentium. Iam si quis experiatur, inueniet Insulam plus dimidio fuisse inhabitatam.

The same in English.

THE FOURTH SECTION.

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

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

Many people, &c. One Gysserus about the yere of our Lord 1090, being bishop of Schalholten in Island, caused all the husbandmen, or countreymen of the Iland, who, in regard of their possessions were bound to pay tribute to the king, to be numbred (omitting the poorer sort with women, and the meaneer sort of the communally) and he found in the East part of Island 700, in the South part 1000, in the West part 1100, in the North part 1200, to the number of 4000. inhabitants paying tribute. Now if any man will trie, he shall finde that more then halfe the Iland was at that time vnpeopled. [Footnote: In 1875 the population was 69,800.]
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SECTIO QUINTA.

[Sidenote: Munst. Frisius, Ziegler.] Insula multa sui parte montosa est inculta. Qua parte autem plana est prastat plurimum pabulo, tam lato, vt pecus depellatur a pascuis, ne ab aruina suffocetur.

Id suffocationis periculum nullo testimomo, nec nostra nec patrum nostrorum, vel quam longe retro numeraris, memoria confirmari potest.

The same in English.

THE FIFTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: Munster. Frisius. Zieglerus.] The Iland, most part thereof, is mountainous and vntilled But that part which is plaine doth greatly abound with fodder, which is so ranke, that they are faine to driue their cattell from the pasture, least they surfet or be choaked.

That danger of surfetting or choaking was neuer heard tell of, in our fathers, grandfathers, great grandfathers or any of our predecessours dayes, be they neuer so ancient. [Footnote: In the tenth and eleventh centuries, corn and other crops seem to have been raised in considerable quantities, but at present only small crops of potatoes, turnips, and cabbages are grown. The pastures are good, and many horses, cattle, and sheep are reared.]
SECTIO SEXTA.


Miracula Islandia Munsterus &Frisius narraturi mox in vestibulo, magno suo cum incommodo impingunt. Nam quod hic de monte Hecla asserunt, etsi aliquam habet veritatis speciem, tamen quod idem de duobus alijs montibus perpetuo igne astuantes dicunt, manifeste errore est. Illi enim in Islandia non extant, nec quicquam, quod huic tanto scriptorum errori occasione dederit, imaginari possumus. Facta tamen est, sed nunc demum Anno 1581. ex monte quodam australis Islandia, maritimo, perpetuis niuibus &glacie obducto memorabilis fumi ac flamma eruptione, magna saxorum ac cineris copia eicta. Caterum ille mons longe est ab his tribus, quos authores commemorant, dieuressissimus. Porro etsi hac de montibus ignitis maxime vera narrarent, an non naturaliter ista contingent? An ad extruendum illam, qua mox in Munstero, Zieglero &Frisio sequitur, de orco Islandico opinionem aliud faciunt? Ego sane nefas esse duco, his vel similibus natura miraculis ab absurdum assenenda abut, vel hac tanquam impossibilitatem cum quadam impietate mirari. Quasi vero non concurreant in huiusmodi incendij causis ad hanc rem satis valida. Est in hortum montium radicibus materia vri aptissima, nempe sulphurea &bituminosa. Accedit aer per poros ac cauernas in terra viscera ingressus, ac illum maximi incendij fomitem exsufflantes vna cum nitro, qua exsufflatione tanquam follibus quibusdam, ardentissima excitatur flamma. Habet siquidem ignis, his ita conacnientibus, qua tria ad vrendum sunt necessaria, materiam scilicet, motum, &tandem penetrandi facultatem: Materiam quidem pinguem &humidam ideoque flammas diuurnas alentem: Motum prastat per terra cauernas admissus aer: Penetrandi facultatem facit ignis vis inuicta, sine respiraculo esse nescientis, &incredibili conatu violenter erumpentis, atque ita (non secus ac in cuniculis machinisue seu tormentis bellicos, globi ac ferro maximi, magno cum fragore ac strepitu, a sulphure &nitro, e quibus pyrius puluis conficitur, excitato, ejciuntur) lapides &Saxa in ista voragine ignita, ceu quodam camino, colique facta cum immodica arena &cinerum copia, exspuentis &eiaculantis, idque vt plurimum, non sine terramotu: qui si secundum profunditatem terra fiat, succussio a Possidoneo appellatur vel hiatus erit, vel pulsu. Hiatu terra dehiscit: pulsu eleatur intumesescens, &nonunquam, vt inquit Plinius [Sidenote: Lib. 2. cap. 20.], motes magnas egerit: Cuiusmodi terramotus iam mentionem fecimus, maritima Islandia Australis Anno 1581 infestantis quique a Pontano his verbis scitissime descriptur.

Ergo incerta ferens raptim vestigia, anhelus Spiritus incursat, nunc huc, nunc percitus illuc, Exploratque abitum insistens, &singula tentat, Si qua forte queat victis erumpere claustri. Interea tremit ingentem factura ruinam Terra, suis quatiens latas cum moenibus vrbes: Dissiliunt aualsa iugi immania saxa, &c.

Hac addere libuit, non quod cuiquam hac ignota esse existimemus; sed ne nos alij ignorare credant, atque ideo ad suas fabulas, quas hinc extruunt, confugere velle.

Caterum video quid iam mentionem fecimus, maritima Islandia Australis Anno 1581 infestantis quique a Pontano his verbis scitissime descriptur.

SECTIO SEXTA. 123
nisi rarissime erumpens, excelsa montis cacumina, qua niuibus obducentur, non collique faciat. Nam &in Caira,
altsima montis cacumina niuibus semper candentia esse perhibentur: &in Beragua quidem similiter, sed 5000
passuum in coelum elata, qua niuibus nunquam liberentur, cum tamen partibus tantum decem ab aquatore dient.
Vtramque hanc prouinciam iuxta Pariam esse sitam accepimus. Quid? quod illa Teneriffa (qua vna, est ex insulis
Canarijs, qua &fortunata) pyramis, secundum Munsterum, 8 aut 9 milliarium Germanicorum altitudine in aera
assurgens, atque instar Atna iugiter conflagrans, niues, quibus media cingitur, teste Benzone Italo, India
occidentalis Historico, non resolut. Quod ipsum in nostra Hecla quid est, quod magis miremur? Atque hac ita
breuiter de incendijs montanis.

Nunc illud quoque castigandum arbitramur, quod hos montes in coelum vsque attolli scribant. Habent enim
nullam pra cateris Islandia montibus notabilem altitudinem. Precipue tertius ille Helga a Munstero appellatus,
nobis Helgafel. i. Sacer mons, apud monasterium eiusdem nominis, nulla sui parts tempore astiuo niumus
obductus, nec montis excelsi, sed potius collis humiliis nomen meretur, nunquam, vt initio huius sectionis dixi, de
incendio suspectus. Nec vero perpetua niues Hecla, vel paucis alijis adscribi debebant: Permultos enim habet
eiusmodi montes niuosos Islandia, quos omnes vel toto anno, non facile collegerit aut connumerarit, horum
pradicator & admirator Cosmographus. Quin etiam id non negligenum, quod mons Hecla non occidentem
versus, vt a Munstero &Zieglero annotatum est, sed inter meridiem &orientem positis sit. Nec promontorium est:
sed mons fere mediterraneus.

[Sidenote: Annales Islandia.] Incendia perpetua ragi, &c. Quicunque perpetuam flammarum cructationem
Hecla adscripserunt, tuto coelo errarunt, adeo, vt quoties flammas eructarit, nostrates in annales retulerint, viz.
anno Christi 1104. 1105. 1107. 1109. 1111. 1122. 1300. 1314. 1362. &1389. Neque enim ab illo de montis incendio audire licuit,
vsque ad annum 1558. qua ultima fuit in illo monte eruption. Interea non nego, fieri posse, quin mons inferne
latentes intus flammas &incendia alat, qua videlicet statis interuallis, vt hactenus annotatum est, eruperint, aut
etiam forte posthac erumpant.

The same in English.

THE SIXTH SECTION

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

Munster and Frisius being about to report the woonders of Island doe presently stumble, as it were, vpon the
threshold to the great inconuenience of them both. For that which they heere affirmate of mount Hecla, although it
hath some shew of trueth: notwithstanding concerning the other two mountaines, that they should burne with
perpetuall fire, it is a manifest errour. For there are no such mountaines to be found in Island, nor yet any thing els
(so farre forthe as wee can imagine) which might minister occasion of so great an errour vnto writers. Howbeit
there was seene (yet very lately) in the yeere 1581 out of a certaine mountain of South Island lying neere the Sea,
and couered ouer with continuall snow and frost, a marueilous eruption of smoke and fire, casting vp abundance
of stones and ashes. But this mountain is farre from the other three, which the sayd authours doe mention.
Howbeit, suppose that these things be true which they report of firie mountaines: is it possible therefore that they
should seeme strange, or monstrous, whensas they proceed from naturall causes? What? Doe they any whit
prevail to establish that opinion concerning the hell of Island, which followeth next after in Munster, Ziegler, and
Frisius? For my part, I thinke it no way tollerable, that men should abuse these, and the like miracles of nature, to
auouch absurdities, or, that they should with a kinde of impietie woonder at them, as at matters impossible. As
though in these kindes of inflammations, there did not concurre causes of sufficient force for the same purpose.
There is in the rootes of these mountaines a matter most apt to be set on fire, comming so neere as it doeth to the
nature of brimstone and pitch. There is ayer also which insinuating it selfe by passages, and holes, into the very
bowels of the earth, doeth pufe vp the nourishment of so huge a fire, together with Salt−peter, by which pufing
(as it were with certeine bellowes) a most ardent flame is kindled. [Sidenote: Three naturall causes of firie

SECTIO SEXTA.
mountaines.] For, all these thus concurring fire hath those three things, which necessarily make it burne, that is to say, matter, motion, and force of making passage: matter which is fattié and moyst, and therefore nourisheth lasting flames: motion which the ayer doeth performe, being admitted into the caues of the earth: force of making passage, and that the inuincible might of fire it selfe (which can not be without inspiration of ayre, and can not but breake foorth with an incredible strength) doeth bring to passe: and so (euen as in vndermining trenches and engines or great warrelie ordainancie, huge yron bullets are cast foorth with monstrous roaring, and cracking, by the force of kindled Brimstone, and Salt−peeter, whereof Gunne−powder is compounded) chingle and great stones being skorched in that fiery gulfe, as it were in a furnace, together with abundance of sande and ashes, are vomitted vp and discharged, and that for the most part not without an earthquake which, if it commeth from the depth of the earth, (being called by Possidionius, Successio) it must either be either an opening or a quaking. Opening causeth the earth in some places to gape, and fall a sunder. By quaking the earth is heaued vp and swelleth, and sometimes (as Plinie saith) [Sidenote: Lib. 20. cap. 20.] casteth out huge heaps: such an earth−quake was the same which I euen now mentioned, which in the yere 1581 did so sore trouble the South shore of Island. And this kinde of earth−quake is most clearkely described by Pontanus in these verses:

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

I thought good to adde these things, not that I suppose any man to be ignorant thereof: but least other men should thinke that we are ignorant, and therefore that we will runne after their fables, which they do from hence establish. But yet there is somewhat more in these three famed mountaines of Island, which causeth the sayd writers not a little to woonder, namely whereas they say that their foundations are alwayes burning, and yet for all that, their toppes be neuer destitute of snowe. Howbeit, it beseemeth not the authority and learning of such great clearks to marueile at this, who can not but well know how the flames of mount Aetna, which (according to Plinie) being full of snowe all Winter, notwithstanding (as the same man witnesseth) it doth alwayes burne. Wherefore, if we will gue credit vnto them, euen this mountaine also, sithens it is couered with snowe, and yet burneth, must be a prison of vncleane soules: which thing they haue not doubted to ascribe vnto Hecla, in regard of the frozen top, and the fine bottome. What, if in Teneriffa (which is one of the Canarie or fortunate Islands) the Pike [Footnote: The Peak.] so called, arising into the ayre, according to Munster, eight or nine Germaine miles in height, and continually flaming like Aetna: yet (as Benzo an Italian, and Historiographer of the West Indies witnesseth) it is not able to melt the girdle of snowe embracing the middest thereof. Which thing, what reason haue we more to admire in the mountaine of Hecla? And thus much briefly concerning firie mountaines.

Now that also is to be amended, whereas they write that these mountaines are lifted vp euen vnsto the skies. For they haue no extraordinarie height beyond the other mountaines of Island, but especially that third mountaine, called by Munster Helga, and by vs Helgafel, that is the holy mount, standing iust by a monastery of the same name, being couered with snowe, vpon no part thereof in Summer time, neither deserueth it the name of an high mountaine, but rather of an humble hillocke, neuer yet as I sayd in the beginning of this section, so much as once suspected of burning. Neither yet ought perpetuall snowe to be ascribed to Hecla onely, or to a few others; for Island hath very many such snowy mountaines, all which the Cosmographer (who hath so extolled and admired these three) should not easily find out, and reckon vp in a whole yere. And that also is not to be omitted, that mount Hecla standeth not towards the West, as Munster and Ziegler haue noted, but betweene the South and the East: neither is it an headland, but rather a mid−land hill.
[Sidenote: The chronicles of Island.] Continueth alwayes burning &c. whosoeuer they be that haue ascribed vnto Hecla perpetuall belching out of flames, they are farre besides the marke: insomuch that as often as it hath bene enflamed, our countreymen haue recorded it in their yerely Chronicles for a rare accident: namely in the yeeres of Christ 1104, 1157, 1222, 1300, 1341, 1362, and 1389: For from that yeere we neuer heard of the burning of this mountaine vntill the yeere 1558, which was the last breaking forth of fire in that mountaine. In the meane time I say not that is impossible, but that the bottome of the hill may inwardly breed and nourish flames, which at certaine seasons (as hath bene heretofore obserued) haue burst out, and perhaps may do the like hereafter. [Footnote: The surface of the country is very mountainous, but there are no definite ranges, the isolated volcanic masses being separated by elevated plateaux of greater or less size. The whole centre is, in fact, an almost continuous desert fringed by a belt of pasture land, lying along the coast and running up the valleys of several of the greater riuers. This desert is occupied partly by snow mountains and glaciers, partly by enormous lava streams, partly by undulating plains of black volcanic sand, shingle, and loose stones. This region is of course without verdure, and entirely uninhabited. The rocks are all of igneous origin, but of very different ages, traps, basalts, amygdaloids, tufas, ochres, and porous lavas. The number of active volcanoes is, at present, not great, but hot springs and mud volcanoes testify to the existence of volcanic action along a line running from the extreme south west at Cape Reykjanes to the north coast near Husavik. The only recent well ascertained eruptions have been from Hecla, Aotlugja, Skaptar Vokul, and (in 1874−5) from the mountains to the south−east of Myratu Lake. The eruption of Skaptar in 1783 is the greatest anywhere on record in respect of the quantity of lava and ashes ejected. Earthquakes are not unfrequent. The greatest mountain group is the Vatna or Klofa Yokul, on the south coast, a mass of snow and ice covering many hundred square miles, and sending down prodigious glaciers which almost reach the sea. From one of these a torrent issues, little more than a hundred yards long, and a mile and a half broad. The line of perpetual snow ranges from 2,000 to 3,000 feet. The loftiest summits of this great mountain mass have never been ascended, but the highest point is believed to be the Orefa Yolcal, 6,405 feet. The other considerable peaks in different parts of the island are Herdubreidr (an extinct volcano), 5,290 feet, Eyjafjalla Yokul, 5,579 feet, Snafels Yokul, 5,965 feet, and Hecla, 5,095 feet.]}
SECTIO SEPTIMA.


Caterum ne audaculus videar, qui speculum illud Regale mendacij accusem; nullum vero ex his qua minus credibili affert, recenseam; Accipe horum paucam Lector, qua fidem minime mereri existimarim.


2. De altera Hybernia Insula, vbi homines emori nequeant.

3. De omni terra &omnibus arboribus Hybernia, qua omnibus omnino venenis resistant, serpentes &alia venenata, vbius terra, sola virtute & prasentia, etiam sine contactu, nescire.


6. De venatoribus Noruegia, qui lignum domare (sic enim loquitur, quantumuis improprie: cum ligno vt non vita, ita nec domitura competat) adeo docti sint, vt asseres 8. vlnas longi, plantis pedum eorundem alligati, tanta eos celeritate, vel in excelsis montibus, promoeuunt, vt non modo canum venaticorum, aut capreorum, sed etiam autium volatu superari nequeant: atque vnico cursu, vnico etiam huncam tradit, vt a continentino non discernas: In eius autem locum mox succeedere alteram, prioram, naturam, magnitudine &virtute consimilem: quae vnde veniat, nesciri: idque cum quodam quasi tonitru contingere.

Sed Frisium audiamus. Flamma, inquit, Montis Hecla nec stuppam, lucernarum luminibus aptissimam, adurit, nec aqua extinguitur. Atqui inquam, ex Schola vestra Philosophica petitis rationibus hoc Paradoxon confirmari poterit. Docent enim Physici, commune esse validioribus flammis omnibus vt siccis extinguantur, alantur vero humidis: Vnde etiam fabri, aqua inspersa, ignem excitare solent. Cum enim, aiunt, ardentiour fuerit ignis, a frigido incitatur, &ab humido alitur, quorum vtrumque aqua inest. Item: Aqua solet vehementes ascendere ignes; Quoniam humidum ipsum quod exhalat, pinguius redditur, nec a circumfuso fumo absurmitur, sed totum ignis ipse
SECTIO SEPTIMA. 128


Eo impetu quo apud nos globi. Sic enim Munsterus. [Sidenote: Frisius.] Mons ipse cum furit, inquit, horribilia tonitrua insonat, projicit ingentia Saxa, sulphur euomit, cineribus egestis, tam longe terram circumcincta operit, vt ad vicesimum lapidem colo non possit, &c. Caterum oportuit potius cum Ata, aut alijis montibus flammuoimuis, quos mox recitabo, comparasse, cum non deesset, non modo simile, sed prope idem: Nisi forte quod incendia rarius ex Hecla erumpant, quam alij id genus montibus. Nam proxunus 34. anni prorsus quieuit, facta videlicet vltima eruptione, An. 1558. vt superius annotauimus. Et nihil tam magnifice dici potest de nostra Hecla, quin idem, vel maius cateris montibus flammuois commodat, vt mox apparebit. Quod vero sulphur eiaculetur, manifestum est commentum nullo experimento apud nostrates cognitum.

Is locus est carcer sordidarum animarum. Hic praefandum esse mihi video, atque veniam a Lectoret petendam quod cum initio proposuerim, de terra & incolis diuisim agere in hac prima parte tamen, qua sunt merito secunda partis miscere coger. Euenit hoc scriptorum culpa, qui Insula situi ac miraculis, religionis incolarum particulam hanc, de opinione infernalis carceris, confuduerunt. Quare etiam vt hunc locum attingamus, quin non miretur isthoc commentum ab homine cordato in Historia positum esse? Quis non miretur, viros sapientes eo perduci, vt hac vulgi deliramenta auscultent, nedum sequantur? Vulgus enim extraneorum & hominum colluies nautica (hie enim saniores omnes tam inter nautas quam reliquos excipit,) de hoc insolito natura miraculo audiens, ingenito stupore, sed contra vim tempestatum, velis & remis nitentem: & fundamentum: Nempe cuidam extraneorum nauia Islandiam relinquenti & turgidis velis citissimo cursu iter suum priusquam longius procedamus, libet hic referre fabulam perlapeidam, huius opinionis infernalis originem Gregorius Pontifex. Purgatorium igitur est. Sit sane: Eadem igitur huius carceris veritas qua & purgatorij. Sed damnatorum, non in Atna etiam, nihilo minus ignibus ac incendijs celebri, confinxit dices, & materiatus ac visibilis, animas, substantias spirituales comburat. Quis denique non miretur cur eundem carcere maledicta optime assuefactum est) vnus alteri huius montis incendum imprecatur. Quasi vero ignis elementaris, quemadmodum in domesticis focis fieri consueuit. Atque hac persuasione vulgi fama inoleuit dum (vt ad istam, de carcere animarum, imaginationem fertur: Siquidem incendio nullam substerni materiam videt, quemadmodum in domesticis focis fieri, &c. Hic videns Lector vereor, ne peluim postulet dari: cuius praecondens tam seri in sola Hecla mirari (ponam enim iam ita esse, cum non sit tamen, quod a quoquam scire potuerim) quod multis aliarum terrarum partibus seu locis, tam montanis, quam campestribus, cum ea commune esset.

aut aqualas nidificare probabile est, qua, igni &fumo semper inimicissimo, potius a focis vel incendijs arceantur. Et nihilominus in huius rei testimonium, (vt &exauditi per voraginem montis tumultus extranei,) experientiam incolarum allegant, qua certe contraria omnia testantur. Vnde vero foramen vel fenestra illa montana, per quam clamores, strepitus &tumultus apud antipodes, periacos & antacos factos exaudiremus? De qua re multa essent, qua authorem istius mendacij interrogatum haberem, modo quid de illo nobis constaret: qui vtiam veriora narrare discat, nec tam perficta fronte similia, incomporta, atque, adeo incredibilia, clarissimo viro Peucero, aut alius referre prasumat.

Ast vero Munsterus cum incendij tanti &tam incredilis caussas in famosissima Atna inuestigare conatus sit, quam rem illic naturalem facit, hic vero praternaturalem imo infernalem faciat, an non monstri simile? Caterum de Athna quid dico? Quin potius videamus quid de Hecla incendio alias sentiat Munsterus.

[Sidenote: Munsterus Cosmograph. vniuersal. lib. 1. cap. 7.] Dubium non est, inquit, montes olim &campos arsisse in orbe terrarum: Et nostra quidem state ardent. Verbi gratia: In Islandia mons Hecla statis temporibus colis non possit. Vbi autem montium incendia perpetua sint, intellegimus nullam esse obstructionem meatum, per quos modo, quasi fluuium quendum, ignes, modo flammis, nunc vero fumum tantum euomunt. Sin per temporum interualla increascunt, internis meatis obstruaturis, eius vescera nihilominus ardent Superioris autem partis incendia, propter fomitis inopiam, non nihil remittunt ad tempus. Ast vbi spiritus vehementior, rursus eclatatis meatis ipsius iliis vel aliis, ex carcere magna vi erumpit, cineres, arenam, sulphur, pumices, massa, qua habent speciem ferri, saxa, aliasque materias foras proijicit, non sine detrimento regionis adiacentis. Hac Munsterus. Vbi vides quas Lector, quomodo suo se iugulet gladio, vides inquam hic eadem de incendio Hecla & Atna opinionem &sententiam, qua tamen lib 4. eiusdem, admodum est dispar, vt illic ad causas infernales confugiat.

Habet profecto India occidentalis mons quidam flammiuomus aquiores multo, quam hic noster censores &historicos, minime illic barathrum exadificantes: Cuius historiam, quia &breuis est, &non illepida, subijciam, ab Hieronimo Benzone Italo in Historiar noui orbis, lib. 2. his verbis descriptam.


The same in English.

THE SEUENTH SECTION.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5. Of a fourth Isle of Ireland floating vp and downe in an huge lake, the grasse whereof is a most present remedy for all kinde of diseases, and that the Iland, at certeine seasons, especially on Sundayes, commeth to the banke of the lake, so that any man may then easily enter into it, as it were into a shippe: which notwithstanding (sayth he) destiny will not suffer any more then one to enter at a time. Furthermore he reporteth that this Island euery seuenth yere growth fast to the banke, so that you cannot discerne it from firme land: but that into the place thereof there succeedeth another, altogether like the former, in nature, quantitie, and vertue: which, from what place it commeth, no man can tell: and that all this happeneth with a kinde of thundering.
6. Of the hunters of Norway who are so expert to tame wood (for so he speaketh very improperly, whereas vnto wood neither life nor taming can be ascribed) that wooden pattens of eight elnes long being bound to the soles of their feet do cary them with so great celeritie euen vpon hie mountaines, that they cannot be outrun, either by the swiftnes of hounds and deere, or yet by the flying of birds. And that they will kill nine roes or more at one course &with one stroke of a dart.

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

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

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

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

This place is the prison of uncleane soules. Here I am constrained to vse a preface, and to craue pardon of the Reader, because, whereas in the beginning I propounded vnto my selfe to treat of the land, and of the inhabitants distinctly by themselues, I must of necessitie confusedly handle certaine matters in this first part, which do properly belong vnto the second. This is come to passe through the fault of these writers, who have confounded this part of the inhabitants religion concerning the opinion of hell, or of the infernall prison, with the situation &miracles of the island. Wherfore that we may come to this matter, who can but wonder that wise men should be
betweene times the fire encreaseth, all secret passages being shut vp, the inner parts of the mountaine are
poure forth abundance of fire sometime flaming, &sometime smoaking gas it were a streaming flood. But if
where mountaines do continually burne we vnderstand that there is no stopping of the passages, wherby they
disperseth ashes, for such a distance round about, that the land cannot be inhabited within 20. miles thereof. But
example: mount Hecla in Island at certaine seasons casteth abroad great stones, spitteth out brimstone, and
mountaines and fields burned in old time throughout the whole world: and in this our age do burne. As for
\[Sidenote: Munsterus Cosmograph. vniuersalis lib. 1. cap. 7.\] It is without doubt (saith he) that some
another place thinketh of the burning of Hecla.

imagine to be preternaturall, yea infernal? But why do I speake of Aetna? Let vs rather consider what Munster in
famous hill Aetna, is it not monstrous that the very same thing which he there maketh natural, he should here
knowledged, & miserable yellings, that the noise of the cryers may be heard for the space of a great league round
about. Great swarmes of vugly blacke Rauens and Vultures lie hooeuring about this place which are thought of the
inhabitantes to nestle there. The common people of that countrey are verily perswaded, that there is a descent
downe into hell by this gulf: and therefore when any battailes are foughten else where, in whatsoever part of the
whole world, or any bloudie slaughters are committed, they haue learned by long experience, what horrible
tumults and out−cryes, what monstrous skritches are heard round about this mountaine. Who durst be so bold
(most learned Sir) to bring such an incredible report to your eares: Neither hath Island any Vultures, but that
firie torments of this mountaine. As though elementarie, materiall and visible fire could consume mens soules
being spirituall, bodiless and invisuable substances. And to be short, who can but woonder, why they should not
faine the same prison of damned soules, aswell in mount Aetna, being no lesse famous for fires and inflamations
then this: But you will say, that Pope Gregorie fained it so to be. Therefore it is purgatorie. I am content it should
be so: then there is the same trueth of this prison that there is of purgatorie. But before I procede any further I
thinke it not amisse to tell a merie tale, which was the originall and ground of this hellish opinion: namely that a
ship of certaine strangers departing from Island, vnder full saile, a most swift pace, going diectly on her course,
met with another ship sailing against winde &weather, and the force of the tempest as swiftly as themselues, who
hailing them of whence they were, answere was given by their govenour, De Bischop van Bremen: being the
second time asked whether they were bound: he answered, Thom Heckelfeld tho, Thom Heckelfeld tho. I am
affeard lest the reader at the sight of these things should call for a bason: for it is such an abominable lie, that it
would make a man cast his gorge to heare it. Away with it therefore to fenny frogs, for we esteeme no more of it,
then of their croaking coax coax. Nay, it is so palpable that it is not worthy to be smiled at, much lesse to be
refuted. But I will not trifle any longer with the fond Papists: let vs rather come vnto our owne writers.

And first of all I cannot here omit a saying of that most worthie man Doctor Caspar Peucer. There is in Islande
(quoth he) mount Hecla, being of as dreadful a depth as any vaste gulf, or as hell it selfe, which resoundeth with
lamentable, & miserable yellings, that the noise of the cryers may be heard for the space of a great league round
about. Great swarmes of vugly blacke Rauens and Vultures lie hooeuring about this place which are thought of the
inhabitantes to nestle there. The common people of that countrey are verily perswaded, that there is a descent
downe into hell by this gulf: and therefore when any battailes are foughten else where, in whatsoever part of the
whole world, or any bloudie slaughters are committed, they haue learned by long experience, what horrible
tumults and out−cryes, what monstrous skritches are heard round about this mountaine. Who durst be so bold

most learned Sir) to bring such an incredible report to your eares: Neither hath Island any Vultures, but that
second kinde of Eagles, which Plinie noted by their white tayles, and called them Pygarsi: neither are there any
with vs, that can beare witnesse of the foresaid spectacle: nor yet is it likely that Rauens and Eagles would nestle
in that place, when as they should rather be driuen from thence by fire and smoke, being things most contrarie to
their nature. And yet notwithstanding for prove of this matter, as also of a strange tumult heard within the hollow
of the mountaine, they allege the experience of the inhabitantes, which indeede testifieth all things to the contrarie.
But whereabout should that hole or windowe of the mountaine be, by the which we may heare outcries, noyse and
tumults done among them, who inhabite the most contrarie, distant, and remote places of the earth from vs:
Concerning which thing I would aske the author of this fable many questions, if I might but come to the
knowledge of him: in the meane time I could wish that from hencefoorth he would learne to tell troth, &not
presume with so impudent a face to enforme excellent Peucer, or others, of such vnknowen and incredible
matters.

But to returne to Munster, who endeouering to search out the causes of the great and strange fire of that
famous hill Aetna, is it not monstrous that the very same thing which he there maketh natural, he should here
imagine to be preternaturall, yea infernal? But why do I speake of Aetna? Let vs rather consider what Munster in
another place thinketh of the burning of Hecla.

[Sidenote: Munsterus Cosmograph. vniuersalis lib. 1. cap. 7.] It is without doubt (saith he) that some
mountaines and fields burned in old time throughout the whole world: and in this our age do burne. As for
example: mount Hecla in Island at certaine seasons casteth abroad great stones, spitteth out brimstone, and
disperseth ashes, for such a distance round about, that the land cannot be inhabited within 20. miles thereof. But
where mountaines do continually burne we vnderstand that there is no stopping of the passages, wherby they
poure forth abundance of fire sometime flaming, &sometime smoaking gas it were a streaming flood. But if
betweene times the fire encreaseth, all secret passages being shut vp, the inner parts of the mountaine are
notwithstanding enflamed. The fire in the upper part, for want of matter, somewhat abateth for the time. But when a more vehement spirit (the same, or other passages being set open again) doth with great violence breake prison, it casteth forth ashes, sand, brimstone, pumistones, lumps resembling iron, great stones, & much other matter, not without the damage of the whole region adjoyning. Thus farre Munster. Where consider (good Reader) how he cutteth his throat with his owne sword, consider (I say) that in this place there is the very same opinion of the burning of Hecla, & the burning of Aetna, which notwithstanding in his 4. booke is very diuere, for there he is faine to run to infernall causes. A certaine fierie mountaine of West India hath farre more friendly censurers, & historiographers then our Hecla, who make not an infernall gulfe thereof. The History of which mountain (because it is short & sweeter) I will set downe, being written by Hieronimus Benzo an Italian, in his history of the new world, lib. 2. These be the words. “About 35. miles distant from Leon there is a mountaine which at a great hole belcheth out such mightie balles of flames, that in the night they shine farre and neare, aboue 100. miles. Some were of opinion that within it was molten gold ministring continuall matter & nourishment for the fire. Hereupon a certain Dominic Frier, determining to make trial of the matter, caused a brasse kettle, & an iron chain to be made: afterward ascending to the top of the hill with 4. other Spaniards, he lette downe the chaine & the kettle 140. elnes into the fornace: there, by extreme heate of the fire, the kettle, & part of the chaine melted. The monke in a rage ran back to Leon, & chid the smith, because he had made the chaine far more slender then himselfe had commanded. The smith hammers out another of more substance & strength then the former. The Monke returns to the mountains, and lets downe the chaine & the cauldron: but with the like success that he had before. Neither did the caldron only vanish & melt away: but also, vpon the sudden there came out of the depth a flame of fire, which had almost consumed the Frier, & his companions. Then they all returned so astonished, that they had small list afterward to prosecute that attempt, &c.” What great difference is there betweene these two censures? In a fiery hill of West India they search for gold: but in mount Hecla of Island they seeke for hel. Howbeit they wil perhaps reject this as a thing too new, & altogether unknown to ancient writers. Why therefore haue not writers imagined the same prison of soules to be in Chimara an hill in Lycia (which, by report, flameth continually day and night) that is in mount Hecla of Island? Why haue they not imagined the same to be in the mountaines of Ephesus, which being touched with a burning torch, are reported to conceiue so much fire, that the very stones & sand lying in the water are caused to burne, & from the which (a staffe being burnt vpon them, & trailed after a man on the ground) there proceede whole riuers of fire, as Plinie testifieth? Why not in Cophantrus a mountaine of Bactria, always burning in the night? Why not in the Isle of Hiera, flaming in the midst of the sea? Why not in Aeolia in old time likewise burning for certaine daies in the midst of the sea? Why not in the field of Babylon burning in the day season? Why not in the fields of Aethiopia glittering alwaies like stars in the night? Why not in the hill of Lipara opening with a wide and bottomlesse gulfe (as Aristotle beareth record) whereunto it is dangerous to approch in the night: from whence the sound of Cymbals and the noise of rattles, with vnwonted and vncoth laughters are heard? Why not in the field of Naples, neare vnto Putheoli? Why not in the Pike of Teneriffa before mentioned, like Aetna continually burning and casting vp stones into the aier, as Munster himselfe witnesseth? Why not in that Aethiopian hill, which Plinie affirmeth to burne more then all the former? And to conclude, why not in the mountaine of Vesuuius, which (to the great damage of al the country adioyning, & to the utter destruction of Caius Pliniius prying into the causes of so strange a fire) vomiting out flames as high as the clouds, filling the aire with great abundance of pumistones, and ashes, & with palpable darknesse intercepting the light of the sunne from al the region therafter? I wil speake, & yet speake no more then the truth: because in deede they foresaw, that men would yeed no credite to those things as being too well knowen, though they should haue feined them to haue beene the flames of hell: but they thought the burning of Hecla (the rumour whereof came more slowly to their cares) to be fitter for the establishing of this fond fable. But get ye packing, your fraud is found out: leaue off for shame hereafter to perswade any simple man, that there is a hel in mount Hecla. For nature hath taught both vs & others (maugre your opinion) to acknowledge her operations in these fire workes, not the fury of hell. But now let vs examine a few more such fables of the common people, which haue so unhappily misledd our historiographers & cosmographers.
SECTIO OCTAUA.

[Sidenote: Frisius Zieglerus, Olaeus Magn.] Iuxta hos montes (tres pradictos Heclam, &c.) sunt tres hiatus immanes, quorum altitudinem apud montem Heclam potissimum, ne Lynceus quidem perspicere queat: Sed apparent ipsum inspicientibus, homines primum submersi, adhuc spiritum exhalantes, qui amicis suis, vt ad propria redeant, hortantibus, magnis suspirijis se ad montem Heclam pro ficisci debere respondent: Sicque subito euanescunt.

Ad confirmandum superius mendacium de Inferno terrestri ac visibili, commentum hoc, non minus calumniosum (etsi facile largiar, Frisium non tam calumniandi, in lacu infernali natatantes, nihilominus cum notis &amicis confabulantes? Anne nobis veterem Orphea, cum sua Euridice, in Stygius relabente vndas, colloquentem, & in his extremi orbis partibus, tanquam ad Tanaim Hebrumque nivalem, cantus exercentem lysium, rediuiuum dabitis? Certe, etsi nolint alij futilem huiusmodi ineptiarum leuitatem ac mendacium agnoscere, agnouit tamen rerum omnium hauad negligens astimator Cardanus, lib. 18. subtil. cuius hac sunt verba.

Est Hecla mons in Islandia, ardetque non aliter ac Atna in Sicilia per interualla, ideoque persuasione longa (vulgi) concepta, quod ibi expientur animaa. Alij, ne vani sint, affingunt inania fabula, vt consona videantur. Qua sunt autem illa inania? Quod spectra comminiscuntur, se ad montem Heclam ire respondentia, ait idem. Et addit.

Caterum optandum esset, nullos tanto nouitatis studio Historias scribere, vt non vereantur aniles quasuis nugas ijs inserere, atque ita aurum purum coeno aspergere. Qui vero demum sunt homines illi submersi, in lacu infernali natantes, nihilominus cum notis &amicis confabulantes? Anne nobis veterem Orphea, cum sua Euridice, in Stygius relabente vndas, colloquentem, & in his extremi orbis partibus, tanquam ad Tanaim Hebrumque nivalem, cantus exercentem lysium, rediuiuum dabitis? Certe, etsi nolint alij futilem huiusmodi ineptiarum leuitatem ac mendacium agnoscere, agnouit tamen rerum omnium hauad negligens astimator Cardanus, lib. 18. subtil. cuius hac sunt verba.

Hac ex Cardano adscribere libuit, vt etiam extraneorum testimonia pro nobis, contra figmenta tanta afferamus. Conuincit autem praesens Cardani locus hac duo, scilicet: nec esse Islandia proprias spectrorum apparitiones: (quod etiam omnes norunt, nisi eius rei ignorantiam nimis affectent) nec illud mortuorum cum viuis, in hiatu Heclensi, colloquium, nisi ementitis hominem fabulam, quasuis amplexam vani orbis, niti, quibus belua vulgares, ad confirmandam de animarum cruciatibus opinionem, vsa fuerant. Et quisquam est, qui illis scriptorum hiatus, mortuorum miraculis ad summum vsumque refertis, adduci potest vt credat? Quisquam, qui vanitatem tantam non cotemnate? Certe. Nam &hinc conuicium in gentem nostram recte sumi aiunt: Nihil scilicet hac proiectius ac deterius
esse vsquam, qua intra limites Orcum habeat. Scilicet hoc commodi nobis peperit Historiorum ad res nouas diuulgandas auditas. Verum illa e vulgi dementia nata opinio, vt stulta ac inanis, &in opprobrium nostra gentis conficta, hactenus, vt spero, satis labefactata est. Quare iam perge Lector, vilterius hanc de secretis infernalibus Philosophiam cognoscere.

The same in English.

THE EIGHT SECTION.

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

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

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

I thought good to write these things out of Cardane, that I may bring euen the testimony of strangers on our sides, against such monstrous fables. This place of Cardane implieth these two things, namely that apparitions of sprights are not proper to Island alone (which thing al men know, if they do not maliciously feigne themselues to be ignorant). And secondly that that conference of the dead with the liuing in the gulfe of Hecla is not grounded upon any certainty, but only vpon fables coined by some idle persons, being more vaine then any bubble, which the brutish common sort haue vsed, to confirme their opinion of the tormenting of soules. And is there any man so fantastical, that wilbe induced to beleue these gulfes, mentioned by writers, to be any where extant, although they be newer so ful of dead mens miracles? yea doubtlesse. For from hence also they say, that reproches are iustly vsed against our nation: namely that there is nothing in all the world more base, &worthlesse then it, which containeth hell within the bounds therof. This verely is the good that we haue gotten by those historiographers, who haue bin so greedy to publish nouelties. But this opinion, bred by the sottishnes of the common people hath hitherto (as I hope) bene sufficiently ouerthrown as a thing foolish &vaine, and as being devised for the vpbrayding of our nation. Wherefore, proceede (friendly Reader) and be farther instructed in this philosophy of infernall secrets.

SECTIO NONA.

[Cidenote: Frisius & Munst.] Circum vero Insulam, per septem aut octo menses fluctuat glacies, miserabilem quendam gemitum, &ab humana voce non alienum, ex collisione edens. Putant incola, &in monte Hecla, &in glacie loca esse, in quibus anima suorum crucientur.


Sed mature pravidendum erit vobis, ne Islandi fortitudinis &constantia laudem vestris nationibus praripiant: Quippe qui tormenta (vt historicis vestris placet) barathri sustinuisse &velint &possint, illaque sine vlo grauiore damno perrumpere atque effugere valeant, quod quidem ipsum ex iam dictis efficitur: Et multos nostratium enumerare possunt, qui in ipso versionis actu longiusculae a littore digressi, glacie a Zephyris dissipata, multa milliaria glaciei insidentes, tempestatis violentia profligati, &aliquot dies ac noctes continuas crudelissimi pelagi fluctibus iactati, sicque (id enim, inquam, ex praebenti Historicorum problemate consequitur) tormenta &crudiciae barathri glacialis experti sunt: Qui tandem mutata tempestate, atque a Borea spirantibus ventis, ad littora, cum hoc suo glaciali nauigio rursus adacti, incolument domum peruenerunt: Quorum aliqui etiam viuo, etiam die eorum, quam nos nostri historici indicamus, tempore et stoicis declarentur. Nec enim vanissima illa commenta aliter, quam si eis qui in hanc glaciem incidunt, &supererunt ad terram, securum &videndum sed atque etiam esse carere eam, quam nos nostri historici indicamus, tempore et stoicis despertentur. Nec enim vanissima illa commenta aliter, quam si eis qui in hanc glaciem incidunt, &supererunt ad terram, securum &videndum sed atque etiam esse carere eam, quam nos nostri historici indicamus, tempore et stoicis despertentur.

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ergastulo transferri. Scimus & tenemus de impiorum animabus, non in montanos focos & cineres, vel glaciem nostris oculis expositam, deflectere, sed in extrems mox abripi tenebras, vbi est fletus & stridor dentium, vbi est frigus, vbi est ignis ille, non vulgaris, sed extra nostram scientiam & subtilem disputationem positus. Vbi non modo corpora, sed anima etiam, i.e. substania spirituales, cruciantur. Huic extremo & tenebricoso carceri non Islandos viciniorem, quam Germanos, Danos, Gallos, Italos, aut quamuis aliam gentem, quod loci situm, statuimus. Nec de huius carceris loci situm, quia non modo corpora, sed anima etiam, i.e. substantia spirituales, cruciantur. Huic extremo & tenebricoso carceri non Islandos viciniorem, quam Germanos, Danos, Gallos, Italos, aut quamuis aliam gentem, quod loci situm, statuimus. Nec de huius carceris loco situm quicquam disputare attinet: sufficit nobis abunde, quod illius tenebricosum foetorem & reliqua tormenta, dante & iuuante Domino nostro Iesu Christo, cuius precioso sanguine redempti sumus, nonquam sumus visuri aut sensuri. Atque hic de orco Islandico disputationis colophon esto.

The same in English.

THE NINTH SECTION.

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

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

But you had need wisely to foresee, lest the Islanders beguile all your countries of the commendation of courage & constacy: namely, as they (for so it pleaseth your writers to report) who both can and will endure the torments of hell, & who are able to breake through & escape them, without any farther hurt: which thing is necessarily to be collected out of that, that hath bin before mentioned. [Sidenote: Westerne winds disperse the ice.] And I am able to reckon vp a great many of our countnmen who in the very act of hunting, wandring somewhat farre from the shoare (the ice being dispersd by westerne winds) & for the space of many leagues resting vpon the ice, being chased with the violence of the tempest, & some whole daies & nights being tossed vp & downe in the waues of the raging sea, & so (for it followeth by good consequence out of this probleme of the historiographers) haue had experience of the tormentes, & paines of this hell of ice. Who at the last, the weather being changed, & the winds blowing at the North, being transported again to the shoare, in this their ship of ice, haue returned home in safety: some of which number are aliue at this day. Wherefore let such as be desirous of newes snatch vp this, & (if they please) let them frame a whole volume hereof, & adde it to their history. Neither do these vaine phantasies deserue otherwise to be handled & confuted, then with such like meriments, & sportings. But to lay aside all iesting, let vs returne to the matter from whence we are digressed. [Sidenote: Ice floathet not 7. or 8. moneths about Island.] First of all therefore it is euident enough out of the second section, viz. ice floathet not about this Iland, neither 8. nor 7. moneths in a yere then, that this ice (although at some times by shuffling together it maketh monstrous soundings & cracklings, & againe at some times with the beating of the water, it sendeth forth an hoarse kind of murmuring) doth any thing at all resound or lament, like unto mans voice, we may in no case confesse. But wheras they say that, both in the Isle, and in mount Hecla we appoint certaine places, wherin the soules of our countrinmen are tormented, we vtterly stand to the deniall of that and we thanke God & our Lord Jesus Christ from the botome of our hearts (who hath deliuered vs from death & hell, & opened vs vs the gate of the kingdome of heaan because he hath instructed vs more truly, concerning the place, whether the soules of our deceased countrinmen depart, then these historiographers doe tell vs. We know and maintain that the soules of the godly are transported immediatly out of their bodily prisons, not into the Papists purgatory, nor into the
Elysian fields, but into Abrahams bosome, into the hand of God, & into the heauenly paradise. We know &maintaine concerning the soules of the wicked, that they wander not into the fires &ashes of mountaines or into visible ice, but immediatly are carried away into vter dunkenesse, where is weeping &gnashing of teeth, where there is colde also, &fire not comon, but far beyond our knowledge &curious disputation. Where not onely bodies, but soules also, that is spirituall substances are tormented. And we do also hold, that the Islanders are no whit nearer vnto this extreame &darke prison, in regard of the situation of place, then the Germans, Danes, Frenchmen, Italians, or any other nation whatsoever. Neither is it any thing to the purpose, at all to dispute of the place or situation of this dungeon. It is sufficient for vs, that (by the grace and assistance of our Lord Iesus Christ, with whose precious blood we are redeemed) we shall neuer see that vter dunkenesse, nor feele the rest of the torments that be there. Now let vs here shut vp the disputation concerning the hell of Island.

SECTIO DECIMA.

[Siidenote: Frisius, Zieglerus Saxo fere similiter.] Quod si quis ex hac glacie magnam partem ceperit, eamque vasi ant scrinio inclusam, quam diligentissime asseruarit, illa tempore glaciei, qua circum insulam est, degelantis, euanescent, vt neque minima eius particula vel guttula aqua reperiatur.

Id profecto necessario addendum fuit: Hanc scilicet glaciem, voces humanas, secundum Historicos, representatatem, &damnatorum receptaculum existentem, non esse, vt reliqua in vastissima hac vniiuritate omnia, ex Elementi aliquis materia conflatam. Siquidem cum corpus esse videatur, corpus tamen non sit, (quod ex Frisij paradoxo recte deducitur) cum etiam corpora dura & solida perrumpat, non secus ac, spectra &genij: Restat igitur cum non sit elementaris natura, vt vel spiritualem habeat materiam, vel coelestem, vel quod ipsi forsan largiantur, infernalem. Infernalem tamen esse non assentiemur, quia ad aures nostras peruenit frigus infernale longe esse intractabilius, quam est hac glacies, humanis manibus in scrinio reposita, nec quicquam suo contactu, vel nudatam carnem ladere valens. Nec profecto spiritualem esse dabimus; accepimus enim a Physicis, substantias spirituales nec cerni, nec tangi, nec cerni quicquam decedere posse: qua tamen omnia in hanc historicorum glaciem, quantumuis, secundum illos, hyperphysicam, cadere certum &manifestum est. Praterea &hoc verissimum est, eam calore solis resolutam, ac in superficie sua stagnantem, siti piscatorum restinguenda, non secus ac riuos terrestres, inseruire: Id quod substantia spirituali denegatum est. Non est igitur spiritualis, vt nec infernalis. Iam vero coelestem habere materiam, nemo audebit dicere: Ne forte inde aliquis suspicetur, glaciem hanc barathrum, quod illi Historici affingunt, secum e coelo traxisse: Vel id coelo, quippe eiusdem materia cum glacie, commune esse, atque ita carcer damnatorum cum Paradiso coelesti loca commutasse, Historicorum culpa putetur.

Quare cum glacies hac Historica nec sit elementaris, vt ex prasenti loco Frisij optime sequi iam toties monuimus: nec spiritualis, nec infernalis, quod vtrumque breuibus, solidis tamen rationibus demonstrauimus: nec coelestis materia, quod opinari religio vetat: relinquitur omnino, vt secundum eosdem historicos nulla sit, quam tamen illi tam cum stipenda admiracione pradicant, &nos videri ac tangi putamus. Est igitur, &non est: Quod axioma vbi secundum idem, &ad idem, &eodem tempore, verum esse poterit, nos demum miraculis istis glacialibus credimus. Itaque iam vides Lector, ad hac refellenda nullo alio esse opus, quam monstrari quomodo secum dissideant. Sed haud mirum, eum qui semel vulgi fabulosis rumoribus se cernisit, sapius errare. Cuiusmodi etiam prodidit quidam de glaciei huius Sympathia, quod videlicet molis, cuius pars esset, discersum insequeueretur, vt omnem observationis diligentiam ineuitabili fuga necessitate deciperet. Atqui sape idemius eiusmodi solitariam molem post abactam reliquam glaciem, nullis vectibus nullis machinis detentam, ad littus multis septimanis consistere. Palam est igitur, illud de glacie miraculum fundamento niti, quam est ipsa glacies, magis lubrico.

The same in English.

THE TENTH SECTION.

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

Surely, this was of necessity to be added: namely, that this ice, which according to historiographers representeth mans voice, &is the place of the damned, doth not as all other things in this wide world, consist of
the matter of some element. For whereas it seemeth to be a body, when indeed it is no body: (which may directly
be gathered out of Frisius absurd opinion) whereas also it pierceth through hard &solide bodies, no otherwise then
spirits &ghosts: therefore it remaineth, seeing it is not of an elementary nature, that it must haue either a spirituall,
or a celestial, or an infernall matter. But that it should be infernall, we can not be perswaded, because we haue
heard that infernall cold is farre more vnsufferable then this ise, which vseth to be put into a boxe with mens
hands, &is not of force any whit to hurt euen naked flesh, by touching thereof. Nor yet will we grant it to be
spirituall: for we haue learned in naturall Philosophy, that spiritual substances can neither be seene nor felt,
&cannot haue any thing taken from them: all which things do notwithstanding most manifestly agree to this ise of
the Historiographers, howsoever according to them it be supernatural. Besides also, it is most true, that the very
same yse being melted with the heat of the sunne, &resolued into water, vpon the vpper part therof, standeth
fishermen in as good stead to quench their thirst, as any land−riuer would do, which thing can no way be ascribed
to a spirituall substance. It is not therefore spirituall, nor yet infernall. Now none wilbe so bold to affirme, that it
hath celestiall matter, least some man perhaps might hereupon imagine, that this ise hath brought hell (which the
historiographers annexe vnto it) downe from heauen together with it selfe: or that the same thing should be
common vnto heauen, being of one &the same matter with ise, &so that the prison of the damned may be thought
to haue changed places with the heauenly paradise, &all by the oversight of these Historiographers. Wherfore
seeing the matter of this historicall ise is neither elementarie (as we haue so often proued by this place of Frisius)
neither spirituall, nor infernall, both which we haue concluded evidentely in short, yet sound and substancial
reasons: nor yet celestiall matter, which, religion forbiddeth a man once to imagine: it is altogether manifest, that
according to the said historiographers, there is no such thing at all, which notwithstanding they blaze abroad with
such astonishing admiration, &which we thinke to be an ordinary matter commonly seene and felt. Therefore it is,
and it is not: which proposition when it shall fall out true, in the same respect, in the same part, and at the same
time, then will we giue credite to these frozen miracles. Now therefore the Reader may easily iudge, that wee
need none other helpe to refute these things, but onely to shew how they disagree one with another. But it is no
maruell that he, which hath once enclined himselfe to the fabulous reports of the common people, should
oftentimes fall into error. There was a like strange thing inuented by another concerning the sympathy or
conioping of this ise: namely, that it followeth the departure of that huge lumpe, whereof it is a part, so narrowly,
&so swiftly, that a man by no diligence can obserue it, by reason of the vnchangeable necessitie of following. But
we haue oftentimes seene such a solitarie lumpe of ise remaining (after the other parts thereof were driuen away)
and lying vpon the shore for many weeke together, without any posts or engines at all to stay it. Therefore it is
plaine that these miracles of ise are grounded vpon a more slippery foundation then ise it selfe.
SECTIO VNDECIMA.


Etiam hac fontium topographia satis aperte monstrat, quam ex impuro fonte has suas narrationes omnes miraculosas hauserit Geographus. Id enim dicere videtur: Montes hos tres pradictos fere, contiguos esse: Siquidem tribus montibus quatuor fontes indiscrete adscribit. Alioqui si non vicinos statuisset, vni alicui horam duo fontes adscripsisset. Sed neque hi montes contigui sunt (quippe multis milliaribus inuicem dissiti) neque iuxta hos fontes illi quatuor reperiuntur: quod, qui credere nolit, experiatur. Caterum ad hac confundenda sufficit, credo, ipsorum historicorum contrarietas. Nam de duobis fontibus quidam Frisio his verbis contradicit. Erumpunt ex codem monte (Hecla) fontes duo, quorum alter equarum frigiditate, alter feruore intolerabili exedit omnem elementarem vim. Hi duo sunt prii illi Frisij fontes, nisi quod hic miraculum indurandi corpora, alteri fontium attributum, omissum sit. Atqui non simul possunt ex ipso monte, &iuxta montem erumpere.


Baiano sed ne fumare in littore thermas
Mirere, aut liquidis flu Tate incendia venis:
Vulcai fora sulphureis incensa caminis
Ipsa monent, late multum tellure sub ima
Debacchari ignem, camposque exurere opertos.
Inde fluitt, calidum referens ex igne vaporem,
Vnda fugax, tectis furent &balnea flammis.

Hoc loco attingendum duxi quod tradit Saxo Grammaticus, Danorum celebriassimus historicus, Islandia


Flumen habent Cicones, quod potum saxea reddit
Viscera, quod tactis inducit marmora rebus.


Secundus algoris intolerabitis. Quantum ad secundum fontem attinet, nullus hic est quod quisquam sciatur, algoris intolerabilis, sed plurimi bene frigidi, ita vt vulgaribus riuis astuiu sole tepescentibus, non sine voluptate ex frigidoribus illis aquam hauriantur. Sunt & longe frigidiores forte alibi: Nam & Cardanus in agro Corinthio et montis vertice fluentem riuum commemorat, niue frigidior: Et intra primum a Culma lapidem, Insanam vocatum: qua aqua cum feruere videat, ut tamen longe frigidissima, &c.

Tertius vel melle dulcior. Neque id prorsus verum est. Non enim est vltus apud nos, qui vel minima ex parte cum melis dulcedine conferri possit. Rectius igitur Saxo, qui fontes (quoniam plures sunt) in Islandia dicit inueniri Cerealem referentes liquorem, ut etiam ibidem non diversi saporis solum, sed diversi etiam coloris fontes & flumina reperiantur.


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

SECTIO VNDECIMA.

Iam de aqua coloribus ita Cardanus. Eadem est ratio colorum aqua, ait, qua &saporum: videlicet a terra originem trahere. Nam Candida est aqua, ad secundum lapidem a Glauca, Misena oppido: Rubea, vt in Radera Misena fluuo, iuxta Radeburgum: Et olim in Iudaia iuxta Ioppem: Viridis, in Carpus monte, iuxta Neusolam: Carulea aut blaua, inter Feltrium & Taruisium, &in Thermopylis etiam fuisse referunt: Nigerrima in Allera fluvio Saxonia, vbi in Visurgim se exonerat. Caussa sunt argilla colores, sed tenuiores. Item Aristoteles: circa Iapygium promontorium, esse fontem, qui sanguinem fundat, addens, eam maris partem suo foetore nauigantes procul arcere. Aiunt praeltera in Idumaea fontem esse, qui quater in anno colorum mutet, cum sit colore nunc viridi, nunc albo, nunc sanguineo, nunc lutulento.

Et de aquarum odoribus sic Cardanus. Similis ratio differentia est in odoribus. Plerumque tamen aquarum odores iniucundi sunt, quod raro terra bene oleat. Pessime olim foetabat in Alide, Anigri fluminis aqua, vsque ad perniciem, non solum piscium, sed etiam hominum. Iuxta Metonem in Messania, in puteo quodam optime olens aqua hauriebatur. Hac ideo recito, vt nullus magis in Islandia quam alibi, aquarum, coloribus, odores, sapore, miretur.


Praterea est apud praeltera fontes tanta sulphuris copia. Montes tres a Munstero &Frisio igniuomi dicti, omnes longissimo interuallo a nostris fodinis distant. Quare cum iuxta hos montes montibus quatuor, quos tantopere miraculis celebrant, locum &situm faciant, necesse est eos fontes pari fere interuallo a fodinis sulphureis remotos esse. Nec vero apud montem Heclam, vt Munsterus, nec apud hos Frisij fontes (quorum rumor quam verus sit, hactenus ostensum est) sulphur effoditur: Nec patrum nostrorum memoria effossum esse arbitramur. [Sidenote: Sulpher in bore. ali Islandia parte.] Neque verum est, quod de sulphuris copia tradit Munsterus, esse videlicet pene vnicum Insula mercimonium &vectigal. Nam cum insula in quatuor partes diuisa sit, quarta pars, nempe borealis, tantum dimidia, hoc vtur mercimonio, nec sulphuris mica in vectigal Insula penditur.

The same in English.

THE ELEUENTH SECTION.

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

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

But here I would willingly demand, by what reason any of the Peripateticks can affirm, that there is some thing in nature colder then the element of water, or hotter then the element of fire. From whence (I pray yon, learned writers) proceedeth this coldnesse: From whence commeth this heate: Haue we not learned out of your schole that water is an element most colde and somewhat moist: and in such sort most cold, that for the making of secundarie qualities, it must of necessitie be remitted, & being simple, that it cannot be applyed to the vses of mankind: I do here deliuer these Oracles of the natural Philosophers, not knowing whether they be true or false. M. John Fernelius, lib. 2. Phys. cap. 4. may stand for one witnesse amongst all the rest, & in stead of the all. So excessiue (saith he) be these foure first qualities in the foure elements, that as nothing is hotter then pure fire, & nothing lighter: so nothing is drier then earth, & nothing heauier: and as for pure water, there is no qualitie of any medicine whatsoever exceedeth the coldnes thereof, nor the moisture of aire. Moreouer, the said qualities be so extreme & surpassing in them, that they cannot be any whit encreased, but remitted they may be. I wil not heare heape vp the reasons or arguments of the natural Philosophers. These writers had need be warie of one thing, lest while they too much magnifie the miracles of the fountains, they exempt them out of the number of things created, as well as they did the ice of the Islanders. We wil prosecute in order the properties of these fountains set downe by the foresaid writers. [Sidenote: Many hote Baths in Island.] The first by reason of his continuall heat. There be very many Baths or hote fountains in Island, but fewer vehemently hote, which we thinke ought not to make any man wonder, when as I haue learned out of authors, that Germanie euery where abundeth with such hote Baths, especially neere the foot of the Alpes. The hote Baths of Baden, Gebarsuil, Calben in the dutchy of Wirtenberg and many other be very famous: all which Fuchsius doeth mention in his booke de Arte medendi. And not onely Germanie, but also France, & beyond all the rest Italy that mother of all commodities, saith Cardan. And Aristotle reporteth, that about Epyrus these hote waters doe much abound, whereupon the place is called Pyriplegethon. [Sidenote: The causes of hote Baths.] And I say, these things should therefore be the lesse admired, because the searchers of nature haue as wel found out causes of the heate in waters, as of the fire in mountaines: namely, that water runneth within the earth through certaine veines of Bismone & Allom and from thence taketh not onely heat, but taste also & other strange qualities. Aristotle in his booke de Mundo hath taught this. The earth (saith he) conteineth within it fountains not only of water, but also of spirite & fire: some of them flowing like riuers, doe cast forth red hote iron: from whence also doeth flow, sometimes luke-warme water, sometimes skalding hote, and sometimes temperate. And Seneca. [Sidenote: Lib. 3. nat. quast.] Empedocles thought that Baths were made hote by fire, which the earth secretly conteineth in many places, especially if the said fire be vnder that ground where the water passeth. And Pontanus writeth very learnedly concerning the Baian Baths.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sectio Vndecima.
the third booke of his Elegies mentioneth certaine waters representing the sauour of wine in these words.

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

   This Naxus is one of the Islands called Cydades lying in the Agaard sea. Cardane giueth a reason hereof, namely, because Hydromel or water−hony, in long continuance will become wine. Aristotle nameth a fontaine in Sicilia, which the inhabitants use in stead of vineger. The same author maketh the cause of sauours in water to be heate, because the earth being hote changeth and giueth sauour vnto the water.

   Now concerning the colours of water so saieth Cardane. There is the same reason (saith he) of the colours of water, that there is of the sauours thereof, for both have their originall from the earth. For there is white water within two miles of Glanca a town in Misena: red water in Radera a riuer of Misena not farre from Radeburg: & in old time neere vnto Ioppa in Iudea: greene water in the mountaine of Carpathus by Nensola: skie−coloured or blue water betweene the mountains of Feltarius & Taruisius: & it is reported that there was water of that colour in Thermopylis: cole−blacke water in Alera a riuer of Saxonie, at that place where it dischargeth it self into the Weser. The causes of these colours are the colours of the soile. Also Aristotle saith, that about the promontorie of lapigia, there is a fontaine which streameth blood: adding moreouer, that Mariners are driuen farre from that place of the sea, by reason of the extreme stench thereof. Furthermore, they say that in Idumaa there is a fontaine which changeth colour foure times in a yeere: for somtimes it is greene, somtime white, somtime bloodie, &somtimes muddy coloured.

   Concerning the smels of waters, thus writeth Cardane. There is the like reason of difference in smell. But for the most part the steames of waters bee unpleasent, because the earth doeth seldome times smel well. The water of the riuer Anigris in Aelis stanke, to the destruction, not onely of fishes, but also of men. About Meton in Messania, out of a certaine pond there hath bene drawen most sweet smelling, and odoriferous water. I doe recite all these examples to the end that no man should make a greater wonder at the colours, smels, and sauours of waters that be in Island, then at those which are in other countreis.

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

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

SECTIO VNDECIMA.
[Sidenote: Munst] Piscium tanta est copia in hac Insula, vt ad altitudinem domorum sub aperto coelo vendedi exonantur.


The same in English.

THE TWELFTH SECTION.

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

In the open aire. In deed we haue seen other country merchants doe so, vtill they had vnladen their ships of outlandish wares, & filled them againe with fishes & with other of our countrey merchandize. But whether our men haue done the like at any time, it is not manifest. [Sidenote: Abundance of fish about island diminished.]

Certainly, that plentifull and ancient abundance of fish is now decaied, and the Islanders now begin to be pinched with the want of these and other good things, the Lord laying the iust scourge of our impietie vpon vs, which I pray God we may duely acknowledge.
SECTIO DECIMATERTIA.

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


The same in English.

THE THIRTEENTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: Frisius.] They haue most swift horses, which wil run without ceasing a continual course for the space of 30. leagues.

A Certaine Cosmographer in his Map of Island reporteth concerning the horses of one parish, that they will run 20. leagues at once in a continued race. But we account both to bee impossible. For Munster writeth that those beasts which excell all other in swiftnesse &strength of body, called Rangiferi [Marginal note: Raine deere], cannot run aboue 36. leagues in 24. houres.

SECTIO DECIMAQUARTA.


Instar montium: En tibi iterum, Lector, Munsteri, Telenicis Echo, et cacum, vt dici solet, insomnium. Deformat, me Hercule, adeo mendax et absurda hyperbole historiam, idque tanto magis quanto minus est necessaria. Nam quorsum attinet mentiri Historicum, si historia est rei vera narratio? Quorsum tropicas hyperboles assumet? Quid conabitur persuadere, aut quo pertrahere Lectorem, siquidem nihil nisi simplicem rerum expositionem sibi proponit?

Pictoribus atque, Poetis,

Quodlibet audendi semper fuit aqua potestas:

Non itidem Historicis.


Vocantur autem lingua eorum Trollwal. Ne vltra peram, Munstere: Nullam siquidem es lingua nostra

Idem alijs etiam vsu venit: Non enim probandum est, quod quidam, dum Islandia descriptionem, ab Islandis acceptam, ederet, maluerit omnia, aut certe plurima promontiorum, sinuum, montium, fontium, fluminum, tesquorum, vallium, colioum, pagorum nomina desprauare (quod nostra lingua ignaris, non sciret a nostratibus accepta satis exacte legere) atque corrupmare, quam prius ab ipsis Islandis, qui turn temporis, id est, Anno 1585. In Academia Haffniensi vixerunt, quomodo singula legi ac scribi deberent, ediscere. Ipsum certe hac natuorum nominem et appellationum voluntaria deprauatione, (qua factum est, vt ipsi ea legentes, paucissima nostra agnoscamus) in linguam nostram, alioqui purum et auitum pene elegantiam retinentem, non leuiter peccasse reputamus.


Non maiorem fidem meretur, quod Historicus quidam habet. Esse in Islandia saxum, quod montium prarupta non extrinseca agitatione, sed propria natiuaque motione peruolitet: Id qui credere volet, quid incredibile ducet? Est enim commentum tam inauditum, vt nullum eius simile, fabulatos fuisse Epicuraos (qui tamen multa incredibilia excogitasse Luciano visi sunt) constet: Nisi forte hominem qui Islandis proprio nomine Stein dicitur, sentit Historicus rupes quasdam circumveerit, vel circumrepetisse. Quod, etsi ridiculum est in Historiam miraculosam referre, hominem scilicet moueri vel ambulare, tamen ad saluandam Historici fidem, simulandum: ne figmentum illud, per se satis absurdum, nec dignum quod legatur, durius perstringamus.


Commentarij prima partis Finis.

The same in English.

THE FOURTEENTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: Munster] There be seen sometimes neere vnto Island huge Whales like vnto mountains, which ouerturne ships, vnesse they be terrified away with the sound of trumpets, or beguiled with round and emptie vessels, which they delight to tosse vp and dowe. It sometimes falleth out that Mariners thinking these Whales to be Ilands, and casting out ankers vpon their backs, are often in danger of drowning. They are called in their tongue Trollwal Tuffelwalen, that is to say, the deulish Whale.
Like unto mountains. Loe here once againe (gentle Reader) Munsters falsifying eccho, and (as the prouerbe saith) his blind dreame. Such a false and senselesse ouer reaching doeth exceedingly disgrace an historie, and that by so much the more, by how much the lesse necessary it is. For to what purpose should an Historiographer make lesings, if history be a report of plaine trueth? Why should he vse such strange surmountings? What is it that he would perswade, or whither would he rauish the reader, if he propoundeth vnto himselfe nothing but the simple declaration of things:

Poets and Painters had leaue of old,
To feigne, to blaze, in all things to be bold.
But not Historiographers.

The backs of Whales which they thinke to be Ilands. This fable, like all the rest, was bred of an old, ridiculous and vaine tale, the credite and trueth whereof is not woorth a strawe. [Sidenote: Certain letters sent by Brandan bishop of Breme, to preach Christian faith in the North.] And it is this that foloweth, namely, that the bishop of Breme (called by the ancient Norwaies Brandan, and by Krantzius, if I be not deceiued, Alebrandus) in old time sent certanie Legates with a Couen of Friers to preach and publish in the North the popish faith, which was then thought to bee Christian, and when they had spent a long journey in sailing towards the North, they came vnto an Iland, and there casting their anker they went a shore, and kindled fiers (for it is very likely that the Mariners were not a little vexed with the nipping cold which they felt at sea) and so prouided victuals for the rest of their iourny. But when their fires grew very hote, this Iland sanke, and suddenly vanished away, and the Mariners escaped drowning very narowly with the boate that was present. This is the foundation of the matter, but how incredible it is, I appeale to the Reader. But what ailed these Mariners, or what meant they to doe, who in a tempestuous sea, seeing a rocke before their eyes, or (as Munster saieth) a little Iland, would not rather with all diligence haue auoided it for feare of running a shore and shipwracke, then to rest in such a dangerous harbour? But in what ground should the anker be fastened? for Mariners for the most part are destitute of such long cables, whereby they may let downe an anker to the bottom of the maine sea, therfore vpon the backs of Whales, saith Munster. But then they had need first to bore a hole for the flouke to take hold in. O silly Mariners that in digging can not discern Whales flesh from lumps of earth, nor know the slippery skin of a Whale from the upper part of the ground: with out doubt they are woorthy to haue Munster for a Pilot. Verily in this place (as likewise before treating of the land−miracles of Island) he gathereth fruits as they say, out of Tantalus his garden, and foloweth hard after those things which will neuer and no where be found, while he endeuoureth to proule here and there for miracles, perusing sea and land to stuffe vp his history where notwithstanding he cannot hunt out ought but feigned things.

But they are called in their language Trollwal. Go not farther then your skil, Munster, for I take it you cannot skill of our tongue: and therefore it may be a shame for a learned man to teach others that which he knoweth not himselfe: for such an attempt is subject to manifold errors, as we will shew by this your example. For while you take in hand to schoole others, &to teach them by what name a Whale−fish is to be called in our tongue, leauing out through ignorance the letter H, which almost alone maketh vp the signification of the worde, you deliuer that which is not true: for val in our language signifieth not a Whale, but chusing or choise of the verbe Eg vel, that is to say, I chuse, or I make choise, from whence val is deriued, &c. But a Whale is called Hualur with vs, &therefore you ought to haue written Trollhualur. Neither doeth Troll signifie the deuill, as you interprete it, but certaine Giants that liue in mountaines. You see therefore (and no maruel) how you erre in the whole word. It is no great iniurie to our language being in one word onely: because (doubtlesse) you knew not more then one. Others also do offend in the same fault, for it is not to be allowed that a certaine man being about to publish a Map of Island receiued from Islanders themselves, had rather marre the fashion of all, or in very deed of the most names of Capes, Baies, mountaines, springs, riuers, homocks, valleis, hils &townes (because that being ignorant of our language, he was not able to read those things aright, which he receiued from our countreymen) he had rather (I say) depraua &corrupt them all, then leaner of the Islanders themselves, which at that time, namely in the yeere 1585, liued in the vniuersitie of Hafnia, or Copen Hagen, how euery thing ought to be read and written. And we esteeme him for this his wilfull marring of our natuie names and words, (where vpon it came to passe that we reading the same, could acknowledge very few to be oure owne) that he is no slight offender against our tongue, otherwise retaining the pure and the ancient propertie.

But now we haue after some sort examined most of the myracles of Island, which our writers haue mentioned.
Notwithstanding before we enter into any further matter, we thinke it good in this section to touch that which the last forenamed man (in this Map of Island, that he caused to be put forth in the foresaid yeere vnder his own name) hath giuen out concerning two other fountains besides the former: whereof the one should die white wooll black, &the other blakke wool white. [Sidenote: Who be the Islandish writers?] Which thing where he receiued it, or whence he had it, we can by nomeans imagine: for it is not to be found in our own writers, nor in the writers of other countries. But whence sooere it be, it is but a tale, & hath not one iote of trueth in it. And although it be incredible That black wool may be died of a white colour, seeing it is affirmed by Plinie, that blakke wooll (of all other) will receiue no colour: notwithstanding there is some such thing reported by Theophrastus: namely, that there is a riuer in Macedonia which maketh blakke sheepe white. [Sidenote: Speculum regale.] Also that Norway pamphlet called the Roiall looking−glasse, which I mentioned before, doth attribute these fountains to Ireland, which is also called Hybernia, and not to Island. Which peraduenture deceiued the Reader, reading in a strange language S in stead of R.

That likewise deserueth no better credite which another Author writeth: That there is a certaine great stone in Island which runneth vp and downe the crags and clifs of mountaines by no outward force, but by the owne proper and natural motion. Hee that will beleue this, what will he not beleue? For it is such a rare deuise that the Epicures themselves (who yet seemed to Lucian to haue fainted many incredible things) I am sure never inuented the like: vnlesse perhaps the sayd Author doeth imagine (that a man who is called of the Islanders by the proper name of Stein) should compasse about, and clime vp certaine rockes: which although it be ridiculous to put into a story of wonders, namely, that a man should moue or walke, yet is it so to bee supposed to saue the credite of the Author, that we may not more seuerely condemne that fable, which is so senselesse of it selfe and not woorthy to be read.

[Sidenote: Vultures, beares and crows come vpon the drift Ice into Island.] They are gulltie of the same crime also who haue found out rauens, pies [Footnote: Magpies.], hares and vultures, all white in Island for it is wel knowen that vultures come very seldome together with the Ise of the sea, vnlo vs, as beares also (but they seldomer then vultures) and a certaine kind of crowes called by the Islanders Isakrakur. But as for white pies, hares, and rauens Island neuer had any. [Footnote: All modern writers, however, ascribe white hares to Iceland.]

And these in a maner be the things which, in regard of our daily busines, we were able at this present to affoord, as touching the former part of our treatise, which were penned by me for this purpos (as in the beginning I did protest) that the errors of Authors concerning an vnknowen land, and the affected vanitie also of some men might be disclosed, for I am not desirous to diminish any mans good name: but because I consecrated these my labours to trueth and to my countrey, I could not chuse but shew, that those things which hitherto haue bene reported by many concerning our Island deserue very litle credite: and so to addresse my selfe vnlo the matters folowing concerning the Inhabitants.

Here endeth the first part of the Commentarie.

Commentarij de Islandia pars secunda: qua est de incolis.

Absolutis hactenus miraculis Islandia, (cum nonnullis alijs, prima parti annexis) qua dum scriptores, velut Agamennonios quosdam fontes, imo, vt quiddam prater et contra omnem naturam, mirantur, nec non varie deprivant, minus veritati ipsi, et authoritati sua cousulunt; monet proposita orationis series, vt ad alteram commentarij partem nos conferamus, qua est de incolis: Vbi quid primum dicam, aut vnlo vs, ascripte white hares to Iceland.

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Here endeth the first part of the Commentarie.

Commentarij de Islandia pars secunda: qua est de incolis.

The same in English.

Of Island the second part, concerning the Inhabitants.

Hauing hitherto finished the miracles of Island with certaine other particulars belonging to the first part, the which while writers doe wonder at and diuersly extoll as it were the fountains of Agamemnon, yea, as things besides and against all nature, they haue bene very carelessse both of trueth it selfe, &of their owne credite. Now the course of the present speach doeth admonish mee to make haste vnto the other part of the treatise concerning the Inhabitants wherein what I should first say, or where I should begin, I am altogether ignorant. For there be such monstrous, and so many mocks, reproches, skoffes, and taunts of certaine men against vs poore Islanders dwelling in the vtmost parts &the world (and amongst these also, some things of theirs who take vpon them to professse most simple trueth, namely Historiographers) insomuch, that to reckon vp the particulars were nothing els but to tell the drops of the Icarian sea. But as I said in the beginning, we will not deale alike severely with all. For although Krantzius, Munsterus, Frisius &others haue written many things too boldly of our nation yet hauing otherwise deserued wel of learning by their monuments, they shalbe still in ye same reputation with vs that they are worthy of. Howbeit in the meane time, although a man would free them from the marke of slanderers, yet is it no small matter that they should broch certaine sencelesse, impossible &ridiculous things, such as those are which we haue hitherto laid downe as also that they should record in histories prophane and horrible vntrueths, some of which kind shal now immediately be discussed. As for others, whatsoever they be, who vpbraid the nation of Islanders with daily reproches, they are to haue that answere in a readinesse which such men deserue. In the number of whom, that scoffer is to be accounted, who by a company of rimes published in the Germane tongue, to the disgrace of our countrey, hath brought his name into euerlasting ignominie.

Wherefore as our present businesse requireth, while we are in hand with the writings of Authors concerning this matter, although we meet with some things containing little reproch, notwithstanding we will examine most of them, noting the errors as hitherto we haue done in the meane time also when they shall alleage any trueth, we will in no case dissemeit it. And after this maner, first we will heare Munster, Krantzzius and Frisius, and others also, if there be any more, what they haue to say, reiecting that Paro and his Dutch rimes infected with fell slander, as he is wororthy vnto the last place. First therefore the sayd Authors write concerning the faith or religion of the Islanders and secondly, of their Maners, Customs, and course of life in maner folowing.
SECTIO PRIMA.

Adalbertius Metropolitanus Hamburgensis, Anno Christi
1070. Vidit ad Christum conversos Islandos: licet
ante susceptam Christi fidem, lege Naturali vuientes,
non multum a lege nostra discrepantes: itaque, pretentibus
illis, ordinavit quendam virum sanctum, primum
Episcopum, nomine Isleif.

Krantzius his verbis, et Munsterus alibi, fidei seu Religionis Christiana dignitatem Islandis videntur
adscribere: Facerentque et se, et veritate dignum, nisi eandem alias nobis adimerent. Nam (vt de Krantzio infra)
Munsterus, qua supra prodictit, de fide nostra, seu opinione circa Inferni locum situmque, omnino est a Christiana
pietate alienum: Velle scilicet scrutari arcana, qua Deus sibi soli reseruauit, quaque voluit nostrum captum
excedere: Non enim reperitur de hac re quicquam in literis sacris, vbi locus vel sitis inferni seu ignis ater, Diabolo et Angelifi ipsius, adeoque damnatis omnibus animabus destinati, determinetur, aut circumscribatur:
Nullam inquam, infra terram, seu in ea, aut vlla alia huius mundi parte, corporalem seu localem situm illi
damnatorum carceri pagina sacra assignat: quinimo, terram hanc interitum, et terram nouam et coelos nouos,
iustorum et sanctorum habitacula, creanda affirmat: Apoc. 2. 2, Petri 3, Esa. 65. Quare Christianus rerum adeo
abstrusarum inquisitionem libenter praterit: tum dogmata nullis appertis et illustribus scriptura sacras testimonijs
3.

Deinde etiam pugnat acriter cum Religione Christiana, quo Munsterus & Krantzius Islandos ornant,
comenium: Eos videlicet, catulos ac pueros suos aquo habere in precio. De quo infra, section. 7. Sic igitur secum
dissidet Munst. dum quos Christianos assent, inferni architectos alias facit: Item, Krantzius et Munsterus, dum
quos fide Christo insertos affirmant, eosdem omni pietatis et honestatis sensu exuunt: quod scribant filios ab his,
non maiore cura, quam catulos diligi.

Sed vt ad rem: De Religione equidem nostra, qua qualiseu fuerit, cum Ethnicismus primum fugari coepit, nihil
magnifice diceret possumus: quemadmodum nec alia Septentrionis Regna vicina, vti existimo, de suis fidei initijs.
Fatendum enim est, et cum serijs genitibus deplorandum vsque ad illam nunquam satis predicatam diem, qua
nobis velut immortalitatis initium illum et repurgati Evangelii doctrinam attulit, tenebras plusquam Cimmerias,
etiam nostris hominibus, vt religiis Septentrionis Ecclesijs, offusas fuisse. Illud tamen pie nobis sentire liceat,
apud nos, vt et in vicina Noruegia (nam nolo ultra septa vagari, et de populis ignotis quicquam pronunciare) eiecta
primum Idololatria Ethnica, sinceriorem longe et simpliciorem fidem seu religionem Christianam viguisse; quippe
veneno Papistico minus infectam, quam postea, vbi auctum Romana sedis fermentum pestiferum, et malum
contagiosum maturuit, et per totum orbe virus suum diffudit: Nam vt postea apparebit, multis annus antequam
noua Pontificiorum Idololatria vires et incrementum cepit, Islandia Christum amplexa est: et vt laudatissimi duo
illi Noruegia Reges, quibus vt commune nomen, ita commune nominis Christi propagandi studium et professio,
nihil nisi fidem in Deum Patrem, Filium, et spiritum Sanctum, sonabat. Dico autem illum Olaum Thryggonis F.
qui Anno Christi 968. natus, Anno atatis 27. imperium Noruegia adeptus est, et primus, vt accepimus, Noruegis
Christum obtrusit: quibus imperitabat annis 5. Et huic cognominem, Olaum nuncupatum Sanctum, Haraldi F. Qui
anno Christi 1013. aut circiter, imperij habenas arctius in primis obtinuit. Per annos fere 17. Christi doctrinam
audacter tradidit. Anno Christi 1030. ab improbis parricidis nefarie interfectus, in pago Noruegise Stickla Stodum,
pro Christi nomine cruorem fudit.

Habuit etiam nostra patria inter multos alios quendam insignem pietate virum; cui Nialus nomen erat, qui circa
annum Christi 1000 vixit in pradio seu villa Berthors huol, sita in Parochia Islandia, Landenum: Quicke rerum
humanarum experientia, circumspecta animi prudentia, sagacitatem et consilio, habebatur insignis. Cum enim, eius
seculo, indomitis Islandia motibus fluctuaret, incolis a nullo fere superiore magistratu repressit, nullis se
factionibus immiscuit: Plurimas cauta animi virtute ac industria composuit. Nunquam vim fecit, nec passus est, si
vltimum tantum in vita diem excipias. Adeo studiose seditiones et turbas vitauit aliosque vitare aut euadere
cupientes optime iuuit. Nec quisquam eius consilio, nisi maximo suo commodo est vnquam vsus: nec quisquam

SECTIO PRIMA. 152
ab eo, nisi cum vita et fortunarum penuco deflexit. Tam certum ab eo oraculum petebatur, vt valde mirandum sit, 
vdde homini tanta futurorum euentuum, et tam certa coniectura et consilium esse potuerit, quanta in ipso 
deprehensa est. Vnde ipsius cautus, prouidens et consilij plena sapientia, apud nostrates in prouerbium abijt: Nials 
bitta raden: quasi dicas, Niali consilium; vel, Niali consilio res geritur, aut succedit: cum quid prudenter et 
admirando cum consilio gestum est.

Hic cum domi sua, a 100. viris coniuratis ob cadem a filio ipsius, ipso tamen inscio, patratam cingeretur, et 
inimicis domum vndique igni succendentibus, sibi videret supremum fatum instare, ait tandem. Hac quidem fato, 
hoc est, voluntate diuina accidunt. Caterum spem et fiduciam in Christo sitam habeo, nos (de se et vxore loquens) 
licet corpus hoc nostrum caducum, inimicorum flammis, mortalitatis corruptionem subeat, ab aternis tamen 
flammis liberatum iri. Sicque inter has voces, et flammarum savitiam, vitam, An. Christo 1010. cum vxore et filio 
homicida, finiuit. Vox profecto filijs Dei non indigna, anima, cum mortis acerbitate luctantis summum solatium 
arguens.

Hac ideo addidi, vt ostendam qua coniectura adducar ad extstimamdum mox initio Christianismi (vt sic 
loquar) apud nos recepti, non fuisse tam deceptas et errorum tenebris immersas hominum mentes, quam nunc, 
paulo ante hac nostra tempera fuerunt.

Ast vero iam postquam Dominus Deus per Lutherum, et Lutheri in vinea Domini collegas, et pios successores, 

salutis doctrinam illustriorem reddidit, mentiumque nostrarum graui vetro et dena caligine excussis, dextra sua 
digitio, hoc est, spiriitui Sancto, (Matth. 12. vers. 28.) cordis nostri auriculas vellicauit, ac oculos, quibus saluificam 
ipsius veritatem cerneremus: Nosse et singuli credimus es confitemur Deum esse Spiritum, 
(Iohan. 4. vers. 24.) aternum (Esi 40. vers. 28.) Infinitum (Ierem. 12. vers. 24. Psalm. 136. vers. 7. 8. 9.) 
optimum (Matth. 19. 17.) omnipotentem (Gene. 17. 1. Apocal. 1. 8.) Vnum essentia et natura: Vnum prouidentia: 
vnum efficentia rerum et administracione (Deut 6. 5. Ephes. 4. 5.) At personis diuinitatis, proprietatisquue 
distinctum, Patrem, Filium et spiritum Sanctum (Matth. 28. 19. &3. 17.) Deum Patrem quidem, primam diuinitatis 
personam, coeli terra et omnium rerum creatorem (Gene. 1. vers. 1. &sequent.) Sustentatorem et gubernatorem 
(Psal. 115. 3. Heb. 1. 3.) Patrem Domini nostri Iesu Christi (Psalm. 2. 7. &sequent:) et nostrum per eundem 
Patrem (Rom. 8. 15.) Anima et corporis curatorem (Luc. 12. 12.) Tum Iesum Christum, secundam diuinitatis 
personam, filium Dei patris (Iohan. 1. 18. &c.) Vnigenitum (Iohan. 1. 29. Heb. 1. 2.) aternum (Gen. 1. vers. 1. &sequent:) 
estatim post lapsum, promissum Messiam (Matth. 28. ult. Psalm. 71. 18. 1. Cor. 11. 26.) 
deo igitur optimo maximo gratias ex animo et toto pectore agimus, quod etiam ad nos, vastissimo intervallo a 
reliquo Ecclesia corpore duelusos et vltimas mundi partes habitantes, lumen hoc suum, concessum, ad
reuelationem gentium, et paratum ante faciem omnium populorum, olim pio Simeoni benigne ostensum (Nam in Christo omnes thesauri sapientia reconditi) quod nunc totam nostram gentem radijs suis saluificis illuminat ac fouet, pertingere voluerit. Hac ita breuiter, ipsam summam perstringendo, fides nostra est, et nostra religio, quaro monstrante spirtu Sancto, et ipsius in vinea Christi ministris, bausimus: idque ex fontibus Isralis.

[Sidenote: Krantzius.] Anno Domini 1070. vidit ad Christum conuersos Islandos.


Commemorantur autem duo Episcopi extranei, qui cum alijs, in conuertenda ad fidem Christi insula, diligenter laborarint: Prior Fridericus, Saxo natione, qui anno 981. ad Islandos venit, atque docendi munere strenue functus est, ac tantum fecit, vt Anno 984, sacra ades Islandis in usu fuerint.

Alter vero ille extraneus Episcopus siue concionator, quem Thangbrandt nuncupauere, anno 997. in Islandiam primum venit. [Sidenote: Anno Dom. 1000.] Hinc post 26, annorum disceptationem de religione, tandem Anno 1000. in conuenta generali omnium incolarum decreto est, vniuersali eorundem consensu, vt Ethnicorum numinum cultu seposito, religionem sectarent Christianam.

Rursus in solenni incolarum conuentu Anno 1050. sanctum est, vt leges seculares seu politica (quarum constitutiones allatas ex Noruagia quidam Vlfliotus, Anno 926. Islandis communicarat) ubique cederent iuri Canonico seu diuino.


Videbuntur forsitan hac minuta, concisa, vilia, nec narratione satis digna, cum multis forte qua sequuntur: Sed nec his historiam Romanam contextimus, nec tam minuta erunt, quin contra Krantzij et aliis errores conuincendos, prout nostrum est institutum, valeant. Et certe, quantum ad fidelum nostrarum Chronologiarum, constat Saxonom
SECTIO PRIMA.

The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation, v. 1


THE FIRST SECTION

[Sidenote: Krantzius in prafatione sua Norwegia.] Adalbert Metropolitane of Hamburg in the yeere of Christ 1070. saw the Islanders concerted Christianitie: albeit, before the receiuing of Christian faith, they liued according to the lawe of nature, and did not much differ from our lawe: therefore at their humble request, he appointed a certaine holy man named Islief to be their first Bishop.

Krantzios in these words, and Munster other where, doe seeme to attribute vnto the Islanders the prerogatiue of Christian faith and they should deale both beseeing themselves and the truth, if they did not in other places depreiue vs of the same. For (to speake of Krantzras anone) that which Munster before reported concerning our faith or opinion about the place and situation of hell, is very farre from Christian pietie: namely to be desirous to prie into those secrets which God hath kept close vnto himselfe alone, and which his pleasure is, should exceed our capacite: for there is not any thing found in the holy Scriptures of this matter, where the place and situation of hell, or of eternall fire prepared for the deuill and his angels, and so for all damned soules, is bounded or compassed about. The holy Bible (I say) assigneth no locall or bodily situation beneath the earth, or vpon the earth, or in any other place of this world, to that prison of the damned: but it affirmeth that this earth shall perish, and that a new earth, and new heauens shall be created for the habitation of iust and holy men, Reuel. 2. 2. Pet. 3. and Esay [Footnote: Isaiah] 65. wherefore a Christian man willingly giueth ouer to search into such hidden secrets and he accounteth it vnlawful to receiue or deliuer vnto others, opinions (grounded vpon no plaine and manifest places of Scripture) for certainties and trueths, Deut. 4. and 12. Esay 8. Matth. 27. 2. Tim 3.

Further also that commendation wherewith Munster and Krantzius doe grace the Islanders, is meerly contrary to Christian religion: namely that they make al one reckoning of their whelps and of their children. But more of this matter anone in the 7. section. So therefore Munster disagreeth with himselfe, whereas those whom he affirmeth to be Christians, afterward, he maketh to be master builders of hell. Also Krantzius and Munster both together, when as those whom they affirme to be engraffed by faith into Christ, they except from all sense of piety and honesty, in that they write that their sonnes are not dearer vnto them then their whelpes.

But to returne to the matter: In very deed we haue no great thing to say concerning our religion, what, or of what sort it was when Gentilisme was first put to flight. No more (I thinke) haue other Northern nations neere vnvo to say concerning the beginning of their faith. For (alas) we must needs confesse and bewaile with deepe sighes, that vntill that day which shined vnvo vs like the beginning of immortalitie, and brought vnvo vs the pure doctrine of the gospel, our countrysmen, as likewise other churches of the North, were ouerspersd with more then Cimmerian darkenesse. But we may iustly and religiously thinke thus muche, that among vs and our neighbours of Norway (for I will not range out of my bounds, nor affirme any thing of vnknowen people) after heathenish idolatry was rooted out, Christian faith and religion did florish far more sincere, and simple, as being lesse infected with the poison of poperie, at that time, then afterward, when as the pestiferous leauen of the see of Rome being augmented, and the contagious mischiefe growing ripe, the poison thereof was dispersed through the whole world: for, as it shal afterward appeare, Island embraced Christ many yeeres before the new idolatry of the papists began to preuaile, and did sound frooth nothing but faith in God the Father, the Sonne and the holy Ghost, like vnvo those two most renouned kings of Norway, who as they had one common name, so had they one common care and profession to advance the gospel of Christ. [Sidenote: The first christian king of Norway] I meane Olaus the sonne of Thryggo, who was borne in the yere of Christ 968. attaining to the kingdom of Norway in the 27.
yeere of his age, and was the first, as we have heard, that offered Chnst vnto the Norwegians, ouer whom hee
reigned fiue yeeres and another of that name called Olaus Sanctus the sonne of Harald, who in the yeere of Christ
1013. or there about, governed with more seueritie, and for the space of 17. yeeres did boldly deliuer the doctrine
of Christ. In the yeere of Chnst 1030. being vniustlie slaine by wicked murtherers, he shed his blood for the name
of Christ in a town of Norway called Sticla Stodum.

[Sidenote: Nialus the first knowne professour of Christian faith in Island.] Our countrey also had, among
many other, one man of excellent pietie whose name was Nialus, who about the yeere of Chnst 1000. liued in the
village of Berthorshuol situate in the parish of Island called Landehum: who also for his experience in humane
affairs, for his great wisedome and sage counsell was accompted famous. For whereas in his time Island was
turmoiled with many fierce mutinies, the inhabitants being in subjection to no superiour magistrate, he
intermedled not in any quarels, sauing that by his discreet vertue and diligence he set through and brought to
composition a great number: hee neuer did nor suffered violence, but onely vpon the last day of his life. So
carefully auoyded he al seditions and strifes: and gaue good assistance to others, who were desirous also to auoyd
and escape them: neither did any man euer put in practise his counsel, but it turned to his especiall good: nor euer
any did swerue therefrom, but with the danger of his life and possessions. The words or rather the oracles that
came from him were so certaine, that it was wonderful from whence any man should haue so great and so sure
forecast and counsell of things to come, as was found to be in him. Whereupon his discreet and prouident
wisedome, ioyned with counsell became a prouerber amongst vs, “Nials byta raden:” That is to say, the counsel of
Nialus or, the thing is done, or succeedeth by Nialus his counsell: when any business was atchieued prudently, and
with admirable discretion. This man, when, for a slaughter committed by his sonne without his knowledge, he was
in his owne house beset with a 100. men, who had conspired his death, and when his enemies began on all sides to
set his house on fire, seeing his ende approch, at length he brake into these words. “Doubtlesse these things
happen by fate, that is, by the will of God. Howbeit, I put my hope and confidence in Christ, that we (meaning his
wife and himselfe) although this our fraile body shal vndergoe the corruption of death, in the fire of our enemies,
yet, that it shalbe deliuered from eternal flames.” And so in the midst of these voyces, and in the fury of the
flames, he with his wife and the manslayer his sonne, in the yere of Christ 1010. ended his life. A voyce
vndoubtedly full well beseeing the sonnes of God, arguing the notable comfort of his soule amidst the very
pangs of death.

I therefore added those things to shew by what reason I was moued to thinke that in the very beginning of
Christianitie receiued amongst vs, mens minds were not so beguiled and overwhelmed in the darkenes of errors,
as of late, a little before these our times they haue bene.

[Sidenote: A summe of the Islanders Religion.] But after the Lord God by Luther, and Luthers
fellow−labourers in the vineyard of the Lord, and by godly successours, did make the doctrine of saluation more
manifest, and shaking off the heauie slothe, and thicke miste of our minds by the finger of his right hand, that is
by his holy spirit (Matth. 12. v. 28.) did plucke the eares of our hearts, and opened our eyes that we might behold
his sauing health: We all, and euery of vs do belieue and confesse that God is a spirit (Iohn 4. v. 24.) eternal
(Matth. 28. v. 19. and 3. 17.) one in being, and nature: one in prouidence, one in the making and gouerning of all things (Deut. 6.
5. Ephe. 4. 5.) But distinguished by the persons of the Godhead and their properties, the Father, the Sonne, and the
holy Ghost (Matth. 28. 19. and 3. 17.) God the Father the first person of the Godhead creator of heauen and earth,
and all other things (Gen. 1. v. 1. and in those that folow) the vpholder and gouernor of all (Psa. 115. 3. Heb. 1.
3.) Father of our Lord Jesus Christ (Psal. 2. 7. and verses following) and our Father through him (Rom. 8. 15.)
keeper of our soules and bodies (Luke 12. 12.). And that Jesus Christ the second person of the Godhead is the
sonne of God the Father (John 1. 18. &c.) onely begotten (John 1. 29. Heb. 1. 2.) equal to his Father (1. Chro. 17.
13. Ioh. 1. 1.) true God (John 1. 2. &c.) foreappointed before the creation of all things (1. Pet. 1. 20, Reuel 13. 8.
&c.) and presently after mans fell promised to be the Messias (Gene. 3. 15. &c.) published efsoones vnto the holy
Patriaches, as vnto Abraham (Gen. 12. 3. &c.) vnto Isaac (Gen. 26. 4.) vnto Iacob (Gene. 28. 14.) and confirmed
by promises (Gen. 49. 9. ESA. 11. 1. 10.) prefigured by the sacrifices of Moses (Leu. 1. 2. &c.) and by other types,
as namely by the offering of Isaac (Gen. 22.) by the lifting vp of the brazen serpent (Num. 21.) by Ionas (Ionas 2.
&c.) proclaimed by the testimony of the Prophets (ESA. 7. 14.) and at length in the fulnesse of time truely
exhibited: true man (John 1. 14. &c. Gal. 4.) that he died for our sinnes, and was raised again for our justification
neither onely is their number described, but it is also plainely set downe, what coasts, what shores, and what
recordes more then to the number of 400 together with those of their blood and kinred, and great families besides
from whose name the East cape of Island is called Ingulffs hoffdi. These planters are reckoned vp by name in our
as is aboue mentioned) was then first of all inhabited by certaine Noruagians. Their chiefetaine was one Ingulphus
[Sidenote: Island first inhabited.] In the yeere of Christ 874. Island (being indeed discouered before that time,
certaintie thereof.
Which although they be of litle moment, and not altogether worthy to be written, yet must they of necessitie bee
most ancient records of the conuersion of Island vnto Christ, and of the succession of Bishops in our Churches.
may make good the credite of our Countreymen, I wil impart with strangers a fewe things which I found in our
of all the Bishops of Island: he mentioneth onely one, and that farre otherwise then the trueth. Furthermore that I
being most vnknowen vnto him, as it shall immediatly appeare: they describe the names, yeres, order, succession
hath intermedled in his historie certaine things contrary to the trueth, and that to the vpbraiding of our nation
any other nations, onely that they might assigne vnto their owne acts and exploits the true time or age thereof: he
forreine and vnknowen they haue compiled their histories without the diffaming, disgracing or reprehending of
our countreymen affirme those things onely that be knowen, and in a maner domesticall he writeth matters
vnto your owne discretion. For my part I am enforced by many reasons to agree rather vnto our owne writers. For
nation testifying the contrary do make his credite to be suspected in this place, vnto which records and Chronicles,
whethersoeuer of these he affirmeth: notwithstanding the yeerely records, and most auncient Chronicles of our
conuerted vnto Christ, &c.
[Sidenote: Kranzius] In the yeere of our Lord 1070. saw the Ilanders
haue drawen and that out of the fountaines of Isral.
Therefore we render thankes vnto our most gratious and Almighty God from our soule, and from our whole
heart, because that euen vnto vs being separated an huge distance from the rest of the body of his Church, and
inhabiting the farthest parts of the world, hee would that this light graunted for the reuelation of the Gentiles, and
prepared before the face of all people, and in olde time fauourably shewed to holy Simeon (for in Christ are all the
treasures of wisedome hidden) which now doeth enlighten and cherish with the sauing beames thereof our whole
nation, that hee would (I say) this light should come vnto vs. This in briefe (running ouer the very summe) is our
faith, and our Religion, which by the direction of the holy Spirt and of his Ministers in the vineyard of Christ, we
haue drawnen and that out of the fountaines of Isral.

[Sidenote: Kranzius] In the yeere of our Lord 1070. saw the Ilanders
conuereted vnto Christ, &c.
It is doubtful vnto vs whether in these words Kranzius would haue said, that the Islanders were first conuereted
vnto Christ in the yeere of our Lord 1070. or whether he doth not deny that they were indeed before conuereted,
but saith that it was knowne first vnto Adalbert that yeere. [Sidenote: The most ancient Chronicles of Island.] But
wethersoever of these he affirmeth: notwithstanding the yeerely records, and most auncient Chronicles of our
nation testifying the contrary do make his credite to be suspected in this place, vnto which records and Chronicles,
whether you had rather giue assent concerning our owne proper and domesbcal affaires, done within the bounds
of our Island, or to Krantzaus or any other being ignorant in the story of our countrey, I appeale (friendly reader)
vnto your owne discretion. For my part I am enforced by many reasons to agree rather vnto our owne writers. For
our countreymen affirme those things onely that be knowne, and in a maner domesticall he writeth matters
forreine and vnownen they have compiled their histories without the diffaming, disgracing or reprehending of
any other nations, onely that they might assigne vnto their owne acts and exploits the true time or age thereof: he
hath intermedled in his historie certaine things contrary to the trueth, and that to the vpbraiding of our nation
being most vnownen vnto him, as it shall immediatly appeare: they describe the names, yeres, order, succession
of all the Bishops of Island: he mentioneth onely one, and that farre otherwise then the trueth. Furthermore that I
may make good the credite of our Countreymen, I wil impart with strangers a fewe things which I found in our
most ancient records of the conuersion of Island vnto Christ, and of the succession of Bishops in our Churches.
Which although they be of little moment, and not altogether worthy to be written, yet must they of necessitie bee
set downe for the defence of the trueth of our affaires against Krantzius and others: thus therefore standeth the
certaintie thereof.

[Sidenote: Island first inhabited.] In the yeere of Christ 874. Island (being indeed discouered before that time,
as is aboue mentioned) was then first of all inhabited by certaine Noruagians. Their chieftaine was one Ingulphus
from whose name the East cape of Island is called Ingullfs hoffdi. These planters are reckoned vp by name in our
records more then to the number of 400 together with those of their blood and kinred, and great families besides
neither onely is their number described, but it is also plainely set downe, what coasts, what shores, and what
inland places eche of them did occupie and inhabite, and what names the first inhabitants did giue vnto Streights, bayes, harbouroughs, necklands, creekes, capes, rockes, cragges, mountaines, hilles, valleys, homockes, springs, floods, riuers. And to be short, what names they gaue vnto their graunges or houses, whereof many at this day are retaine and vsed. Therefore the Norwayses with their company peopled all the habitable parts of Island now occupied by them for the space of 60. yeeres or thereabout but they remayned Ethnickes almost 100. yeeres, except a very fewe which were baptised in Norwaie. But scarce a 100. yeeres from their first entrance being past, presently Christian religion began to be considered vpon, namely about the yeere of our Lord 974. Which thing aboute 20. yeeres together, was diverselie attempted of many not without notable rebellion: amongst the rest there are mentioned two outlandish Bishops, who with others diligently laboured in conuerting the Island to Christian faith: [Sidenote: Saxo, the first preacher of the Christian faith in Island. Anno Domini 981.] the former was one Fridericus a Saxon borne, who in the yeere 981. came into Island, and behaued himselfe courageously in the office of preaching, and preuailed so much, that in the yeere 984. Churches were vsed in Island.

But the other outlandish Bishop or preacher whom they called Thangbrandt came first into Island in the yeere 997.

[Sidenote: Anno Domini 1000.] And then after 26. yeeres consulting about Religion, at length in the yeere 1000, it was decreed in a generall assembly of all the inhabitans by their whole consent, that the worship of heathenish Idoles being abandoned, they should embrace Christian Religion.

Againe, in the yeere 1050, it was decreed in a solemn assembly of the inhabitans, that temporall or politique lawes (the constitutions whereof being brought out of Norwaie were communicated vnto the Islanders by one Vlfliot in the yeere 926.) should euery where giue place to the Canon or diuine Lawe.

In the yeere 1056. one Isleif went beyond the seas out of Island to be consecrated bishop of Island. He came home consecrated into Island, and entred into the bishopricke of Scalholt in the yeere 1057. He died 1080. in the yeere of his age 74. The 4. of the Kalends of Iuly.

These things perhaps wil seeme trifling, short and base, not sufficiently worthy to be mentioned, together with many other matters which follow: but neither doe wee compile the Romane history, neither yet shall these things be so trifling, but that they may be of sufficient force to conuince the errours of Krantzius and others, according to our purpose. [Sidenote: A notable testimonie of Saxo concerning the Islanders.] And undoubtedly as touching the trueth of our histories, it is euident that Saxo Grammaticus attributeth very much vnto them: whose words in his preface of Danmarke be these: Neither is the diligence of the Thylenses (for so he calleth Islanders) to be smothered in silence: who when as by reason of the natiue barrennes of their soile, wanting nourishments of riot, they do exercise the duties of continuall sobrietie, and vse to bestow all the time of their life in the knowledge of other men's exploits they supply their want by their wit. For they esteeme it a pleasure to know and commit vnto memory the famous acts of other nations, reckoning it no lesse praise worthwhile to discourse of other mens vertues, then to practise their owne. Whose treasures replenished with the monuments of historical matters, I more curiously searching into, haue compiled no smal part of this present worke by following of their relation neither despised I to haue those men for my iudges, whom I knew to be skilful in so great knowledge of antiquitie. Thus farre Saxo.

Wherefore I thinke it not amisse to procede in the recitall of the Bishops of Island, that the order and descent of them all, being so farre foorth as is possible, diligently put together out of our yeerely records, may make good that which we haue allledged against Krantzius concerning Isleif the first Bishop of Island.
CATALOGUS CHRONOLOGICUS EPISCOPORUM ISLANDIA.

Anno Episcopi Schalholtenses
Christi
I.
Isleif.
1056 Ordinatur peregre.
1057 Redit et Schalholtensem cathedram adit

II.
Gysserus.
1082 Ordinatur peregre,
1083 Redit in Islandiam cum Episopatu.

III.
Thorlacus Runolphi. F.
Anno
atatis Ordinatur eodem anno, quo pradecessor.
32: Gysserus vita excessit, sed tamen ante illius obitum 30. die
1133 Moritur.

IV.
Magnus
1134 Ordinatur.
1148 Postridie festi omnium Sanctorum in villa sacerdotali Hittardal
comuiuans, coenaculo fulmine percusso, cum viris 70. flammis
absumptus est.

V.
Klaingus.
1151 Eligitur.
1152 Cathedram adit.
1176 Moritur.

VI.
Thorlacus.
Eligitur biennio ante obit, pradecessoris
1178 Ordinatur.
1193 Moritur.

VII.
Paulus.  
1195 Ordinatur.  
1211 Moritur.  

VIII.  
Magnus.  
1216 Ordinatur.  

IX.  
Siguardus.  
1239 Cathedram adit.  
1268 Moritur.  

X.  
Arnerus.  
1269 Cathedram adit.  
1298 Moritur.  

XI.  
Arnerus Helgonis F.  
1304 Ordinatur.  
1305 Cathedram adit.  
1309 In Noruagiam abit ligna a rege Noruagia petiturus, quibus templum Schalholtense readificaretur, quod eodem anno fulmine tactum conflagrarat.  
1310 Redit ex intinere.  
1320 Moritur.  

XII.  
Ionas Haldorus.  
1321 Eligitur.  
1322 Ordinatur Kal. Augusti.  
1323 Cathedram adit.  
1338 Moritur.  

XIII.  
Ionas Indridi F. Roruages  
1339 Cathedram adit.  
1341 Moritur.  

XIV.  
Ionas Siguardi F.  
1343 Cathedram adit.  
1348 Moritur pridie Diui Magni.
XV.
Gyrthus.
1349 Ordinatus Asloia Noruagorum, ab Episcopo Asloensi Salomone.
1356 Abiens peregre fluctibus vitam finit.

XVI.
Thorarinnus.
1362 Cathedram adit.
1364 Moritur.

XVII.
Oddgeirus.
1366 Cathedram adit.


XVIII.
Michael Danus.
1385 Cathedral adit.
1388 Resignat profectus in Daniam.

XIX.
Wilhelmus Danus.
1394 Cathedram adit. Moritur.

XX.
Amerus.

Hic cognomento fuit Milldur. i. liberalis. Gessit vna pafecturam Islandia tertius: Episcopatum Schalholtens. & vice Episcopatum Holensem.
1420 Obijt.

XXI.
Ionas Gerichso.

1432 Suecus siue cognomento siue natione praest Ecclesia Schalholtensi: ac postea ob quadam nimis audacter tentata, a quodam Thorualdo
XXII.
Gosuinus.
1445 Praest Ecclesia Schalholtensi.

XXIII.
Sueno.
1472 Dictus sapiens praest.

XXIV.
Magnus Riolphi F.
1489 Praest.

XXV.
Stephanus.
1494 Cathedram adit.
Deinde Godtschalco episcopo Holensi, qui crudelis nomen meritus esse videtur, Synchronos similem cum illo clementia &iusticia laudem reportauit.
1519 Moritur: aut circiter.

XXVI.
Augmundus.
Eligitur anno obitus Stephani
1522 Cathedram adit.
Hoc episcopo, prefectus regius cum comitibus aliquot Scalhotiam inuitatus, in ipso conuiuo a coniuram quibusdam interfectus est, eo quod impie passim in incolas &bona ipsorum grassatus esset. Augmundus vero tanquam istius cadis author, quamquam se iuramento purgarat in Daniam transuectus, Obijt.

XXVII.
Gysserus.
1540 Eligitur viuente Augmundo
1541 Cathedram adit, Papisticarum traditionum abrogator circa coniugium
1544 sacerdotum: Eius nuptia Schalholtia celebrata.

XXVIII.
Martinus.
1547 Praest, &sequentibus.
XXIX.
Gislaus Ionas.

Hic statim, Augmundo episcopo, coepit iuuenis vera pietatis purioris doctrina Euangelica studio, &amore flagrare, eandemque pastor ecclesia Sclardalemsis diligenter propagare, qua ratione Pontificiorum odium adeo in se deriuauit, vt illorum insidijs ac rabiei cedere coactus, Hamburgum se contulerit, vnde Haffniam Danorum prefectus, in coepto vera Theologia studio strenue pergens, in multorum, præcipue vero in summa D. D. Petri Palladu tum temporis Episcopi, familiaritate et gratia viuebat.

1556 Postea, inde in patriam reveuro, Martinus sponte cessit.

1587 Moritur et hic 31. annos plus minus Euangelium Iesu Christi professus: nec tantum viua voce, sed et quocunque demum potuit modo, docendo, dicendo, scribendo, re et consilio Ecclesiam Dei iuuit et promouit.

XXX.
Otto Knerus
Vir grauis, pius et eruditus.

1588 Electus abit patria.
1589 Ordinatur.
Redit et cathedram adit, susceptique munera labores aggreditur.

* * * * *

Anno Episcopi Holenses.
Christi

I.
Ionas Augmundi F.
Isleifi discipulus.

1106 Ordinatur peregre: anno atat. 64. cognomentum illi, sanctus: curus memoria dies 3. Martij, apud Islandos est antiquitus dicatus.

II.
Ketillus siue Catullus.

1122 Ordinatur.
1145 Moritur.
III.
Biorno.
1147 Ordinatus venit in Islandiam.
1162 Moritur.

IV.
Brandus.
1163 Ordinatur.
1165 Cathedram adit.
1201 Moritur.

V.
Gudmundus, cognomento Bonus.
1203 Eligitur et ordinatur.
1237 Moritur.

VI.
Botolphus.
1239 Redit ordinatus.
1246 Moritur.

VII.
Henricus.
1247 Cathedram adit.
1260 Moritur.

VIII.
Brandus.
1262 Abbas peregre abit.
1263 Cathedram adit.
1264 Moritur.

IX.
Iorundus.
1267 Cathedram adit.
1313 Moritur.

X.
Audunnus.
1314 Cathedram adit.
1322 Moritur.
XI.
Laurentius.
1324 Eligitur ordinatur.
1331 Moritur Idib. April.

XII.
Egillus.
1332 Cathedram adit.
1341 Moritur.

XIII.
Ormus.
1343 Cathedram adit.
1355 Moritur in festo omnium Sanctorum.

XIV.
Ionas Erici F. cognomento Skalle

1358 Cathedram Holensem adituras venit in Islandiam. Hic Ionas, olim in Gronlandia Episcopatum Gronlandis ordinatus, a Pontifice Romano Episcopus impetrauit, vt liceret sibi Episcopatum Holensem adire, qui 1356 tunc temporis vacabat. Vnde cum confirmationem huius dignitatis ac munera, a Pontifice acceptam, veniens non proferret, apud Presbyteros dioecesis Holensis, suspecta fidet esse coeptit.
Quare ab ipsam in Noruagiam relegatus est, ut ea res arbitrio Regis componeretur. Rege igitur ipsius partibus fauente Cathedram Holensem obitnuit.
1391 Moritur.

XV.
Petrus.
Ordinatur, quo anno praeecessor rebus mortalium exemptus est.
1392 Cathedram adit Holensem.
Moritur.

XVI.
Ionas Wilhelmus.
1432 Anglus, siue genere, siue cognome, praefuit Ecclesiam Holensiam.

XVII.
Godschalcus.
1457 Moritur.
XVIII.
Olaus Rogwaldi F.

1458 Prædicti Godschalchi ex sorore nepos, vterque Noruagus, eligitur.
1497 Moritur.

XIX.
Godschalcus.
De mortus Olai nepos ex fratre, et ille Noruagus, eligitur eodem
anno quo patruus decessit.

1500 Cathedram adit, ac per totos 20. annos multos ex subditis duriter
exercuisse fertur.
Anno 1520. cum inter pociula et voluptates conuiuales versaretur
audiretque obijisse Ionam Sigismundum, quem cum vxeore et liberis
multos annos crudelissime vexauerat, in subitum morbum repente
incidit, et sic paulo post, eam, qua in tota vita in miseris
subditos vsus est vim cum miserabili morte commutauit.

XX.
Jonas Arasonius.
1525 Cathedram adit: etiam hic papisticarum superstitionum vltimus et
acerrimus assertor. Qui, cum Gyssero et Martino episcopus
Schalholtia acriter resisteret, a pientiss. Rege Christiano
1548 tertio iubetur sub poena exilij protinus in Daniam aduentare.
1550 Sed hoc neglecto, captum Martinum Schalholtia Episcopum custodia
mandauit. Tandem et ipse a vro quodam magni nominis, quem
prius vt fertur, laceriuerat, captus, ac Schalholtiam adductus,
ibidem cum filiis duobus, authoritate regij praefecti, capitis
1551 supplicio afectus est. In cuius vltionem, non multo post
praefectus ille regius, cum sociis aliquot, a quibusdam sacarijs,
decollatorum olim famulis, nefarie occisus est.

XXI.
Olaus Bialterus.
1552 Abit patria.
1553 Cathedram adit.
Hic primus sincerioris doctrina apud Holenses amorem in multorum
animis, etiam adhuc prædecessoris sui collega, accendit: Deinde
eandem doctrinam Episcopus apertius docuit et propugnauit.
1568 Moritur.
XXII.
Gudbrandus Thorlacius.
Ille non modo sua atatis, sed et posterntatis ornamentum. Qui
prerquam quod inchoatum opus a pradecessore Olao sibi relictum
ducente S. S. optime ad eam, quam dedit Deus perfectionem,
deduxit, (dico labores et diligentiam in asserenda veritate
Evangelica, et papisticis superstitionibus abrogandis) etiam in
hac patria sua officinam Typographica primus Islandorum
aperuit. Cui idcirco patria inter libros complures in linguam
vernaculam translatos, etiam sacrosancta Biblia, elegantissimis
typis Islandica lingua in officna ipsius excusa, in aternum
debebit.

Hic inquam Episcopus prasens, officium suscepturus.

1570 Abijt.
1571 Redit Cathedram Holensem ingreditur.

The same in English.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE BISHOPS OF ISLAND.

The Bishops of Schalholt. In the yeere
of Christ
I.
Isleif.
Consecrated beyond the seas. 1056
Returneth and entereth the Bishops sea of Schalholt. 1057
Dieth in the yere of his age 74. the 4. of the 1080
Kalends of Iuly.

II.
Gysserus.
Consecrated beyond the sea. 1082
Returneth into Island with his Bishopricke. 1083
Dieth the 5. of the Kal. of May being tuesday. 1118

III.
Thorlacus sonne of Runulphus.
Consecrated the same yeere, wherein his predecessor. In the year
Gysserus deceased, but yet 30. dayes before of his age 32
his death. Dieth. 1133
IV.
Magnus.
Consecrated. 1134
On the morrowe after the feast of all Saints, in his 1148
parish towne of Hiitardal, the house being striken
with lightning, hee, and 70. men with him were
consumed with fire.

V.
Klaingus.
Chosen. 1151
Entreth the see. 1152
Dieth. 1176

VI.
Thorlacus.
Chosen two yeres before the death of his predecessour.
Consecrated. 1178
Dieth. 1193

VII.
Paulus.
Consecrated. 1195
Dieth. 1211

VIII.
Magnus.
Consecrated. 1216

IX.
Siguardus.
Entreth his see. 1239
Dieth. 1268

X.
Arnerus.
Entreth his see. 1269
Dieth. 1298

XI.
Arnerus sonne of Helgo.
Consecrated. 1304
Entreth the see. 1305
Saileth into Norwaie, to craue timber of the king of Norway, 1309
wherewith the Church of Schalholt might be reedified, which the same yere being toucht with lightning, was burnt downe.

Returneth home. 1310
Dieth. 1320

XII.  
Ionas Haldorus  
Elected. 1321  
Consecrated the first of August. 1322  
Entreth his see. 1323  
Dieth. 1338

XIII.  
Ionas, sonne of Indred, a Noruagian borne.  
Entreth his see. 1339  
Dieth. 1341

XIV.  
Ionas sonne of Siguardus.  
Entreth his see. 1343  
Dieth on S. Magnus euen. 1348

XV.  
Gyrthius.  
Consecrated at Aslo in Norway by Salomon bishop of Aslo. 1349  
Going beyond the seas he was drowned. 1356

XVI.  
Thorarinnus.  
Entreth his see. 1362  
Dieth. 1364

XVII.  
Oddgeirus.  
Entreth his see. 1366  
Dieth ypon the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, in the port of 1381 Bergen in Norway, falling downe from a packe of wares into the botome of the ship. He was buried at Bergen in the Church of our Sauiour.

XVIII.
Michael a Dane.
Entreth his see. 1385
Resigneth, and saileth into Denmarke. 1388

XIX.
William a Dane.
Entereth the Bishopricke. 1394
Dieth.

XX.
Arnerus.
Arnerus sirnamed Mildur, that is to say Liberall. He was at one
time Lord President of all Island, bishop of Schalholt, and
vicebishop of Holen. He died. 1420

XXI.
Ionas Gerichson.
Sueden either sirnamed or borne is made Bishop ouer the Church of 1432
Schalholt and afterward for certaine bolde attempts being taken
by one Thorualdus de Modruuollum (as it is reported) and a great
stone being bound to his necke, hee was cast aliue into the
riuer of Schalholt, (which taketh name of the bridge) and was
there strangled.

XXII.
Goswinus.
Bishop of Schalholt. 1445

XXIII.
Sueno.
Called the wise, bishop of Schalholt. 1472

XXIV.
Magnus sonne of Riolphus.
Bishop &c. 1489

XXV.
Stephen.

Entreth the See. Then (liuing at one time with Godschalchus bishop 1494
of Holen, who seemed worthy to be sirnamed cruel) he had the
same commendations for mercy and iustice, that Godschalchus had.
He died: or thereabout. 1519

XXVI.
Augmundus.

Chosen in the yeere wherein Stephen deceased.
Entret the see. 1522
While he was Bishop, the kings Lieutenant with some of his
followers being inuited to Schalholt, in the time of the banquet
was slaine by certaine conspirators because hee had in all
places wickedly wasted the inhabitants and their goods. But
Augmundus as the author of that murther (although he purged
himselfe with an othe) being transported into Denmarke there
ended his life.

XXVII.
Gysserus.
Elected, Augmundus yet liuing. 1540
Entred the see. 1541
He was the abolisher of Popish traditions about Priests marriages:
his owne marriage being solemnized at Schalholt. 1544

XXVIII.
Martinus.
Bishop &c. And the yeeres following. 1547

XXIX.
Gislaus Ionas.
This man presently, in the time of bishop Augmund began in his
youth to be enflamed with the loue of true pietie, &of the pure
doctrine of the Gospel, &being pastour of the Church of
Selardal, diligently to aduance the same, by which meanes he did
so procure vnto himselfe the hatred of Papists, as being
constrained to giue place vnto their craft &crueltie, he
departed ouer to Hamburg, from whence comming to Copen Hagen in
Denmarke &painefully proceeding in his former study of
diuintie, he liued in the familiaritie, and fauour of many, but
specially of D. D. Peter Palladius: who was at that time bishop
there. Afterward returning into his countrey, Martine gaue place 1556
vnto him of his owne accord. This man died also, havng for the 1587
space of 31. years or there abouts, professed the Gospel of
Iesus Christ: neither did he helpe &further the Church of God
by the sound of his voice much, but by all other meanes to the
vtmost of his abilities, by teaching, preaching, writing, by his
wealth &his counsel.
XXX.
Otto Knerus.
A graue, godly, and learned man. Being Chosen he departeth his 1588 country. Hee is consecrated returneth, and entreteth the sea, 1589 endeouering himselfe in the labours of his function.

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The Bishops of Holen In the yeere
of Christ

I.
Ionas sonne of Augrnundus.
Isleif his disciple. 1106
Consecrated beyonde the seas in the yeere of his age 64, his surname was Sanctus, vnto whose memorie the 3. of March was by the inhabitants in old time dedicated.
Dieth the 11. of the Kalends of May. 1121

II.
Ketillus or Catullus.
Consecrated. 1121
Dieth. 1145

III.
Biorno.
Being consecrated came into Island. 1147
Dieth. 1162

IV.
Brandus.
Consecrated 1163
Entreteth his Episcopall see. 1165
Dieth. 1201

V.
Gudmundus sirnamed Bonus.
Elected and consecrated. 1203
Dieth. 1237
VI.
Botolphus.
Returneth consecrated. 1239
Dieth. 1246

VII.
Henricus.
Entereth the see. 1247
Dieth. 1260

VIII.
Brandus an Abbat.
Goeth beyond the seas. 1262
Entereth the Bishopricke. 1263
Dieth. 1264

IX.
Iorundus.
Entereth his see. 1267
Dieth. 1313

X.
Audunnus.
Entereth his see. 1314
Dieth. 1322

XI.
Laurentinus.
Elected and consecrated. 1324
Dieth in the Ides of April 1331

XII.
Egillus.
Entereth his see. 1332
Dieth. 1341

XIII.
Ormus.
Entereth his see. 1343
Dieth upon the feast of all Saints. 1355

XIV.
Ionas Sonne of Ericus, sirnamed Skalle.
Being to enter his sea of Holen came into Island. This Ionas 1358
being before time consecrated bishop of Gronland, obteined A Bishop
licence of the bishop of Rome to enter the See of Holen, which Gronland
was at that time vacant. Whereupon comming and not bringing 1356
with him the confirmation of this dignitie and function,
receiued from the Pope hee began to be suspected among the
priests of the diocesse of Holen. Wherefore he was sent backe
by them into Norway that the matter might bee set through by
the judgement of the king. The king therefore fauouring his
part, he obteined the bishopricke of Holen.
He dieth. 1391

XV.
Peter.
Consecrated the same yeere wherein his predecessour departed out
of this present life.
Entreth the see of Holen. 1392
Dieth

XVI.
Ionas Wilhelmus. An Englishman
Bishop of
English, either borne or sirnamed. Island.
Entred the see. 1432

XVII.
Godschalcus.
Died. 1457

XVIII.
Olaus.
Son of Rogwaldus nephew to the forenamed Godschalcus by the
sisters side, both of them being Norwayes.
He was established. 1458
He died. 1497

XIX.
Godschalcus.
The nephewe of Olaus deceased, by the brothers side: also hee being a Noruagian was elected the same yeere wherein his vncle deceased.

He entretth the see. And for the space of 20. whole yeres is 1500 reported cruelly to haue entreated many of the subject. In the yeere 1520. when he was in the midst of his cups, and banquettung dishes, and heard that Ionas Sigismundus was departed out of this life (whom with his wife and children, he had for many yeres most cruelly oppressed) he presently fell into a sudden disease, and so not long after changed that violence for miserable death, which in his whole life he had vsed against his distressed subjectes.

XX.  
Ionas Arasonius.  
Enterreth the see. 1525
This man was the last and most earnest mainteiner of Popish superstitions. Who stoutely withstanding Gysserus and Martinus bishops of Schalholt, was commanded by the most religious king Christian the 3. vnder paine of banishment to come with all speed into Denmarke. But neglecting the king's commandement, hee tooke Martine bishop of Schalholt, and committed him to ward. At length he himselfe also being taken by a man of great name (whom before that time, it is said, he had prouoked) and being brought to Schalholt, was, together with his two sonnes, by the authoritie of the kings Lieu−tenant beheaded. In reuenge 1551 whereof not long after, the saide Lieu−tenant with some of his company, was villanously slaine by certaine roysters, which were once servants to the parties beheaded.

XXI.  
Olaus Walterus.  
Departed his countrey. 1552
Entreth the see. 1553
This man (being as yet in the life time of his predecessour fellow−labourer with him) was the first that kindled the loue of sincere doctrine at Holen in the hearts of many: and then being bishop did openly teache and defend the said doctrine. He died. 1568

XXII.  
Gudbrandus Thorlacius.  
The ornament, not onely of his age, but of posteritie also who besides that, by the direction of the holy spirit, he hath
most notably brought the worke begunne, and left vnnto him by his predecessour Olau to that perfection which it hath pleased God to vouchsafe: (namely his labours and diligence in maintayning the trueth of the Gospel, and in abolishing of Popish superstitions) euen in this his countrey hee is the first that hath established a Printing house. For which cause his countrey (besides, for many other books translated into our mother tongue) shalbe eternally bounded vnnto him, that the sacred Bible also, by his meanes, is fairely printed in the language of Island. (I say) being at this present, Hee Bishop, when he was about to take his charge:
Departed his countrey. 1570
Returned and entred the see of Holen. 1571

Circa hac igitur tempora mentibus nostris e coelo redditta lux est, et regni coelestis ianua per sinceriorem doctrina Christiana expositionem reserata. Nam et Schola triuialis in vtraque sede Episcopali, laudatissimi Regis Dania Christiani tertij munificentia et pietate, circa annum 1553. fundata est: ac subinde patris Christianissimi eximiam pietatem imitante filio, Dio Friderico secundo rege nostro sanctissimo, Anno 1588. ad coelestem patriam euocato, aucta et promota: qua etiam et veram pietatem formatur, vt hinc ministri Ecclesiarum petantur.

The same in English.
In these times therefore light is restored vnnto our soules from heauen, and the gate of the kingdome of heauen is opened vnnto vs by the sincere preaching of Christian doctrine. For in either of the Bishops seats there is a free schoole founded by the liberality and pietie of that most renowned King of Denmarke Christian the third: and afterward the sonne following the godly steppes of his most Christian father, the said Free schooles by Lord Friderick the second, our most religious King, being called vp to his heauenly countrey in the yeare 1588, haue beene encreased and furthered: which at this day also doe prosper and flourish by the fauour and authoritie of the most gracious King and our Prince, Christian the fourth, wherein the youth of our Islande being instructed in the rudiments of liberall artes, and sacred diuinitie, are trained vp to knowledge and true godlinesse, that from hence ministers of Churches may proceede.

We are come at length in the register of the Bishops of Island downe to this present day, wherein the forenamed excellent men Gudbrandus Thorlacius, and Otto Enerus, the one at Holen, and the other at Schalholt are Bishops of our Cathedrall Churches both of which men, that it would please God long to preserue vnnto his Church in health and life, for the glorie of his most holy name, we all doe earnestly and with feruent prayers beseech him.

SECTIO SECVNDA.

[Side note: Must. Krantz. Frisius.] Specus habitant plerumque, aut ad montium latera in excauatis mansiunculis. Et max: Templum habent multa et domos ex ossibus piscium et balenarum constructas. Item: Multi etiam ad pellendam frigoris asperitatem in cauernis latitant, quemadmodum Africani
ad solis astum vitandum. Item Munsterus. Multi in Islandia hodie costis et ossibus balenarum, domos suas construunt, &c.


The same in English.

THE SECOND SECTION.

[Sidenote: Munsterus. Krantzius. Frisius.] They inhabite for the most part in holes or hollows within the sides of mountains. And againe, They have many houses and Churches built with the bones of fishes, and Whales. Again. Many of them also to auoide the extremitie of colde, doe keepe themselues close in their caues, euen as the people of Africa doe to auoyde the heathe of the sunne. Also Munster sayth: Many in Island at this day build their houses with the ribbes and bones of Whales.

Here the second member taketh his beginning concerning the course of life, and the manners of the inhabitants. And first of all what buildings or houses they doe vse namely according to Munster, Krantinus, Frisius &c. Holes and caues of mountains. But although in gorgeous buildings, and such other worldly braueries there is very little helpe to the attayning of a life truely happie: notwithstanding, wee can not in this place concede the truth and we plainly affirme that Cosmographe and Historiographers also doe erre in this point. For such habitations as they write to be common vnto the whole nation, are but in verie fewe places, and are either sheepe−cots for shepheards, or cottages and receptacles for fishermen at that time of the yeere onely when they goe a fishing, and the others stande in neede to watch their flocke. [Sidenote: Traffike with the people of Norway
ceaseth.] But for their houses themselfes, and the verie dwelling places of men, the Islanders haue had them built from auncient time stately and sumptuously enough, according to the condition of the Country, with timber, stones, and turves, vntill such time as traffike and exchange of wares beganne to cease betweene them and the Noruagians, who were wont to supply them with timber, and for that cause nowe our houses beginne to decay whenas neither we haue woods of conuenient for building, [Sidenote: Drift wood not so plentifull now as in times past] nor yet there are nowe a days, as there were in olde time, trees cast vpon our shores by the benefite of the sea, which may in any sort relieue vs: neither doe outlandish Merchants succour our necessitie; whereupon many of our meanest countrey villages are much decayed from their auncicnt integritie, some whereof be fallen to the ground, and others bee very runious. Notwithstanding there be many farmes and villages which I cannot easily reckon vp, the buildings whereof doe resemble that auncient excellencie, the houses being verie large both in breadth and length, and for the most part in height also As for example farmes or granges which conteine chambers in them, more than fiftie cubites in length, tenne in breadth, and twentyt in height. And so other roome, as a parle, a stoue, a butterie, &c. answering in proportion vnto the former. I could here name many of our countrey buildings both large and wide neither ilfaouured in shewe, nor base in regarde of their workemanship and costly firmenesse or strength, with certaine Churches also, or religious houses, built of timber onely, according to auncient and artificiall seemelinesse and beautie: as the Cathedrall Church of Holen hauing a bodie the fiue pillars whereof on both sides be foure elnes high, and about fiue elnes thicke, as also beames and weather−bourdes, and the rest of the roofe proportionally answering to this lower building. Our most gracious King Lord Frederick, whose memory is most sacred vnto vs, in the yere 1588. did most liberally bestowe timber for the reedifying of this body being cast downe in the yere 1584. by an horrible tempest. But the Church it selfe doth manifestlie exceed the body thereof in all quantity: also the inner part of the Church, which is commonly called the quier is somwhat lesse, both then the middle part of the Church, and also then the bodie.

The Church of Schalholt was farre greater as I haue heard in olde time, then this our Cathedrall, which hauing nowe beene twise burnt, is brought to a lesser scantling. Likewise there be some other Churches of our Island, although not matching, yet resembling the auncient magnificence of these. But here the matter seemeth not to require that I shoulde runne into a long description of these things. For as wee doe not greatly extoll our houses and buildings, so are we nothing ashamed of them, because being content with our pouertie, we render vnto Christ immortall prayse who despiseth not to be receiued of vs vnder a base roofe, and contemneth not our temples and houses (which Munster, Krantzius, and Frisius doe not truely affirm to be built of fishes and Whales bones) more then the marble vaults, the painted walles, the square pauements, and such like ornamentes of Churches and houses in other countries.
SECTIO TERTIA.


Tecto: Primum igitur quod de commum tecto (vti etiam de victu et statu) cum iumentis dicunt, falsum et erroneum clamamus, teste non modo re ipsa, si quis id hodie perquirere volet: Sed etiam multorum extraneorum, qui aliquot apud nos annos egerant, et veritati plus quam gentem nostram calumniandi affectui tribuunt, experientia; qui ipsi domos et habitationes nostras viderunt, et norunt in singulis pradijs seu villis, multas esse distinctas domus: nempe in abiectissimis et vilissimis 7. vel 8. in maioribus, nunc decem, nunc 20. In maximis, nunc 40, nunc 50; qua vt plurimum, et tecto et parietibus distincta, ut nimirum omnium omnibus est notum. Sed canibus paulo post Sect 7. huius.


Caterum videamus quomodo hic eluceat veritatis et candoris prastantia. Iumenta non habemus praterquam equos et boves: His gramina et foenum (nisi vbi foeni inopia obrepit) pabulum, aqua potum prabet. At hi ipsi scriptores fatentur, Islandos piscibus, butyro, carnibus, tum bubulis, tum ouillis, etiam frumento, licet pauco et adventitio viuere. Non igitur cibum habent cum brutis communem, quod tamen ijdem his verbis assentiant.
Potum autem interdum esse multis cum iumentis communem non magnopere contraibimus: nempe aquam limpidissimam, naturalem ilium potum omnibus animantibus a Deo creatum quem etiam ex parte, medicina consulti comendant, imo nec patres Hebrai nec ipse Seruato fastidiebat.


Statu. Restat ille status quem cum brutis habere communem dicimur. Qui qualis aut cuiusmodi sit, aut eum esse velint nostri scriptores, certe non facile assequor. Status inquit Doletus est vel corporis, vel causarum et ordinis et conditionis. Certe alium esse statum nostri corporis quam iumentorum (nam prater duos pedes etiam manus habemus et corpore ac vultu sursum erecto incedimus) alium item ordinem et conditionem nostram ducimus. Illi boni viri si id de se aut alii cognitum habent fateantur. Nos hac tam vana et in Deum creatorem nostrum tam contemptibilia irridemus, nec prolixiore tractatu dignamur.

[Sidenote: Occasi harum fabularum.] Caterum quia nostrum est nec amori patria, nec vllii rei tantum tribuere, quin plus semper et vbique veritati largiamur: Dicam quid sit quod huic infami scriptorum conuicio occasionem forte dederit.

Sunt in vicinia Schalholtia, ad littus Islandie australe paroechiola tres, inter duos rapidissimos amnes Thiorsaa et Olffwis Aa intercepta; qua et syluis et cespitibus consueto gentis ad focos alendos fomite fere destituunt. In istis paroechijs habitantes et si qui sint vicini, vt de omnibus rebus ad rem familiarem pertinentibus, ita etiam de his, qua ad focos et balnea opus habent, sibi opportune prospiciunt: Tamen sunt inter eos quidam sed infortuna tamen sortis coloni, qui quoniam estis rebus domi destituantur, nec aliunde petere eas valeant in culinis foeno ad coquendos cibos vtuntur: Ast vbi hyemis niuosa savitia horrida ingruit, coloni isti miser ad suum bouile refugiunt illic scilicet exstructis tabulis interidiu operas domesticas exercentes, a bobus, cum focus habere nequeant, calorem mutuuntur, quemadmodum mihi ab aliis narratum est. Sicque illi tantum qui sane paucissimi sunt, communi cum bobus tecto in bruma vti quidem non gaudent, sed coguntur. Verum victum et statum longe alium habent, de qua re hactenus. Hac est in istis Paroechiolis quorundam sors et inopia, quorum conditio idcirco etiam apud nos fabula vulgi effecta est, quamuis non satis iuste. Vbi quo iure toti genti tribuatur, quod vix ac ne vix quidem de istis paucis colonis verum est, libentur quasierim? Tadet de his pluribus agere: Tantum quia mihi cum Theologis res est illud Saioononis ijs reponam. [Sidenote: Prouerb 14.] Qui calummatur egenum, deridet factorem eius.

Equidem quia gens hac nostra pauper et egena est et fuit, ad veluti quidam mendicus inter diuites, tot extraneorum probra et scommata tulit. Sed videant cui exprobrent. Certe, si aliud nihil nobis cum illis commune est, tamen omnes ex ijsdem constamus elementis, et vnus et idem omnium Pater, Deus.

THE THIRD SECTION.

[Sidenote: Krantzius Munsterus.] They and their cattell vse all one house, all one food or victuals, one state (here Krantzius hath it lodging.)

Also. They liue onely by feeding of cattell, and sometimes by taking of fishes.

Those be the things together with those that followe, which Krantzius hath champed, and put into Munsters mouth, so that Munster shall not neede so much as once to chewe them, which may appeare by comparing them both together. For Munster, as hee swallowed these reproches, taking them out of Krantzious his preface vpon Norway, so he casteth vp the verie same morsels vndigested and rawe against our nation, in his fourth booke of Cosmographie cap. 8. Those things which haue beene hitherto, although they haue sufficiently grieved vs yet will we let them seeme more tollerable: but this most malicious devise, and those which follow we cannot easily brooke. It is our part therefore in this place also to auouch the trueth, and to turne the leasing vpou the authors owne head.

House, &c. First, that which they say concerning the same common house (as also liuing, and state) with our cattell, we plainely affirme to be false and erronious, not onely the truth it selfe being our witnesse, if any man

SECTIO TERTIARIA.
would make trial, but also the experience of many strangers, that have lived some years amongst us, and have
more minde to speake the trueth then to reuile our nation: who have seene our house and habitations with their
owne eyes, and knewe that in euery particular farme or graunge there were many seuerall roomes namely, in those
that were most simple and base, seuen or eight: In others which were greater, sometimes tenne, and sometimes
twenti. In the greatest sometimes fortie, and sometimes fiftie. Which for the most part being seuered, both by
roofes and walles, doe serue for the dayly and household affairs of one owner or master, seldom of two or three,
but almost neuer of more: whereupon the Reader may easily judge, howe true it is that the Islanders and their
cattell haue all one house to lie in, when euery husbandman in this varietie of roomes hath seuerall oxe stalles,
sheepe−cotes, stables lambes−cots separated in different spaces one from another, which the seruants goe vnto so
oft as neede requir eth, and from thence returne backe to the dwelling houses.

But whereas one noted in his Mappe of Island, concerning the province of Skagefiord, that vnder the same
rooie, men, dogges swine and sheepe liue altogether, it is partly false, and partly no maruell: for sheepe, as it hath
been sayde, and especially for swine (when as that province hath no swine at all) it is utterly false: for dogges it is
no maruell, when is not kings courts were euer, or at this day are destitute of them, as it is well knowen to all men.
But as touching dogges afterward in the seuenth section.

Victuals, &c. Whither beasts meate may fitly be termed by the name of Victus, a man may lustly doubt: When
Doletus interpreting a peece of Tullie, saith: As for Victus (sayth he) wee will so expound it with the Ciuiilians,
namely that we comprehend vnder the word of Victus all things necessarie for the life of man as meate, drinke,
attire of the bodie, &c. And Vlpianus de verborum significatione defineth Victus in the very same words. But in
this place the saide authors call beaste meate by the name of Victus.

But let vs see what trueth and plaine dealing is to be found in these men. We haue no labouring cattel besides
horses and oxen: these haue grasse and hay (except where haye is wanting) for their fodder, and water to drinke.
Now, the very same writers confesse, that the Islanders liue by fish, butter, flesh both beefe and mutton, and corne
also, though it bee scarce, and brought out of other countries. Therefore they haue not the same foode with brute
beasts, which notwithstanding the sayde writers afirmes in these wordes: They and their cattel vse all one victuals
or food. What Munsters meaning is in this clause, he himselfe a little before hath plainly taught.

Island (saith he) conteineth many people liuing onely with the food of cattell, and sometimes by taking of
fishes. But what else is the food of cattell, but the meat of cattell, saith Doletus? Vnlesse perhaps Munster calleth
the food of cattell, cattell themselues slaine for the foode of men: whom, as I think, the vse of the lateine tongue
doeth gaine say, which hath taught vs that the Islanders liue by fish, butter, flesh both beefe and mutton, and corne
also, though it bee scarce, and brought out of other countries. Therefore they haue not the same foode with brute
beasts, which notwithstanding the sayde writers affirmes in these wordes: They and their cattel vse all one victuals
or food. What Munsters meaning is in this clause, he himselfe a little before hath plainly taught.

As touching apparell (for we comprehend apparell also vnder the name of Victus) it is no wise common to vs
with beasts. For nature hath clad them with hairs and bristles (as I dare say Munster and Krantzius cannot be
ignorant) men, being otherwise naked stande in neede of clothes to couer their bodies. But I had not thought it
might therefore haue properly beene sayde that sheepe and we haue all one apparell. Men of other countries also
weare cloth of sheepees wooll, although it be more finely wrought. But no more concerning the attire of the bodie.
For it is a meere folly to seeke for praise, and ambitious reputation by that, which argueth the infirmitie of our
nature.
State, &c. Now, it remaineth that we should speake of that state, which we are sayd to haue common with beasts; but of what kinde or maner it should be, or our writers would haue it to be I cannot easily discerne. State (sayth Doletus) is either of the body, or of causes, or of order and condition. Doubtlesse, that there is another state of our bodies then of beasts (for besides our two feet, we haue hands also, and go with our bodies, and countenances lift vpright) and that we be of another order and condition from them, we are verily perswaded. As for these good fellowes, if they know any such matter by themselues or others, let them disclose it. We doe altogether scorne these, being so vaine things, and breeding so great contempt against the Maiesty of God our creator, neither do we vouchsafe them any larger discourse.

But because it is our duty not so highly to regard either the loue of our countrey, or of any other thing whatsoever, but that we may be ready at all times and in all places, to giue trueth the preheminence: I will say in a word what that was which perhaps might minister occasion to this infamous reproch of writers.

There be neere vnto Schalholt, vpon the South shore of Island three small parishes standing betweene two most swift riuers Thiorsaa and Olffwis Aa, being in a maner destitute both of wood and turfe, which is the accustomed fewell of the countrey. And although most of the inhabitants of these parishes and some of their neighbours, as they doe in time of yeere prouide all things necessary for householde, so especially those things which belong to fires and bathes: notwithstanding there be certaine among them of the basest sort of people, who because they want those things at home, and are not able to prouide them from other places, are constrained to vse straw for the dressing of their meat. But when the sharpe rigor of snowy Winter commeth on, these poore people betake them to their oxe stalles, and there setting vp sheds, and doing their necessary businesse in the day time, when they are not able to make fires, they borrow heat from their oxen, as it hath beene reported to mee by others: And so they onely being verie fewe in number, doe not willingly enioye, but are constrayned to vse the same common house with their oxen. But for their liuelihoode and state it is farre otherwise with them then with their oxen, of which thing I haue entreated before. This is the lot, &pouertie of certaine men in those pettie parishes, the condition whereof is therefore made a common byworde of the people amongst vs, though somewhat iniuriously. Where I would willingly demaund with what honestie men can impute that vnto the whole nation, which is hard and skantly true of these fewe poore men? I am wearie to stay any longer in this matter: onely, because I haue to doe with Diuines, let that of Salomon suffice, Prouerbs 17, verse 5. Hee that mocketh the poore, reprocheth him that made him.

And in very deede, because this our nation is nowe, and heretofore hath been poore and needie, and as it were a begger amongst many rich men, it hath susteined so many taunts and scoffes of strangers. But let them take heede whom they vpbraide. Verely if there were nothing else common vnto vs with them, yet we both consist of the same elements, and haue all one father and God.

SECTIO QUARTA.

Simplicitate. Equidem sancta simplicitatis laudem nobis attribui, merito gaudeamus: Sed id dolemus, quod reperiatur etiam apud nos iustitia ac legum ingens deprauatione, ac magna anarchia, quam multorum scelerum myriades consequuntur, quod pij et boni omnes quotidian deplorant. Id mali autem nequaquam suprimei Magistratus, hoc est, Regis nostri clementissimi, sed verius nostra culpa accidit: qui hac qua clam ipso prapostere geruntur et qua in inferiore magistratu desiderantur, ad maiestatem ipsius non deferimus.

Mercatores. Mercatores porro, non solum Angli et Dani, sed maxime Germani, vt nunc, ita olim terram nostram, non ob piscaturam sed pisces euhendos frequentantes, nequaquam artem illam, miscendarum frugum aqua, Islandos docuerunt. Quippe ipsi Noruagi primi, quod nobis constet, terra nostra incola; a quibus oriundi sunt Islandi, artem illam, sicut etiam aureos argenteosque nummos, secum ex Noruegia attulerunt; vt initio non fuerit minor argenti et auri vsus apud nos, quam est hodie.

Et quidem ante Danorum, Germanorum, Anglorumue frequentes ad nos navigaciones, terra nostra multo,
quam nunc, senescentis mundi incommoda, coelo soloque persentiens, fertilior, in delectis simis quibusque locis, Cereris munera produxit.

The same in English.

THE FOURTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: Krantzius. Munster.] They leade their liues in holy simplicitie, not seeking any more then nature doeth afforde. A happie Nation, whose pouertie no man doth enuie. But the English and Danish merchants suffer not the nation to be at rest, who frequenting that countrey to transport fishing, haue conueighed thither our vices, together with their manifolde wares. For nowe, they haue learned to brew their water with corne, and beginne to despise, and loath the drinking of faire water. Now they couet golde and siluer like vnto our men.

Simplicitie, &c. I am exceedingly glad, that the commendation of holy simplicitie is giuen vnto vs. But it grieueth vs that there is found so great a decay of iustice, and good lawes, and so great want of gouernement amongst vs, which is the cause of many thousande haynous offences which all honest and godly men doe continually bewayle. This inconuenience doth not happen through the negligence of the highest Magistrate, that is of our most gracious King, but rather by our owne fault, who doe not present these thinges vnto his Maiestie, which are disorderly committed without his knowledge, and which are wanting in the inferiour Magistrate.

Merchants. Moreouer, Merchants, not onely of England and Denmarke, but especially of Germanie, as at this time, so heretofore frequenting our countrey, not to transport fishing, but fishes, taught not Islanders the arte of brewing corne with water. For the Noruagians themselues, the first, to our knowledge, that inhabited this Island, from whom ye Islanders are lineally descended, brought with them out of Norway that arte, as also golde and siluer coine, so that in old time there was no lesse vse of siluer and golde with vs, then there is at this day.

[Sidenote: Corne of old time growing on Island.] And it is certaine that before the often nauigations of Danes, Germans, and English men vnto vs, our land was much more fertile then nowe it is (feeling the inconueniences of the aged and decayed worlde, both from heauen and earth) and brought foorth, in certaine choyse places, corne in abundance.
SECTIO QUINTA.


Anno Domino 846. natus est Haraldus Harfagre (quod auricomum vel pulchricomum dixeris) Qui deinde Anno 858, Rex Noruagia designatus, vbi atas viresque iustum incrementum acceperunt, formam imperij Noruagici mutauit. Nam antea in minutias prouincias diuisum (quas Fylki vocabant, et qui his praerant regulos, Fylkis Konga) ad Monarchiam armis potentiis redegit. Id cum et genere et potentia valentes aliquot regni incola agre ferrent, patria exulare, quam ipsius Tyrannidis iugum non detrectare maluerunt. Vnde hi in Islandiam, antea quidem a quibusdam visam et inuentam, at desertam tamen, colonias, dicto Superius Anno 874. transtulerunt: Atque sic genti nostra originem prabentes, se Islandos nuncuparunt, quod nomen hodie posteri retinent. Vixerunt itaque Islandi diu, nullius imperium agnoscentes, annis scilicet 386. plus minus. Et quamuis Rex Noruagia Haquinus ille conatus, qui omnium regum Noruagia diutissime, nempe plus quam 66. annos imperium gerebat, sape per legatos tentarat tributarios sibi facere Islandos, constanter tamen semper restiterunt, donec tandem circa annum Domini 1260. homagium ipsi prastarent. [Sidenote: Margareta.] Atque postea semper in data fide persistentes, et regibus Noruagia parentes, translato per Margaretam, Dania, Suecia, et Noruagia reginam, Noruagorum imperio, ad Danos, vna cum reliquis imperij Noruagici Insulis, Serenissimum Dania regem; Dominum et Regem suum hodie salutant.

The same in English.

THE FIFTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: Munsterus. Krantzius.] The King of Denmarke and Norway sendeth euery yeere a Lieutenant into the Countrey. 

In the yeere of our Lord eight hundred fortie and sixe Harold Harfagre (which is to say, golden haires or faire lockes) was borne. Who afterward in the yeere eight hundred fiftie and eight, being chosen king of Norway, when he was grown to age, and full strength, chaunged the forme of the Noruagian government. For whereas before it was diuided into pettie Prouinces (which they called Fylki, and the pettie kings that gouerned them, fylkis konga) he reduced it by force of armes vnto a Monarchie. [Sidenote: The occasion of the first inhabiting of Island by the people of Norway.] But when some inhabitants of the countrie, being mightie, and descended of good parentages, could not well brooke this hard dealing, they chose rather to be banished their countrie, then not to shake off the yoke of tyranny. Whereupon, they in the yeere aboue named eight hundred seuentie and foure, transported colonies into Island being before discovered by some men and found out, but vnpeopled as yet: And so being the first founders of our nation, they called themselves Islanders, which name their posteritie reteineth vnto this day. And therefore the Islanders liued a long time, namely, three hundred eightie and sixe yeeres, more or lesse, acknowledging no submission to any other Nation. [Sidenote: Haquinus coronatus.] And although Haquinus that crowned King of Norway who reigned longest of any Noruagian king, namely, about sixtie sixe yeares, did oftentimes attempt by Ambassadorours to make the Islanders become tributaries vnto him, notwithstanding at all times they constantly withstroode him, till at length about the yeere of our Lord 1260. they performed homage vnto him. And afterward continued always in their promised loyaltie, being subiects to the king of Norway. But now at this day, since the Empire of the Noruagians was translated by Margaret Queene of Denmarke, Suedeland, and Norway vnto the Danes, they doe honour as their soueraigne Lord and King the most gracious king of Denmarke.
SEXIO SEXTA.

[Sidenote: Krantzius Munsterus] Omnia eos communia sunt, prater vxores.

Hoc loco pramittit Krantzius talem Ironiam.

Multa insignia in moribus illorum, &c. Porro etiam hic fidem vestram eleuat ingenium, ad asserendum res incompertas nimis procliae, cupidinem nouitatis, et nominis ac famaa, imo veritatis curam preposteram arguit, omnium et rerum personarumque et temporum experientia: O scriptores suspiciendi.

Testes sunt leges politica, quibus inde ab initio cum Noruagis vsi sunt eiusmod Islandi: De Rege et subditis: De foro, et his qua in forensem disceptationem cadere possunt: De hareditatibus, adoptionibus, nuptijs, furto, rapinis, mutuo contractibus et cateris: Qua omnia, quorsum illis, quebus res omnes sunt communes? Testes sunt, tot de bonis mobilibus et immobileibus contentiones, turba et certamina, in foris ac iudicijs Islandorum: Testes sunt Reges nunc Dania et olim Noruagia, qui tot libellis supplicibus Islandorum, ad componendas istas de possessionibus controversias, olim et nunc interpellati sape fuerant. Testis contra seipsum Krantzius, cuius verba distinction. i. huius, hac fuerunt. Ante susceptam Christi fidem (Islandi) lege naturali viuentes parum a lege nostra discrepabant, &c. Si lege natura, certe lege illa iustitia, qua tribuit unicuique suum: Si lege iustitia, certe proprietatum et dominiorum distinctiones in nostra gente locum habuisse oportet: Quanquam autem in hanc ipsam legem etiam in Ecclesia, et quidem satis atrocitur, sape delinquitur tamen et Ecclesia et Ethnici iustissimam et optimam esse semper fassi sunt.

The same in English.

THE SIXTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: Krantzius. Munsterus.] All things are common among them except their wives.

Here Krantzius in the first place beginneth with such a gybe There be many notable things in their manners, &c. Moreover, your wit being too hastie in affirming things vknownen, doth here also diminish your credite. The experience as well of all things as of persons and times proueth your ouer greedie desire of noueltie, of fame and vaine glorie, and argueth your great negligence in maintaining the truth. O worthy writers.

But whether the aforesayde things bee true or no, wee call the lawes of our Countrey to witnesse, which the Islanders from the beginning haue vsed all one with the Norwaiyes: of the King and his subiects: of the seate of iustice, and of law cases which come to be decided there, of inheritances: of adoptions, marriages, theft, extortions, lending, bargaines, and the rest: all which, to what purpose should they be enioyned vnto them with whom all things are common? We call to witnesse so many broyls and contentions in our courts, and places of judgement in Island concerning goods mooeuable, and immooeuable: we call to witnesse our kings now of Denmarke, aforetime of Norway, who by so many billes of supplication out of Island in old time, and of late haue beeene often interrupted, for the setting through of controversys concerning possessions. Wee call Krantzius himselfe to witnesse against himselfe, whose words in the first section were these: Before the receiuing of Christian faith the Islanders liuing according to the lawe of nature did not much differ from our lawe &c. If by the lawe of nature, then doubltesse by that lawe of iustice, which giueth to euer y man his owne: If by the lawe of iustice, then certainly distinctions of properties and possessions must needes haue taken place in our Nation: and although this very lawe is often transgressed, and that haynously even in the Church: notwithstanding both the Church, and also heathen men doe acknowledge it to be most iust and good.
SECTIO SEPTIMA.

Catulos suos et pueros aquo habent in precio: Nisi quod a pauperioribus facilius impetrabis filium quam catulum, &c.

Quamuis principio huius commentarioli censuerim, Munsterum et alios magni nominis viros, in ijs, qua de Islandia scripta reliquerunt, esse a calumna nota liberandos: num tamen id hic, etiam a candidissimo et maxime sincere quocunque fieri possit, non satis video. Quid enim mouit tantos viros, vt Nautarum maleuolas nugas et mendacia secuti, tam atroci et contumelioso opprobrio gentem nostram diffamarent, commacularentque? Nihil profecto, nisi secura ridendi et contemnendi gentem pauperem et ignotam, licentia, et si qua sunt huic vicia confinia.

Caterum norint omnes non tam Islandis, quam ipsis Authoribus, incommodare hoc mendacium. Cum enim illud, et plurima etiam alia in historiam suam accumulant, efficiunt vna, vt alibi quoque suspecta fidei habeantur. Illudque quod ait Aristoteles luctrantur, vt cum vera dixerint, illis sine suspizione non credatur.


Nos vero Islandi, quamuis vltimi et gelidum conclusi ad Arcton, longe alias Christianismi notas requirimis. Nam et praceptum Dei habemus, vt quilibet proximum diligat velut seipsum. Iam nemo est, puto, qui seipsum non plus diligat, aut pluris faciat, quam canem. Quod si tantus esse debet proximi cuiuslibet fauor, tanta astimatio, tantus amor, quantus quas in liberis? Quorum arctissimum amorem, praterquam quod ipsa parens natura nobis firmissime conciliauit, etiam Lex diuina curam summam in enutriendo habere iussit (Exo. 12. 24. Ephe. 6, 4.) vt scilicet sint in sancto coniugio, Ecclesia quadam seminaria, omnis pietatis et honestatis exercitia: Prout vates ille pulcherrime cecinit.

Vult Ecclesiolum quamlibet esse domum.

Item: Coniugium humana quadam est Academia vita.

Vt iam satis constet, apud Christianos longe plures facientes et curantes filios, quam canes: Et, si qui non aliter curent, Christianos non esse.

repugnantes, adscribant: sin minus, non modo hominis titulum et dignitatem illis detrahant, sed etiam infra bruta
et quasuis bestias, qua ipsa, stimulante natura, maximo prolis sua et arctissimo amore tenetur, deprimant.

Non addam contra hoc impudens mendacium exempla etiam nostratium satis illustria: Tacebo leges nostras
plagiarias ipsis Islandis antiquiores, quippe a Noruagis acceptas, qua exstant in codice legum nostrarum, titulo
Mannhelge: cap. 5. Si quis hominem liberum (quemuis nedum filium) extraneis vendat, &c.

Iam vero si quis eo fortuna deueniat, vt proprium filium, siue incola, siue extranei alicuius potestati, vel fame
vel extrema quacunque vrgente necessitate, aut periculo, permittat, ne familialicm *media deficientem aspicere
cogatur, canem vero in proprias dapes reseruet, Is minime dicendus est filium aquo aut inferiori loco habere quam
canem, siue id faciant, Islandi, siue extranei quilibet.

Offenderant forte Germanorum vel Danorum nauta apud nos mendicos quosdam, liberis onustos, quorum hic
maximus est numerus, qui iocando, vt sunt nugis scurrilibus addicti, dixerint: Da mihi aut vende hoc vel illud:
vnum vel plures, &c. Solet enim ista mendicorum colluuiues istiusmodi scurriles dialogismos cum extraneis
instituere. Quod si tundis quosiam bonus vir, misertus stoliditatis et inopia mendicorum, vno illos filio leuaerit,
eique propter Deum in alijs terris, aliqho tandem modo bene prospexerit, num menticus, qui aliqho cum filio,
fame et paupertate moriturus, filium miserenti permittens et committerit, filium istum suum minoris facit quam
canem? Prastitum est a multis tam Islandis quam extraneis huiusmodi beneuolentia et commiserationis opus: ex
quibus fuit vir nobilissimus Accilius Iulius a serenissimo rege Dania olim missus ad Islandos, Anno Domini 1552.
Qui vt audui, 15. pueros pauperticos assum advant et secum in Dianam auexit: Vbi postea ipsius beneficio singulos
sua vita generi addictos, in viros bonos et frugi euasisse, mihi narratum est.

Quid si quis in extrema constitutus angustia, filium non modo vendat; sed si emptorem non habet, ipse mactet
et comedat?Nota sunt huius rei exempla: Parentum videlicet inuitia crudelitatis in filios, stimulante non odio vel
astorgia, sed ineuitabili necessitate compellente. Num quis inde vniuersale gentis alicuius convicium exstruxerit?
obsidione Ierosolymitana, quam flebilis fuerit vox miserrima matris, filium misellum iam macturata. Infans, ait,
(referam enim Eusebij verba de hac re, etsi notissima, vt misera matris affectus appareat,) miselle et infelix,
cuinam in hoc belli. famis, et seditiosis tumultu, te commode reseruem? Si Romanorum subijciamur imperio, illic
seruititius iugo pressi, vitam infoeliciter exigimus. Sed accedit factiorum pradonorum turba, vsrquisque miserijs toleratu multo asperior.

Caterum optarim ego, parcius Islandis canum curam exprobrare illos populos, quorum matrona, et pracipue
nobiles, canes in maximis delicijs habent, vt eos vel in plateis, ne dicam in sacris concionibus, sinum gestent,
quae Dei consuluius conuius in vulgaribus consuevit, dum quareret: Numquid apud Islandos, extraneis
domnibus, quae in extremis tenebantur, filum suum darunt? In his parsit, ut vnum filium canonice conscius
releguerint, ut in necessitate, qui in extremis etiam non intendit, filium suum suae maiestatis majorem atque
suam in vitam mactaret. Sed, num hic at similia exempla quempiam eo

Notas sunt exempla antiqua petamus, accepimus tantam annona sauitiam, Anno 1586. et 1587. in Hungaria grassatam
fuisse, et quam ciborum inopia adacti immanissimo Christianorum hosti proprios liberos vendiderint, et in
perpetuum seruititius iugum mancipari: quidam parulos suos, quos vlerius tolerare non sustinebant, crudeli
misericordia in Danubium proiecisse, et, suffocasse dicantur. Sed, num hic at similia exempla quempiam eo

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SECTIO SEPTIMA.
errare eos, quia natura inditos sibi affectus, quibus in amorem hominum ac praecipe solubis incitarentur, in
bestias transferunt, quorum deliciarum voluptas Islandorum gentem, nunquam cepit aut habuit. Quare iam
 Munstere et Krantzzi, alias nobis Christianitatis, (vt sic dicam) legis natura, legis item Germanorum, et sancta
simplicitatis notas quente.

The same in English.

THE SEVENTH SECTION.

They make all one reckoning of their whelpes, and of their children: except
that of the poorer sort you shall easier obtaine their sonne then their
shalke.

Although in the beginning of this Treatise I thought that Munster and other men of great name in those things
which they haue left written concerning Islande, were not to bee charged with slander, yet whether that fauour
may here be shewed by any man whatsoever (be he neuer so fauourable, and neuer so sincere) I doe not
sufficiently conceiue. For what should moue such great men, following the despightful lyes, and fables of
mariners, to defame and staine our nation with so horrible and so shamefull a reproch? Surely nothing else but a
carelesse licentiousnesse to deride and contemne a poore and vnknowen Nation, and such other like vices.

But, be it known to all men that this vntrueth doth not so much hurt to the Islanders, as to the authors
themselves. For in heaping vp this, and a great number of others into their Histories, they cause their credite in
other places also to be suspected: And hereby they gaine thus muche (as Aristotle sayth) that when they speake
truth no man will beleue them without suspition.

But attend a while (Reader) and consider with me the grauitie and wisedome of these great Clarkes: that we
may not let passe such a notable commendation of Island. Krantzius and Munster haue hitherto taught, that the
Islanders are Christians. Also: that before receiuing of Christian faith they liued according to the lawe of Nature.
Also: that the Islanders liued after a law not much differing from the lawe of the Germanes. Also, that they liued
in holy simplicitie.

Attend I say (good Reader) and consider, what markes of Christianitie, of the lawe of nature, of the Germanes
law, of holy simplicitie, these authors require, and what markes they shew and describe in the Islanders. There
was one of the sayd markes before: namely, that the Islanders doe place hell or the prison of the damned, within
the gulfe and bottome of mount Hecla: concerning which, reade the first section of this part, and the seuenth
section of the former. The seconde marke is, that with the Anabaptists they take away distinctions of properties
and possessions: in the section next going before. The third and most excellent is this: those singular and natural
affections, that loue and tender care, and that fatherly and godly minde of the Islanders towards their children,
namely, that they make the same accompt of them, or lesse then they doe of their dogges. What? Will Munster
and Krantzius after this fashion picture out vnto vs the lawe of Christ, the lawe of nature, the lawe of the
Germanes, and holy simplicitie? O rare and excellent picture, though not altogether matching the skill of Apelles:
O sharpe and wonderfull inuention, if authenticall: O knowledge more then humane, though not at all diuine.

But wee Islanders (albeit the farthest of all nations and inhabiting a frozen clime) require farre other notes of
Christianitie. For we haue the commaundement of God, that euery man should loue his neighbour as himselfe.
Nowe there is none (I suppose) that doeth not loue or esteeme more of himselfe then of his dogge. And if there
ought to bee so great fauour, so great estimation, so great loue vnto our neighbour, then how great affection doe
we owe vnto our children? The most neare and inseparable loue of whom, besides that nature hath most friendly
setled in our mindes, the loue of God also commaundeth vs to haue speciall regard in trayning them vp (Exod 12.
24. Ephes. 6. 4.) namely that there may be in holy marriage certaine seminaries of Gods Church, and exercises of
all pietie and honestie according to the excellent saying of the Poet—

God will haue each family,
   A little Church to be,
   Also,
   Of humane life or mans societie,
   A Schole or College is holy matrimony

That it may be manifest, that among Christians their sonnes are more to be accompted of and regarded, then
their dogges: and if any doe no otherwise esteeme of them, that they are no Christians.

But this naturall affection towarde our most deare of−spring is plainely seene in the heathen themselues: that
whomsoever you totally deprive of this, you deny them also to be men. The mothers of Carthage testify this to be true, when as in the third Punic warre the most choyse and gallant young men in all the Cittie were sent as pledges into Sicilia, whom they followed vnto the shippes with most miserable weeping and lamentation, and some of them being with griefe separated from their deare sonnes, when they sawe the saules hoysed, and the shippes departing out of the hauen, for very anguish cast themselues headlong into the water: as Sabellicus witnesseth. Egaus doth testify this, who when he sawe the shipe of his sonne Theseus, returning out of Creete with blacke sayles, thinking that his sonne had perished, ended his life in the next waters: Sabell lib. 3. cap 4.

Gordianus the elder, Proconsul of Affrica, doth testify this, who likewise, vpon rumours of the death of his sonne, hanged himselfe. Campoful lib 5. cap. 7. Also, Iocasta the daughter of Creon, Auctolia daughter of Simon, Anius King of the Thucans, Orodes King of the Parthians, and an infinite number of others. Concerning whom reade Plutarch stat. lib. 2. and other authors, &c. To these may be added that sentence, Loue descendeth, &c. So that you see, it is no lesse proper to a man entirely to loue his children, then for a bird to flie: that if our writers at any time haue confessed the Islanders to be men (muche lesse to be Christians,) they must, will they nill they, ascribe vnto them this loue and affection towards their children: if not, they doe not onely take from them the title and dignitie of men, but also they debase them vnder euerie brute beast, which even by the instinct of nature are bound with exceeding great loue, and tender affection towards their young ones.

I will not add against this shamelesse vntruth most notable examples of our owne countreymen: I will omit our lawes of man-stealing, more ancient then the Islanders themselues, being receiued from the Noruagians, and are extant in our booke of lawes vnder the title Manhelge cap. 5. Whosoeuer selleth a free man (any man much more a sonne) vnto strangers, &c.

Now if any man be driuen to that hard fortune, that he must needs commit his own sonne into the hands of some inhabitant or stranger, being vraged thereunto by famine, or any other extreame necessity, that he may not be constrained to see him hunger-starued for want of sustenanc, but keepeth his dogge still for his owne eating, this man is not to be sayd, that he esteemeth equally or more basely of his sonne then of his dogge: whether Islanders or any other countreymen do the same.

[Sidenote: The occasion of this slander.] The Germane or the Danish mariners might perhaps find amongst vs certaine beggars laden with children (for we haue here a great number of them) who in jesting maner, for they are much gien to trifling talke, might saye: Give me this, or sell me that: and when the stranger should aske, What will you giue me for it? the beggar might answere: I haue ten or foureteene children, I will giue you some one or more of them, &c. For this rabble of beggars vseth thus fondly to prate with strangers. Now if there be any well-disposed man, who pitying the need and folly of these beggers, releaseth them of one sonne, and doth for Gods sake by some meanes prouide for him in another countrey: doth the begger therefore (who together with his sonne being ready to die for hunger and poverty, yeeldeth and committeth his sonne into the hands of a mercifull man) make lesse account of his sonne then of his dogge? Such works of loue and mercie haue bene performed by many, as well Islanders themselues as strangers: one of which number was that honourable man Accilius Iulius, being sent by the most gracious King of Denmarke into Island in the yere of our Lord 1552, who, as I haue heard, tooke, and carried with him into Denmarke fiftene poore boyes: where afterward it was reported vnto me, that, by his good meanes euery one of them being bound to a seuerall trade, proued good and thriftie men.

What if some man be driuen to that passe, that he doth not onely sell his sonne but not finding a chapman, his owne selfe killeth and eateth him? Examples of this kinde be common, namely of the vnwilling and forced cruelty of parents towards their children, not being pricked on through hate, or want of natural affection, but being compelled thereunto by vrgent necessity. Shall any man hereupon ground a generall reproch against a whole nation? We reade that in the siege of Samaria, two mothers slew their sonnes, and eat them sodden: 4. King, chap. 6. We reade in the siege of Ierusalem, how lamentable the voice of that distressed mother was, being about to kill her tender childe: My sweete babe, sayth she (for I will report Eusebius owne words, concerning this matter, though very common, that the affection of a mother may appeare) borne to miserie and mishap, for whom should I conueniently reserve thee in this tumult of famine, of warre, and sedition? If we be subdued to the government of the Romans, we shall weare out our vnhappy dayes vnder the yoke of slauery. But I thinke famine will preuent captivity. Besides, there is a rout of seditious rebels much more intollerable then either of the former miseries. Come on therefore, my sonne, be thou meat vnto thy mother, a fury to these rebels, and a byword in the common life of men, which one thing onely is wanting to make vp the calamities of the Iewes. These sayings being ended,
she killeth her sonne, roasting and eating one halfe, and reserving the other, &c. Eusebius lib 3. cap. 6. Now, what
man will not believe that this unhappy mother would full gladly have passed over this her sonne into the
possession of some master or chapman, if she could have happened upon any such, with whom she thought he
might have been preserved: That famine is well known which oppressed Calagurium, a city of Spain, when in
olde time Cneius Pompeius layed siege thereunto (Valerius lib. 7. cap. 7.) the citizens whereof converted their
wives and children into meat for the satisfying of their extreme hunger, whom doubtlesse they would with all
their heartes have solde for other victuals. That famine also is well known which in the yere of our Lord 851.
(Vincent lib. 35. cap 26.) afflicted Germany, insomuch that the father was glad to devour his owne sonne. It was
well known after the death of the Emperour Henry the seuenth, in a famine continuing three whole yeres, how
the parents would devour their children, and the children their parents, and that especially in Polonia and
Bohemia. And that we may not onlye allege ancient examples: it is reported that there was such a grievous deart
of corn in the yeeres 1586, and 1587, thorowout Hungary, that some being compelled for want of food were
faine to sell their children vnto the most bloody and barbarous enemy of Christians, and so to enthrall them to the
perpetuall yoke of Turkish slaverie: and some are sayd to have taken their children, whom they could no longer
sustaine, and with cruel mercy to have cast them into Danubius, and drowned them. But should these stories and
the like make any man so mad as to affirm that this or that nation accustometh to kill their children for their
owne food, and to sell them willingly vnto the Turks, or to drown and strangle them willingly in the water? I
cannot thinke it. So neither (because beggers in Island being enforced through extreme and biting necessitie, do
willingly part with their sonnes) is this custome generally to be imputed vnto the whole nation, and that by way of
disgrace, by any man, except it be such an one who hath taken his leaue of all modesty, plaine dealing, humanity,
and truth.

But I could wish that the loue of dogges in Islanders might be more sparingly reprehended by those people,
whose matrons, and specially their noble women, take so great delight in dogs, that they carry them in their
bosomes thorow the open streetes. I will not say in Churches: which fashion Casar blamed in certaine strangers,
whom he sawe at Rome carrying about young apes and whelpes in their armes, asking them this question:
Whether women in their countrey brought forth children or no? signifying heereby, that they do greatly offend
who bestow vpon beasts these natural affections, wherewith they should be invited to the love of mankind, and
specially of their owne offspring, which strange pleasure never overtok, nor possessed the nation of the
Islanders. Wherefore now (Munster and Krantzius) you must finde vs out other marks of Christianity, of the law
of nature, of the Germans law, and of holy simplicity.

SECTIO OCTAVA.

[Sidenote: Krantzius Munsterus] Episcopum suum colunt pro Rege ad cuius
nutum respicit totus populus. Quicquid ex lege, scripturis, et ex
consuetudine alienum gentium constituit, quam sancte obseruant.

Fuit equidem initio fere ad repurgatam Euangelij doctrinam maxima Episcopi obseruantia; sed nunquam tanta
vt exteris legibus aut consuetudini cederent nostra leges politica, ex nutu Episcopi. Nec tempore Alberti Krantzij,
multo minus Munsteri (quorum ille 1517, hic 1552. post partum salutiferum decessit) Episcopi Islandorum regiam
obtinuerunt authoratem, cum scilicet multi ex ijs, qui diuitijs paulo plus valebant adversus ipsos consurgere non
dubitarint; qua res apud nostrates liquido constat. Intem tamen Episcopi, anathematis fulmine terribiles, alios
in suam potestatem redegerunt, alios furibunda sauitia id temporis persecuti sunt.

Porro etsi tum fuit magna, imo maxima Episcopi obseruantia, tamen nunc dispulsis tenebris Papisticis, alia
ratione homines Satan aggrreditur, eorumque mentes contemptus libertate et refractaria contumacia, aduersus
Deum et sacram ministerium, etiam hic armare non negligit.

The same in English.

THE EIGHTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: Krantzius Munsterus] They honour their Bishop as their King
vnto whose command all the whole people haue respect. Whatsoever he
prescribeth out of the law, the scriptures, or the customes of other
nations, they do full holily obserue.

There was indeed at the beginning, about the time of the reformation of religion, great reuerence had vnto the
bishop; but neuer so great, that our politike lawes at the bishops command should giue place to outlandish lawes
and customs. Neither in the time of Albertus Krantzius, much lesse of Munster (of which two the first deceased in the yere of our Lord 1517, and the second 1552) the bishops of Island had the authonty of kings, when as many of the country which were of the richer sort, would not doubt to rebell against them; which thing is too well knownen in our countrey. Yet in the meane time, the bishops being terrible with their authority of excommunication, reduced some vnder their subiection, and others at that time they cruelly persecuted.

Moreover, albeit at that time the bishop was had in great, yea, in exceeding great reuerence, yet now adayes, the darkenesse of popery being dispelled, the deuill assaulteth men after another sort, and euen here amongst vs, he is not slacke to arme their minds with contempt, and peruerse stubburnnesse against God, and his holy ministery.
[Sidenote: Munster.] Illic victitant plerumque piscibus, propter magnam penuriam frumenti, quod aliunde a maritimis ciuitatibus infertur: &qui inde cum magno lucro piscis exportant. Item Munsterus. Illic piscibus induratis vtuntur loco panis qui illic non crescit.


The same in English.

THE NINTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: Munsterus.] They liue there for the most part vpon fishes, because of their great want of corne, which is brought in from the port townes of other countreys: who cary home fishes from thence with great gaine. Also Munster sayth, they do there vse stockefish in stead of bread, which groweth not in that countrey.

Consider (friendly reader) how Munster is delighted to harpe vpon one string, that when he can write nothing of an vnknowen nation which may cary any shew with it, he is faine either to bring in falshood, or often to repeat the same things, and so to become tedious vnto his reader: for he sayd a little before, that the Islanders liue vpon fish. His words aboue recited were these: Island conteineith many people liuing onely with the food of cattell, and sometimes by taking of fishes. And that I may omit the rest in which some trifle might be noted whereas he sayeth that bread groweth not in Island: it is most true: which I thinke is common therewith to Germany also, because bread groweth not there neither, except it be in Munsters field where naturall vineger also doth marueillously encrease. But these toyes, by the liberty of rethoricke forsooth, shall be out of danger. Howbeit, vnto these reproches, which strangers do gather from the meats and drinks of the Islanders, we will hereafter briefly answere, Sect. 15.
SECTIO DECIMA.


[Sidenote: Frisius.] Citharadi, et qui testudine ludunt, apud eos reperiuntur quam plurimi, qui pradulci modulamine et volucres et pisces irretiant et capiant.

[Sidenote: Veterum gesta apud Islandes conseruata.] Quin veterum gesta aliquot cantibus et poematibus nostratium, vt et soluta oratione, apud nos conseruentur, non negamus. Quod vero a nobis aut maioribus nostris eadem scopulis vel promontorijs insculpta sunt, eam non licet nobis, vt neque illam tantam Citharadorum, aues aut pieces demulcentium, laudem accipere. Statuimus enim animi esse generosi ac veracis, vt crimina falsa refellere, ita laudem immeritam sibi haud vendicare, nec, etsi quis tribuat, agnoscre.

The same in English.

THE TENTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: Munsterus. Krantzius.] The inhabitants do celebrate the actes of their ancestours, and of their times, with songs, and they graue them in rocks and promontories, that they may not decay with posterity, but onely by the defect of nature.

[Sidenote: Frisius.] There be diuers found amongst them that be minstrels, and can play vpon the lute, who with their delectable musicke ensnare and take both fowlies and fishes.

[Sidenote: The Islanders preserue in writing the acts of their ancestors.] We denie not but that some woorthy actes of our forefathers be reserued in the songs and poemes of our countreymen, as also in prose: but that the same things haue beene engrauen by vs, or by our ancestors in rocks or promontories, we may in no case acknowledge that praise be due vnto vs, nor yet the other of minstrels, and taking of birds and fishes. For we holde it to be part of an honest and ingenuous mind, as to refute false crimes, so not to challenge vndeserued praise vnto himselfe, nor to accept it being offered.
Sed cum scriptoribus iam dictis, viris alioqui spectata eruditionis et preclari nominis, qui tamen hac ita inconsiderate scriptis suis interseruerunt, actionis finis esto.

Etiam magna mei pars est exhaosta laboris:

Sed restat tamen fatus ille vipereus Germanicus, quem idcirco anonymum secundo partu mater edi voluit, ut venenatis aculeis nomen Islandorum tanto liberius pungeret.

Porro licet adversus hanc bestiam in arenam descendere non dubitem, omnibus tamen constate volo, quonam hoc animo faciam, videlicet, non vt cum illius pestifera virulentia, conuicijs aut maledicentia certem (Nam vt est in triuiali paroemia,

Hoc scio pro certo, quod si cum stercore certo,

Vinco, seu vincor, semper ego maculor:)

Sed vt bonis et cordatis omnibus, etiam extraneis, satisfaciam qui maledicentiam istam Germanicam lecturi vel audituri sunt, aut olim audierint, ne et hi nos merito calumniat tantam sustinere credant: Tum etiam vt alios qui istis virulentis rhythmis Germanicis, in gentis nostra opprobrium vtuntur, et inde diceria et comumeliosas subssanationes ad despicendi Islandorum petunt, ab ilia mordendi licentia in posterum, si fieri possit, abducamus.

Ergo, ne longis ambagibus Lectoeri fastidium oratio nostra pariat, ad ea narranda accedam, qua maledicus ille Gennanus in suum pasquillum congessit: Quem etiam sua de Islandis carmina Encomiastica recitantem in his pagellis introducerem, nisi praviderem foetum ilium probrosum, tot et tam varijs maledictis turgidum, omnibus bonis nauseam mouere posse, ac sua spurcitie ab iis legendis absterrere.

Referam igitur praeipua, (iis scilicet omissis qua cum alijs communia habet, atque hatchenus ventilata sunt) sed, quam ille, longe mitius; ne, vt dixi, lingua ipsius obscoena petulantia, aures bona et erudita offendantur: Qui ipsum videre aut audire volit, quarat apud propolas. Nobis inquam, non est in animo putida ipsius calumnia et conuiciorum sentina, has chartas inquinare. [Sidenote: 1. Obiectio seu conuicium.] Primum igitur obijcit Germanicus hic noster, si Dijs placet, Historicus: Multos ex pastoribus Islandia toto biennio sacram concionem ad populum nullam habere: Vt in priore editione, huius pasquilli legitur, quod tamen posterior edition eiusdem refutat: Dicens, eosdem pastores in integro anno tantum quinquies concionari solitos: qua duo quam rite sibi consentiant, videas bone Lector, cum constet Authorem mox a prima editione vix vidisse Islandiam. Ita sic ilicet plerumque mendacium mendacio proditur, iuxta illud: Verum vero consentit; Falsum nec vero nec fals.

Sed com nostrum non sit veritatem vspiam dissimulare, nos haud negandum ducimus conciones sacras circa id tempus, quo iste Sycophanta in Islandia vivit, nempe anno 1554. aut circiter multo fuisse rariores, quam sunt homicide, tum sic ilicet tenebris Papisticis vix dum discussis. Quod etiam de Psalmis Dauidicis a vulgo Latine demurmuratis, vt idem nostratibus exprobrat, intelligere est: Papista enim totem spem salutis in Missa collocantes, de concione aut doctrina parum fuere solliciti. Postquam vero caligine illa exempti sumus, aliter se rem habere, Deo imprimis gratias agimus: Licet quorundam pastorum nostrorum tardam stupiditatem, segnitiem et curam praposteram nos possimus omni modo excusare. Quod vtrum in nullo suorum popularium etiam competit, alia quaque nationes viderint.

The same in English.

THE ELEVENTH SECTION.

But now, let this be the end of our controversy with the authors aforesaid, being otherwise men of excellent learning, and of great renowme, who notwithstanding so inconsiderately have intermedled these things in their writings. And now the better part of my labour is finished.

But yet there remaines that viperous German brood, the mother whereof would have come to light, as it were at a second birth, without name, that it might so much the more freely wound the fame of the Islanders with venomous sting.

Moreover, although I be not afrayd to encounter with this beast, yet would I haue all men to know with what minde I vndertake this enterprise, namely, not that I meane to contend with his pestiferous rancour, by reproches, and raling speeches (for as it is in the common proverbe:

I know, that if I strie with dung most vile,
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How ere it be, my selfe I shall defile;
but that I may satisfie all honest and well affected men, euens strangers themselves, who shall hereafter reade or heare, or haue heretofore heard that Germane pasquill, least they also should thinke that we woorthily sustaine so monstrous a disgrace: and also that I may from henceforth, if it be possible, restraine others (who vse those venomous Germaine rimes to the vpbrading of our nation, and from hence borrow their scoffes, and reprochfull taunts to the debasing of vs Iselanders) from that libertie of backbiting.

Therefore, that I may not be tedious to the reader with long circumstances, I will come to the rehearsing of those things which that railing Germane hath heaped vp in his leud pasquill: whom also I could bring in, repeating his friendly verses of the Ilanders, within the compasse of this my booke, but that I doe foresee that the sayd slanderous libell being stuffed with so many and diuers reproches, might breed offence to all honest men, and deterre them from reading it, with the filthinesse thereof.

I will therefore repeat the principall matters (omitting those things which he hath common with others, or, that heretofore haue been examined) but farre more modestly then he, least (as I sayd) I cause good and learned mens cares to tingle at his leud and vnseemely rimes: that they are desirous to see or heare him let them enquire at the Stationers. It is no part of our meaning (I say) to defile these papers with his stinking slanders, or with the filthy sinke of his reproches.

[Sidenote: The first obiection or reproch.] First therefore, this our goodly Germaine Historiographer objecteth that there be many Pastours in Island, which preach not to their people once in two yeres, as it is read in the former edition of this pasquill, which notwithstanding the latter edition doth refute: saying that the sayd Pastours vse to preach but fiue times in an whole yeere which two, how well they agree together, let the reader be iudge, seeing it is manifest that the authour himselfe, presently after the first edition, had scarce seene Island. So oftentimes one he betrayeth another, according to that saying: Trueth agreeth vnto trueth; but falshood agreeeth neither to trueth nor to falshood.

But sith it is our part not to dissemble the trueth in any place, we will not denie that holy sermons, about the time wherein this sycophant liued in Island, namely in the yere 1554, were seldomer in vse then they are at this day, namely, the darkenesse of popery being scarsely at that time dispelled. Which also is to be vnderstood concerning the Psalmes of Dauid mumbled by the common people in Latine, as he casteth vs in the teeth: for the Papists grounding all the hope of their saluation in the Masse, did little regard the sermon or doctrine. But after we were freed from that mist, it hath bene (God be thanked) farre otherwise with vs: although we cannot altogether excuse the dulnesse, slouth, and preposterous care of certeine of our Pastours. Which, whether it agreeeth to any of their countreymen or no, let other nations iudge.
SECTIO DUODECIMA.


Etsi autem foedissima ista turpitudines etiam in nostra repub. non prorsus inusitata sunt: tamen cum omnibus constet in alij quoque nationibus longe etiam frequenter esse, cum ibi quoque populi frequenter maior: immerito et maligne hoc nomine magis Islandos, quam populos et gentes reliquas, quarum, vt dixi, nomen etiam plus nostratibus hoc crimine male audit, notauit.

Et licet ex animo optarim longe minus ad scelera, et turpitudines in nostra patria conniueri, quam passim hic fieri videmus: tamen etiam innata illa mordendi libidine, hoc veterator in praesenti conuitio attexuit: videlicet, quod scelera ista ab Islandis pro scelere non habentur. Nam in qua demum repub. id impudens ille asserere audet? Illane: qua in legem codicis II. titulo Mannhelge: cap. 28. iurauit; qua statuit, vt iterum adulterium qui cum coniugie alterius commiserit, confiscatis suis bonis, capite etiam pectatur? Illane, qua pro adulterio, a famulo cum vxore domini comisso, non ita dudum 80. thalerorum mulctam irrogauit? Illane, qua eundem, si ad statutum tempus non soluerit vel vades dederit, in exilium proscribendum decreuit? Illane: cuius leges politica, quemuis in adulterio cum vxore, a viro legitime deprehensum, si euaserit, homicidij mulctam expendere iubent? Illane, cuius itidem leges politica, in complexu matris, filia aut sororis, a filio, patre, vel fratre deprehensum, vitam suam midio eius, quod quis si eundem insonem interfecisset, expendere tenetur? Illane, cuius leges politica adulterium sceleris infandi nomine notarunt et damnarunt? Et in eo tertio deprehensum, capite plectendum seuere mandant?

Cernis igitur, Lector beneigne, quam iniurium habeamus notarium, dicentem: Adulterium et scortationes in Islandia peccati aut sceleris nomen non mereri. Nam licet politici quidam hoc vel illud scelus impunitum omittant, non debet tota gens, non leges, non boni et pii omnes, eo nomine in ius vocari, aut male audire.

The same in English.

THE TWELFTH SECTION.

[Since the second reproach. ] Secondly, the trifler shamefully reporteth, that adulteries and whoredomes are not onely publique, and common vices amongst Islanders: but that they are not accounted by them for vices.

Although indeed these most filthy abominations, euen in our common wealth, be not altogether vnusuall: notwithstanding, since al men know that they are farre more common in other nations, where be greater multitudes of people, he did vndeseruedly, and maliciously note the Islanders rather with this reproch, then other people and nations, who are more infamous with this crime then our countreymen.

And albeit I wish with all mine heart that vices and enormities were much lesse wincked at in our countrye, then we see they are, yet notwithstanding this iugler by reason of his naturall inclination to backbiting, hath added this in his last reproch: namely that these vices by the Iselanders are not accounted for vice. For, in what common wealth dare the impudent companion affirme this to be true? What? in that common wealth which hath sworne to obserue the law contained in our statute booke vnder the title of Manhelge chap 28, whereby it is enacted, that whosoeuer committeth adultery with another man's wife the second time, his goods being confiscate, he shall be punished with death? Or in that common wealth, which not long since hath inflicted the penalty of 80 dollers vpon a servant committing adultery with his masters wife? Or in that common wealth which hath decreed that if he doth not pay, nor lay in sureties at the day appointed he shalbe banished the country? Or in that common wealth the politike lawes whereof doe streightly command that whosoeuer be according to law found in adultery with another man's wife, by her husband, if he escape, he shall vndergoe the punishment of manslaughter? Or in that common wealth, the politike lawes whereof do also enioyne a man that is taken in carnall copulation with the mother, daughter, or sister, by the sonne, father, or brother, to redeeme his life with the one halfe of that which he ought to haue payed, if he had shed the innocent bloud of the sayd party? Or in that common wealth the politike lawes whereof haue noted and condemned adultery vnder the name of a most heinous offence? And do straightly
command that he which is taken the third time in that beastly act shalbe punished with death?

You see therefore (friendly readers) what an injurious Notary we haue, affirming that adultery and whoredome in Island deserveth not the name of sinne and wickednesse for although some officers let slip this or that vice vnpunished, yet ought not the whole nation, nor the lawes, nor all good and godly men, in that regard, to be accused or euill spoken of.

The same in English.

THE THIRTEENTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: The third reproach] The third reproch is, whereby he doth brand the Islanders with the marke of deceit and trechery toward the Germans.

Doubtles the author of this libell was some vagabond huckster or pedler, and had gone particularly into many corners of Island to vutter his trumpery wares, which he also testifieth of himselfe in his worthy rimes, that he had traualled thorow the greatest part of Island, whereupon when he had played the cousining mate with others (for often times deceit and lying are ioyned together, and he hath sufficiently proued himselfe to be a liar, by this triall of his wit) peraduenture himselfe was beguiled by them whom he before time had defrauded.

From hence proceedeth this slander, against our whole Nation: dissembling in the meane time with what honestie certaine Germans, making yerely voyages into Island, deale with our men. But seeing by this complaint I haue not determined to reproch others, but to lay open the vndeserued reproches of others against oar nation, I do here of purpose surcease.
SECTIO DECIMAQUARTA.

[Sidenote: 4. 5. 6. &7. Conuitia.] Quarto: negat in conuituijs quemquam
discumbentium a mensa surgere: sed matres familias singulis conuiuis
quoties opus fuerit matellas porrigere. Praterea variam conuiuiorum
edendi bibendique rusticitatem notat.

Cubandi et prandendi ritus obijcit: quod decem plus minus in eodem lecto
promiscue viri cum foeminis pernoctent, inque lecto cibum capiant: atque
interea se non nisi alea aut latrunculorum ludo exerceant.

Sexto. Calumniatur eosdem faciem et os vrina proluere.

Septimo. Nuptiarum, sponsalium, natalitiorum celebritatem et funerum ritus
contemptuose exenuat.

Hac et huiusmodi plurima in gentem insontem, imo de se et suis optime meritam, impurus calumniator
euomit. Qua quidem eius generis sunt, vt illi de his respondere prorsus dedignemur. Nam vt demus (quod tamen
non damus) aliquid huiusmodi apud homines sordidos, et ex ipsa vulgi colluuiie infimos, quibuscum longe sapius,
quam bonus et honestis consuetudine praclarus, animaduertiissime praclarus, hunc notarium Gemanicum (vixerat enim, vt
eius rhythmni testantur, diuiiussiie in locis maritimis Islandia, quo fere promiscuum vulgus, tempore piscativa
annuatiim conuius, et tam extraneorum nautarum, quam sua nequitia corruptum, sapius in honeste mores et vtam
instituiit) Tamen manifiestmente etiam hoc loco inuierium nobis facit, vnius nebulonis et desperati Sycophanta
turpitudine, totam gentem (vt fere solent etiam aliij) aspergendo, quam vs refutatione vlla indigeat. Cuius rei etiam
ipsi extranei in nostra Insula non parum versati, locupletissimi testes esse possunt.

Possem multas eius farina foeditates, rusticitates et obscenitates etiam in ipsius natione deprehensas
colligere. Sed odi facundiam caninam, nec in aliorum opprobrium disertum esse iuuat: nec tam tenet esse volo, vt
verbulis transuerberer. Id tantum viderint boni et pij omnes, cuius sit animi, pessima quaque ab vno aut altera
designata, toti genti objicere. Si quis Germania aut alterius nationes vrlbes et pagos omnes peragret, et scelera ac
mores pessimos, furta, homicidia, parricidia, scortaciones, adulteria, incestus luxuriem, rapinas et reliquas
impietates et obscenitates in vnum coactas, omnibus Germanis, aut aloioi alteri cuiuis toti nationi communtes
esse asserat, atque hac omnia insigniter mentiendo, exageret, isne optima rei studiosus habebitur?

Sed quid mirum, licet verbero, et, vt proprie notem, porcus impurus, iste, inquam, Rhythmista, naturam et
ingenium suum eiusmodi loidoria prodiderit?

Notum est enim porcos, cum hortos amanissimos intrarint, nec lilium nec rosas aut flores aloiqi pulcherrimos
et suauissimos decerpere: Sed rostro in coenum prono, quicquid est luti et stercoris volutare, vertere et inuertere,
donc impurissima, hoc est, suo genio apprime congruentia eruant, vbi demum solida voluptate pascuntur.

Ad istum igitur modum hic porcus Rhythmista, optimae, et qua in nostra Repub. laudabilla esse possunt, sicco
pede praterit, pessimia quaque atque ea, vel a nullo, vel admodum paucis designata, hoc est, sua natura, et ingenio
aptissima, vt se esse, qui dicitur, re ipsa probaret, correasit; vnde posthac porci nomen ex moribus et ingenio ipsius
factum, sortitor.

The same in English.

THE FOURTEENTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: The 4. 5. 6. &7. reproches.] Fourthly, he sayth that in bankets
none of the ghests vse to rise from the table: but that the good wife of
the house reacheth to every one a chamber pot, so oft as need requireth.
Moreover, he noteth much vmanerliness of eating and drinking at bankets.

Fiftly, he obiecteth customs of lying in bed, and of dinning: namely that
ten persons, more or lesse, men and women be altogether in the same bed,
and that they eat their meat lying in bed: and that in the meane time
they do nothing but play at dice or at tables.

Sixtly, he reporteth that they wash their hands or their faces in pisse.

Seuently, he despiughtfully abaseth our solemnizings of marriages,
spousals, birth−dayes, and our customes at burials.

These, and a number of such like reproches hath this impure slanderer, spued foorth against an innocent nation, yea and that nation which hath deserved right well of him and his countrimen. Which are of the same kind with these, in so much that we altogether disdeigne to make answere vnto them. For, that we may graunt (which notwithstanding we will in no case yeele vnto) that this worthy Germane notarie obserued some such matter among base companions, and the very of−scouring of the common people, with whom he was much more conuersant than with good and honest persons (for he had liued, as his rimes testifie, somewhat long vpon the coast of Island, whither a confused rout of the meanest common people, in fishing time do yerely resort, who being naught aswell through their owne leudnesse, as by the wicked behauiour of outlandish mariners, often times doe leade a badde and dishonest life) notwithstanding we are in this place more manifestly wronged through the knauery of this one varlet, and desperate sycophant by his defaming of the whole nation (as others also usuall do) then that it should neede any refutation at all. Of which thing strangers themselues, who are not a little conuersant in our Iland, may be most sufficient witnesses.

I could also gather together many such filthy, vnmanerly, and baudie fashions noted by others euen in his own countrey. But I detest this dogged eloquence, neither take I any pleasure to be witty in the disgracing of others: and yet I will not shew my selfe such a milke−soppe as to be daunted with light words. Onely, let all honest and good men consider, what disposition it argueth, for one to obiect against a whole nation certaine misdemeanours committed by some one or other particular man. If any man should trauell thorowout all the cities and townes of Germanie or any other nation, and heaping together the offences, and most leud maners, the robberies, manslaughters, murthers, whoredomes, adulteries, incests, riots, extortions, and other prophan, and filthy actes, should affirme them to be common to all Germans, or otherwise to any other whole nation, and should exaggerate all these things with notorious lies, is he to be accounted one that spends his time in a good argument? But what maruaile is it, though a varlet, and, that I may giue him his true title, a filthy hogge, that imer (I say) hath bewrayed his nature and disposition in reproches? For it is well knowen that swine, when they enter into most pleasant gardens, do not plucke lilies or roses, or any other most beautifull aud sweet flowers; but thrusting their snouts into the ground, doe tumble and tosse vp and downe whatsoeuer durt and dung they can finde, vntill they haue rooted vp most vnclene things, namely such as are best agreeable to their nature, wherewith they greedily glut themselues: Euen so this hoggish Rimer lightly passeth ouer the best and most commendable things of our Common wealth, but as for the woorst, and those which have been committed by none, or by very few, namely, such things as best fit his humour and disposition (that he might indeed show himselfe to be the same which we haue termed him) those things (I say) hath he scraped vp together: whereupon hereafter by my consent, for his maners and disposition let him enioy the name of a swine.
SECTIO DECIMAQUINTA.


Caterum etsi ilium prolixiore responsione non dignemur: tamen propter alios, qui hodie hanc rem partim mirantur, partim haud leuiter nostra genti obijcunt, pauca hoc loco addenda videbantur.

Primum igitur totam hanc gentem bipartito secabimus: In mendicos, et hos qui et se et cum alijs etiam mendicos alunt. Mendicorum, et eorum qui ad hos proxime accedunt, omnia cibaria recensere aut examinare haud facile est, nec quod illos edere, aut edisse, extrema aliquando coegit necessitas, reliqua genti cibariorum genera aut numerum prascribere fas est. Nam et de suffocatis quidem non comedendis legis inter canones, quorum numero saevioribus indignant. 

Proor quod de gentis nostra proprijs et consuetis alimentis multi obijcere solent, potissimum de carne, piscibus, butyro, absque sale inueteratis, Item de lacticinijs, frumenti inopia, potu aqua, &c. et reliquis: id nos in plurimis Islandia locis (nam sunt multi quoque nostratium, qui Danorum et Germanorum more, quantum quidem castis et temperatis animis ad mediocratatem sufficere debet, licet magna condimentorum varietate, et ipsis Pharmacopolijs, destituimur, mensam instruire et frugaliter viuere sustineant) ita se habere haud multis refragabimur, videlicet praedicta victus genera, passim sine salis condimento vstata esse. Et insuper addemus, hancipsa cibaria, qua extranei quidam vel nominare horrent, ipsos extraneos apud nos, non sine voluptate, manducare solitos. [Sidenote: Ratio conseruandos cibos sine sale.] Nam etsi frumenti aut farris pene nihil vulgo habeamus, nec sal, gula irritamentum, ad cibaria condimenta, omnibus suppetit: docuit tamen Deus opt. max. etiam nostros homines rationem tractandi et conseruandi, qua ad vitam sustentandum spectant, vt appareat, Deum in alendis Islandis non esse ad panem vel salem alligatum. Quod vero sua omnia extranei iucundiora et salubriora clamant; negamus tamen satis causa esse, cur nostra nobis exprobrent: Nec nos DEVM gula nostra debitorem reputamus; quin potius toto pectore gratias agimus, quod sine opiparis illis delicijs et lacteis, qua tam iucunda et salubres putantur, etiam nostra gentis hominibus, annos et atatem bonam, tum valetudinem etiam firmissimam, robur ac vires validas (qua omnia statimus boni et conueniens alimenti, [Greek: kai tes euchriasias] esse indici) concedere dигnetur, cum ingenio etiam non prorsus tam crasso ac sterilis, quan hauc nostro aeri et alimentis assignare Philosophi videntur, quod re libentius, quam verbi multi forte nostro nostratium comprobare poterant.

Ni nos (vt inquit ille) paupertas invidia deprimeret. 

Sed hic vulgi judicium, vt in alijxe sape, etiam eos qui sapere volunt (iam omnes bonos et cordatos excipio) nimis aperte decipit: Videlicet hoc ipso, quod omnia, qua illorum vsus non admittit, aut qua non viderunt, aut experti sunt antea, continuo damnent. Veluti, si quis, qui mare namquam vidit, mare mediterraneum esse aliquid, non possit adduci vt credat: Sic illsens sua experientia omnia metiuntur, vt nihil sit bonum, nihil conducibile,
nisi quo illi soli viuunt: At profecto nos, eo dementia non processimus, vt eos qui locustis vescuntur, quod tum de alijs, tum Athiopia quibusdam populis, ideo (autore Diodoro) Acridophagis appellatis, et India, gente, cui Mandrorum nomen Clytharcus et Magestanes dederunt, teste Agatarchide, didicimus; aut ranis, aut cancris mannis, aut squillis gibbis, qua res hodie nota est, vulgi propterea ludibrijs exponere prasumamus, a quibus tamen edulij, in totum nostra consuetudo abhorret.

The same in English.

THE FIFTEENTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: The ninth reproch.] Wee will heere rehearse the ninth reproch, which that slanderous hogge hath drawn from the maner of liuing, and specially from the meat and drinke of the Islanders, and that not in one or a few wordes, but in a large inuectiue: namely, that they eate olde and vnsauoury meates, and that, without the vse of bread. Also that they eate diuers kinds of fishes which are vnknowen to strangers: and that they mingle water and whey together for drinke. All which this venemous pasquill, with eloquent railing and wittie slaunder hath set out at the full.

And albeit we doe scarce vouchsafe to stand longer about answering of him, yet in regard of others, who at this day partly woonder at the matter, and partly obiect it to our nation, we thought good to addde some few things in this place.

First therefore we will diuide this our nation into two parts: into beggers, and those that susteine both themselues, and amongst others, beggers also. As touching all kinds of meats wherewith beggers and other poore men satisfie their hunger, it is no easie matter to rehearse and examine them; neither, because extreame necessity hath at some times compelled them to eate this or that, therefore it is meet to prescribe certeine kindes and number of meats to the rest of the nation. For we haue also a law among the canons apostolicall, which forbiddeth to eat things strangled: in the obseruing of which canons, antiquity hath seemed to be very deuout.

Moreouer, we will make a distinction of times also, that it may seeme no strange accident in the time of famine, though many things are, and haue bene vset by a great number of men to satisfie their hunger, which at other times are scarce meat for dogges. As very lately in the yeere 1590 we heard concerning the citizens of Paris, being enuironed with the most streite siege of Henrie the fourth, King of Nauarre, suffering (as Petrus Lindebergius speaketh) the famine of Saguntum; insomuch that they did not onely eate their horses, but also taking the flesh of dead men, and beating their bones to powder in a morter, they mingle therewith a bandfull or two of meale, esteeming it dainties. And it is well knowen also of other nations who in the like vrgent necessities haue liued by eating of mise, cats and dogs. In like maner sometimes are we Islanders constrained to doe, not being besieged by our enemies (although hitherto we haue abstained from mans flesh, yea, and to our knowledge, from dogs, mise, and cats) for whereas we prouide things necessary for food out of the land and sea, and no sustenance, or very little is brought vnto vs by strangers: so often as God withholdeth his gifts of land and sea, then must follow and ensue a dreadfull scarsity of victuals, whereupon the inhabitants are sometimes vexed with grieuous famine. And therefore it is likely that they amongst vs which vset to liue from hand to mouth, and had not some prouision of former yeeres remaining, haue beene driuen to great extremeties, so often as need hath enforced them thereunto. But whether this thing ought woorthily to minister occasion to a publike and perpetuall reproch against the Islanders, more then other nations, I referre it to the iudgement of indifferent and honest mindes.

Moreouer, whereas diuers vse to obiect concerning the proper and accustomed fare of our country, especially of flesh, fish, butter being long time kept without salt, also concerning white–meats, want of corne, drinking of water, and such like: in most places of Island (for there be many of our countrimen also, who, after the maner of the Danes and Germans so farre foorth as ought in a meane to suffice chast and temperate minds, although we haue not any great variety of sauce, being destitute of Apothecaries shops, are of ability to furnish their table, and to liue moderatly) we confesse it to be euen so: [Sidenote: Want of salt in Island.] namely that the foresaid kind of victuals are vset in most places without the seasoning of salt. And I wil further adde, that the very same meats, which certaine strangers abhorre so much as to name, yet strangers themselues, when they are among vs do vse to eat them with delight. [Sidenote: The Islanders meanes of preseruing their meates without salt.] For albeit for the most part we haue no corne, nor meale, nor yet salt the prouocation of gluttony, for the seasoning of our victuals, is common to vs all, yet notwithstanding almighty God of his goodnesse hath taught our men also the wauy how they should handle, and keepe in store those things which belong to the sustentation of life, to the end it may
appeare, that God in nourishing and sustaining of vs Islanders, is not tyed to bread and salt.

But whereas strangers boast that all their victuals are more pleasant and wholesome: yet we denie that to be a sufficient reason, why they should vpbrayd vs in regard of ours: neither do we thinke God to be a debter vnto our deinty mouthes: but rather we giue him thanks with our whole hearts, that he vouchsafeth without this delicate and nice fare, which is esteemed to be so pleasant and wholesome, to grant euen vnto the men of our countrey many yeeres, and a good age as also constant health, and flourishing strength of body; all which we account to be signes of wholesome and convenient nourishment and of a perfect constitution. Besides, our wits are not altogether so grosse and barren, as the philosophers seeme to assigne vnto this our aier, and these nourishments, which perhaps many of our countreymen could much rather verifie in deeds then in words, if (as the Poet sayth) enious pouerty did not holde vs downe.

But here the iudgement of the common people, as often in other matters, doth too plainly deceiue (I except all good and well experienced men) some of them which would seeme to be wise, namely, that whatsoever their use doth admit, or that they haue not seene, nor had trial of beforetime, they presently condemne. As for example, he that neuer saw the sea will not be persuaded that there is a mediterrane sea; so doe they measure all things by their owne experience and conceit, as though there were nothing good and profitable, but that onely wherewith they mainteine their liues. But we are not growen to that pitch of folly, that because we haue heard of certaine people of Aethiopia, which are fed with locusts, being therefore called by Diodorus, Acridophagi, and of a certaine nation of India also, whom Clitarchus and Megasthenes haue named Mandri, as Agatarchides witnesseth, or of others that liue vpon frogs or sea−crabs, or round shrimps, which thing is at this day commonly knowne, that (I say) we should therefore presume to make them a laughing stocke to the common people, because we are not accustomed to such sustenance.
SECTIO DECIMASEXTA.


Scilicet, quia nihil cum Amaricino, sui: Nec porci divina unquam amarunt: quod sane metuo ne nimis vere de hoc conuiciitore dicatur, id quod vel ex his vltimis duabus obiectionibus constare poterit.

Verum enimuero cum ipse suarum virtutum sit testis locupletissimus, nos Lectorem eius rei cupidum ad ipsius hoc opus Poeticum remittimus, et nos tam aliquot proximis distinctionibus examinauimus: cuius maledicentia et foedatis nos hic pro ipso puduit; ita, vt qua is Satyrlica, at quid Satyrlica? Sathanica, inquam, mordacitate et maledicentia in nostram gentem scribere non erubuit, nos tamen referre pigeat: Tanta eius est et tam abominanda petulantia, secundum stultitiam suam respondere, cum in ipsius Rhythmis verbum non sit quod conuicio careat) qui viderit, nonne iudicabit pasquilli istius autorem hominem fuisse pessimum, imo facem hominum, cum virtutis ac veritatis contemplarem, sine pietate, sine humanitate?

Sed hic merito dubitauerim, peiusne horum conuiciiorum autor de Islandis meritus sit, an vero Typographus ille Ioachimus Leo (et quicunque sunt alii, qui in suis editionibus, nec suum nec urbis sua nomen profiteri ausi sunt) qui illa iam bis, si non sapius Typis suis Hamburgi euulgauit. Hoccine impune fieri sinitis, o senatus populusque Hamburgensis? Quae alius auctores, quibus Islandia vix, ac ne vix quidem, nomine tenus, alioqui innotuerat, ad huius gentis opprobrium et contemptum armauit: quam a ciue vestro acceptam iniuriam, iam 30. annos, et plus eo, Islandia sustinet. Sed etiam, inscio magistratu, eiusmodi multa sape fiunt: Neque; enim dubitamus, quin viri boni eiusmodi scripta famosa indigne ferant, et ne edantur, diligenter caueant: cum tales editiones pugnent cum iure naturali: Ne alteri facias, quod tibi factum non velis: Et Casareo, de libellis famosis: in quo irrogatur poena grauisima ijs, qui tales libellos componunt, scribunt, proferunt, emi vendiue curant, aut non statim repertos discerpunt.

Caterum iam tandem receptui canamus: Nosque ad te, Islandia parens carissima, quam nec paupertas, nec frigora, nec id genus incommoda alia, quamdui Chnsto hospita cupide et libenter exhibere non desistis, inuisam fecient conuertamus: Vbi te primum ad id quod modo diximus, nempe serium et ardens studium ac amorem DEI, et diuina scieni, nobis in Christo patefacta, totis viribus hortamur: vt vni huic cuncta posthabeas, doctrina et verbi cupitate flagres: Sacrum ministerium et ministros, non parum cures, non contemnas aut odio prosequeris: sed reuerearis, pro impij et profanis habeas: vt omnia ad pietatis et honestatis prescriptum geras, in vita priuata et communi, vt huic status et ordines Ecclesiastici et Politici, in vniversum obtemperent: In vtroque vita genere ab illi amussi seu norma aqui et boni dependeas, et ceteros qui pertinaciam ab ea deflectunt, auersens, quos aquum est poenis condignis affici, id quod magistratur cura futurum non diffidimus. In pritmis vero nullos nisi spectata fidei et proibitatis viros, quique ad istas virtutes, reliquas hic pertinentis coniugant, ad gubernacula admissas, qua ratione reliquis incommodis rite occurritur Res ista enim, si probe curetur, vt videlicet, qui munus publicum gerunt, ex bonis omnibus optimi quique diligentur, improbi et huic rei inepti, procul inde arceantur, subditorum conditio, longe erit optatissima: vita et mores tanto magis
laudabiles sequuntur: pietas et honestas tanto erunt illustriores. At vero si secus fiat. si Pastores Ecclesiarum suo muneri, vel vita vel doctrina non respondeant, si ad administrationem politicam promiscue admittantur, quicunque eo propria leuitate, ambitione vel auaritia et contentione honoris, ruunt: si ijdem criminum aut improbitatis, vel suspecti vel convicth sint, aut suspenditorum et conjectorum protectores, vel ijsdem illicite indulgentes, quis tuus quasem demum futurus est status? qua facies? qua conditio? Certe longe omnium miserrima. Nec enim alio pacto citius ad ruinam et interitum tuum appropinquabis, quam si istis te regendam commiseris, qui quod in ijs est, licet sint et ipsi ex tuis, iugulum tuum, propter emolumenta priuata, et odia latentia, quotidie petere contendunt/Quamobrem (ne ista pluribus agam) quanti intersit, vt hac probe curentur, facile, o Patria, intelligis.

Sed dum hac tuis auribus a me occinuntur, utinam gemitus meos sub hoc ad te Apostrophe latent, Serenis sima Regia Maiestatis aures exaudiant, apud quam ego pro te ita deploror, quia ea de causa exoriuntur maxime, quod patria nostra a regia sede, et conspectu, tanto interuallo sit remota, vt multi properterea tanto sibi maiorem sumant licentiam, et impunitatem securius promittant. Caterum ista numini iustissimo, quod aquis omnia oculis aspicit, committenda ducimus.

Reliquum est, o patria, vt studium in te nostrum, eo quo speramus animo i. comi et benigno, suscipias: quod quamvis minime tale est, quale optaremus, tamen cum VELLE SIT INSTAR OMNIVM, nolui idcirco desistere, quod pro tuo nomine, tua dignitate, tua innocentia pugnare me satis strenue diffiderem. Quin potius, quicquid id est si modo quicquam est et quantulumcunque tandem, quod ad tui patrocinium pro mea tenui parte afterre possem, nequaquam supprimendum putaui nec enim illos laudare soleo,

Qui, quod desperent inviecti membra Glyconis,
Nodosa nolunt corpus prohibere Chiragra.

Me sane, si hac commentatiuncula non erit tibi aut mihi dedecori, opera nequaquam poenitebit. Quod si ad laudem vel aliquale patrocinium tui aliquid faciat, operam perdidisse haud videbor. Sin vero alios alunmos, meos conteraneos, arte et industriæ superiores, ad causam tuam, vel nunc, vel in posterum susciendam, hoc conatu tenello excitauero, quid est cur opera precium non fecisse dicar? quibus scribentibus, licet mea fama in obscuro futura est, tamen præstantia illorum, qui nomini officient meo, me consolabor: Nam etsi fama et nominis cura surmna esse debett maior tamen patria; cuius dignitate salua et incolumni, nos quoque saluos et incolumnes reputabimus.

The same in English.

SECTIO DECIMASEXTA.

THE SIXTEENTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: The tenth reproch.] Tenthly, that vnciuill beast casteth our men in the teeth with their good hospitality. They do not (sayth he) carry about money with them in their purses, neither is it any shame to be entertaine in a strange place, and to haue meat and drinke bestowed of free cost. For if they had any thing which they might impart with others, they would very gladly. Moreouer, he maketh mention of certeine churches or holy chappels (as of a base thing) which many of the Islanders haue built in their owne houses: and that first of all in the morning, they haue recourse thither, to make their prayers, neither do they suffer any man before they haue done their deuotion to interrupt them. These be the things which he hath set downe as some notable disgrace vnto the Islanders. And no maruell:

For filthy swine detest all cleanly ones,
And hogs vncleane regarde not precious stones.
Which I feare, least it may be too truely affirmed of this slanderer, as it is manifest out of these two last obiections.

Howbeit, sithens he himselfe is a most sufficient witness of his owne vertues, we will referre the reader, who is desirous to know more of him vnto his booke of rimes against Island, which we haue now examined in our former sections at whose railing and filthy speeches we haue bene ashamed on his behalfe: insomuch that those things which he with satyrical, satyrical? nay sathanicall biting and reuiling of our nation, hath not blushed to write, are irksome for vs to repeat: so great and abominable is his insolency and his reproches so heinous. Good God! whoseoeuer shall view this carlode of slanders (for we haue mentioned the least part thereof, because I was loth to lose my labour, or, as the wise man sayth, to answere a foole according to his foolishnesse, whereas in his rimes there is not one word without a reproch) will he not judge the author of this pasquill to haue bene a most lewde man, yea the very drosse of mankeide, without pietie, without humanitie?
But here I have just occasion to doubt whether the author of these rebellings hath bene the more injurious to Islanders, or the Printer thereof Ioachimus Leo (and whatsoever else they be who in their editions dare neither profess their own name, nor the name of their Citie) which Leo hath nowe twice, if not oftener, published the said pamphlet at Hamburg. Doe you suffer this to goe unpunished, O ye counsell and commons of Hamburg? What? [Sidenote: The commodities of Island.] Have you determined to gratifie Island in this sort, which these many yeeres, by reason of your abundant traffique with vs, and your transporting home of all our commodities, of our beeues and muttons, and of an incredible deale of butter and fishes, hath bene vnto your Citie in stead of a storehouse. [Sidenote: The ancient traffique of England with Island.] In times past also, certaine Cities of England and of Holland haue reaped the commodities of this Isle. Moreouer, there hath bene ancient traffique of Danemarke, Breme, and Lubeck with the Islanders. But they never gained by any of their chapmen such commendations, and such thanks, as are contained in this libell: It hath in your, in your Citie (I say) bene bred, brought foorth, iterated, if not the thirde time published: which I hath armed other people vnto whom the name of Island was otherwise scarce knowne, to the disdaine and contempt of this our Nation: and this inuiurie offered by a Citizen of yours, hath Island susteined these 30. yeeres and more, and doeth as yet sustine. But many such accidents often come to passe without the knowledge of the magistrate, neither do we doubt but that good men are grieved at such infamous libels, and do take diligent heed that they be not published: for such editions are contrary to the lawe of nature: Doe not that to another which thou wouldst not have done vnto thy selfe: [Sidenote: Lawes against libels.] and to the laws Emperial of infamous libels: wherein is enioyned a most grievous penaltie vnto those who inuent, write, ytter, or cause such libels to be bought or sold, or do not presently vpon the finding thereof teare them in pieces.

But now time bids vs to sound a retreat: and to returne home vnto thee, Island (our most deare mother) whom neither pouertie, nor colde, nor any other such inconueniences shall make irksome vnto vs, so long as thou ceast not to giue heartie and willing entertainment vnto Christ: where, first we doe earnestly exhort thee to the serious and ardent affection, and loue of God, and of the heauenly knowledge reveiled vnto vs in Christ: that thou wouldest preferre this before all things, being enflamed with desire of doctrine, and of the worde: that thou wouldest not lightly esteeme, contenne or hate the holy ministerie and ministers, but reverence, cherish and loue them. Accompting those that practise the contrary as wicked and prophan: and managing all thine affairs both priuate and publique, according to the prescript rule of pietie and honestie, that vnto this, thy states and orders Ecclesiasticall and politie may in all things be conformed; and so in either kind of life relying thy selfe vpon that leuell and line of equitie and justice, and auoyding others, who vpon stubbermesse and impietie sweare therefrom. That thou wouldest also inflict just punishments vpon offenders: All which we doubt not but the Magistrate will haue respect vnto. But especially that thou admittest none to be Magistrates, but men of approved fidelitie and honestie, and such as may adioyne vnto these vertues others hereto belonging, by which means inconueniences may fitly be preuented. For if this matter be well handled, namely that they which are the best of all good men be chosen to beare publique authoritie, wicked and vnfit men being altogether reiect: the condition of the subjects shalbe most prosperous: the huses and maners of all men shal prove by so much the more commendable; godlinesse also and honestie shal become the more glorious. But on the contrary, if pastours of Churches be not answerable to their function, either in life or doctrine; if all men without respect or difference be admitted to the gouernment of the common wealth, who aspire thereunto by their owne rashnesse, ambition, or avarice, and desire of honour, yea though they be suspected or convicted of crimes and dishonestie, or be protectours or vniust fauourers of such persons as are suspected and convicted; then what will be thy state, oh Island? What will be thy outward show or condition? Doubtlesse most miserable. Neither shalt thou by any other meanes more suddenly approch to thy ruine and destruction, then if thou committest thy selfe to the gouernment of such men, who to the vtermost of their power, although they be of thine owne brood, dayly sekke thine ouerthrow for their owne priuate advantaage and secret malice. Wherefore (to be short) let these be to aduertise my deare Countrie, how behouefull it is that the matters aforesaid be put in practise.

But whilst I am speaking these things vnto thee (my Countrie) oh that my deepe and dolefull sighes, which lie hid in the former speach, might pierce the eares of our Kings most excellent Maiestie, before whom, on thy behalfe I doe bewaile the publique miseries, which in this respect especially doe arise, because wee are so farre distant from the seate and royall presence of our King, that many therefore take more libertie, and promise more securitie of offending vnto themselues. But we will commit all these matters to the most iust Judge of heauen and
earth who beholdeth all things in equitie.

Nowe it remaineth (my beloued Countrey) that thou wouldest take in good part these my labours employed in thy seruice, and accept them with that favouurable and courteous minde which I haue expected. And although they be not of such worth as I could wish, yet sith a willing minde is worth all, I would not therefore giue ouer because I mistrusted my selfe as one insufficient to contend for thine innocencie, for thy reputation, and thine honour, my deare Countrey. But rather whatsoeuer it be (if it be ought) and how mickle soeuer which for my slender abilitie I was able to afford in thy defence, I thought good not to suppresse it: for I esteeme not those men worthy of commendation, who despairing

To ouergrow the limmes of Lyco stoute,
Neglect to cure their bodies of the goute:
And in very deed, it doeth no whit repent me of my labour, if this little treatise shall tend neither to thine, nor to mine owne disgrace. But if it shall any thing auaille to thine honour or defence, I will thinke my trauaile right well bestowed. Yea, if by this my slender attempt, I may but onely excite other of thy children, and my natuie Countreymen, being farre my superiours both in learning and industrie to take thy cause in hand, either nowe or hereafter what reason is there why any man should say that it is not worth my labour? Nowe, if they addresse themselves to write, howsoever my fame shalbe obscured, yet wil I comfort my selfe with their excellencie, who are like to impaire my credite: for albeit a man ought to haue speciall regard of his name and fame, yet he is to haue more of his Countrey, whose dignitie being safe and sound, we also must needes esteeme our selues to be in safetie.

Written at Holen Hialtedale in Island, the yeere of our Lord 1592. the 17. of the Kalends of May.

* * * * *
A letter written by the graue and learned Gudbrandus Thorlacius Bishop of Holen in Island, concerning the ancient state of Island and Gronland, &c.

Reuerendissimo viro, eruditione et virtute conspicuo, D. Hugoni Branham, Ecclesia Hareuicensis in Anglia pastori vigilantissimo, fratri et symmysta obseruando.

Mirabar equidem (vt conijcis, reuerende domine pastor) primo literarum tuarum intuitu, ignotum me, ab ignoto, scriptis salutari. Caterum, cum vltierius progresderer, comperi me, si non aliter, certe nomine tenus, tibi (qua tua est humanitas) innotuisse: Simulque quod te nominis Islandorum studiosum studiosum experirer, ex animo gauisus sum. Vnde etiam faciam, vt tua pietas, tuumque nomen, de Euangelio Iesu Christi nobis congratulantis, deque gente nostra tam benigne tamque honorifice sentientis, et scribentis apud nos ignotum esse desinat.

[Sidenote: Commentarius breuis de Islandia: per Arngrimum Ionam Islandum editus, 1593.] Quod vero ad antiquitatis monimenta attinet, qua hic extare creduntur, nihil sane est (prater illa, quorum in Commentario isto de Islandia, quem vidisse te scribis, fit mentio) de hac nostra insula lectu scriptuua dignum, quod cum humanitate tua communicem. De vicinis itidem terris paucaque, prater historiam Regum Noruegia, seu verius eiusdem historia fragmenta; qua alijs alter descripta sunt: sunt tamen talia, qua Krantzius non attigerit, aut eorum certe paucaque. De vicina quoque Gronlandia, id veterum opinione habemus, eam magno circuitu ab extrema Noruegia, vbi Biarmlandia [Marginal note: Biarmia.] nuncupatur, et a qua haud vasto interuallo sita sit, circum quasi Islandiam exporrige. Illic nostrates aliquando commercia exetcusse, et eam terram tempore Pontificiorum suos Episcopos habuisse annales nostri testantur. Catara nobis incognita. [Sidenote: Gronlandia olim suos habuit Episcopos.] At hodie fama est, vestris Brittannis (quos ego prope maris dominos appellarin) quotannis csse in Gronlandia negotmiones de qua re, si me certiorem feceris, non erit iniucundum. Euam velim quacunque noua erunt de rebus vestratium aut vicinorum regnorum, ea non ommittas.


Human. tua studiosus Gudbrandus Thorlacius Episcopus Holensis in Islandia.

The same in English.

To the reuerend, learned, and vertuous, Master Hugh Branham minister of the Church of Harewich in England, his brother and felow pastour, &c.

I much marueiled (euen as you your selfe, reuerend sir coniectured that I would) at the first sight of your letters, that being a stranger I should be saluted in writing by one altogether vnknown vnto mee. Howbeit, reading

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a little further I found my selfe, if not otherwise, yet by name at least (which procedeth of your courtesie) knowne
vnto you: And also, for that I sawe you desirous of the credite and honest report of vs Islanders, I greatly
reioyced. Wherefore I my selfe will be a meane, that your vertue and good name (because you congratulate with
vs for the gospel of Christ here published, and doe thinke and write so louingly and honourably of our nation)
may sease hereafter to be vnknown amongst vs.

[Sidenote: This is the brief Commentarie of Ionas Arngrimus immediatly going before.] As touching the
monuments of antiquitie which are here thought to be extant, there is, in very deede nothing (except those
particulars, whereof mention is made in the Commentary of Island which you write vnto me that you haue seene)
worthy to be read or written, which I may communicate with you. And as concerning our neighbor Countreys we
haue little to shewe, besides the history of the Kings of Norway, (or rather some fragments of the same history)
which others haue otherwise described: howbeit they are all in a maner such things as Crantzius neuer mentioned:
vnlesse it be some fewe relations. Moreouer, as touching Gronland, we holde this from the opinion of our
ancestours, that, from the extreeme part of Norway, which is called Biarmlandia [Marginal note: Biarmia.] and
from whence the saide Gronland is not farre distant, it fetcheth about the Northren coast of Island with an huge
circuit in maner of an halfe Moone. [Sidenote: Gronland in old time had Christian Bishops.] Our Chronicles
likewise doe testifie that our owne countreymen in times past resorted thither for traffique, and also that the very
same countrey of Gronland had certaine Bishops in the dayes of Poperie. More then this we cannot auouch. But
now it is reported that your Englishmen (whom I may almost call the lوردes of the Ocean sea) make yeerely
voyages vnsto Gronland: concerning which matter if you please to giue me further aduertisement, you shall doe me
an especial fauour. Moreouer, whatsoever newes you heare concerning the the affaires of England or of other
Countreys thereabout, I pray you make vs acquainted therewith. Thus (reuerend sir) wishing you long life, for the
seruice of God, for the increase of learning, and the benefit of the people committed to your charge, I bid you
farewel. From Island vpon the feast of the visitation of the blessed Virgine Mary, Anno Dom. 1595.

Yours Gudbrandus Thorlacius Bishop of Hola in Island.

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