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regarded as the source, throws both forks of the stream out of the usual route of the fur trade, and furnishes, perhaps, the best reason why its head has remained so long enveloped in obscurity.

I take the liberty of enclosing herewith a map showing my route and the true source of the Mississippi.

To the Secretary,
Royal Geographical Society.

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN,
June 17th, 1884.

*A Search in British North America for Lost Colonies of Northmen and Portuguese.**

By R. G. HALIBURTON, Fellow of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquarians at Copenhagen.

No one can find a "message from the sea" telling of the fate of some long missing vessel without a feeling of emotion; but the stray waifs that throw light on the history of lost colonies are of a deeper interest, for they supply missing chapters in the annals of colonisation and early maritime enterprise.

The probable dates of those that are the subject of this paper are:—

1. Vinland the Good, discovered A.D. 994.
2. Fagundes' settlement in Cape Breton, A.D. 1521.
3. A second Portuguese settlement in Cape Breton, A.D. 1567.
4. A Spanish settlement in Cape Breton, between 1580 and 1597.

I. VINLAND THE GOOD.

Vinland the Good has been the subject of such a number of books, essays, &c., that a mere bibliography of them would fill quite a number of pages. It is not necessary, therefore, to go fully into what is already well known, or can easily be known by a reference to the various authorities on the subject.

It is unfortunate that the Pilgrim Fathers ever thought of calling a place in Rhode Island *Martha's Vineyard*, for its resemblance to *Vinland* has led Danish and American archæologists to identify them as the same locality. They seem not to have known, or at least to have remembered, that wild grapes are found on the south shore of the Gulf and river St. Lawrence, from Cape North to Quebec, the island of Orleans having for this reason been called the island of Bacchus. Wild grapes, too, are found on the west coast of Newfoundland, according to Anspach; and in 1521 the Portuguese colonists in Cape Breton sent word home that among the products of that country were grapes. The writer of this paper has tasted some excellent wine made by a relative living at Fredericton, New Brunswick, from the wild

* An abstract of this paper was read by Mr. Haliburton to the Geographical Section of the British Association at Montreal on the 2nd of September, 1884. The present is an abridgment, prepared by Mr. Ravenstein, of his complete paper communicated by the author since the meeting.

the Saga of Eric the Red is silent as to it, and though that voyage, still a perilous one, was at that time a most difficult and dangerous undertaking, that cost the leaders of the first two Portuguese expeditions, Gaspar and Miguel Corte Real, their lives.

But in order to get the Northmen to Rhode Island even the scant authorities relied on by Rafn have been distorted or put aside by him in an almost incredible manner. It is a pity that he never asked himself the question whether the narratives he relies on as being honest and true are not in reality utterly worthless, or at any rate open to grave suspicion and doubt.

The Saga of Eric the Red was written in Greenland by, or in honour of, Eric and his family, who were the discoverers, explorers, and chroniclers of Vinland the Good.

The later Saga of his son-in-law, Karlsefne, which, like the geographical notices quoted by Rafn, was written in Iceland, was evidently based, not on information derived from people who had been in Vinland, but on an imperfect version of the Greenland Saga, for almost all the courses described by them differ 90 degrees from those given in the Saga of Eric the Red, a uniformity of error which must have arisen from the use of a sketch-map of the voyage to Vinland, in which the points of the compass were omitted or incorrectly placed. What is north in the one is generally east in the other.

We have therefore to depend on the Greenland Saga, and what are its claims to be considered a credible authority? It was written in glorification of Eric and his family, and describes the discoveries made by his sons or sons-in-law, and testified to by no one outside of his family circle. The very first page of the Saga is sufficient to settle this question.

Two persons, father and son, the latter of whom was named Eric the Red, having been guilty of murder in Norway, took refuge in Iceland, where Eric committed one if not two more murders, and in consequence of them, and of his constant broils and feuds with his neighbours, was banished and outlawed. As the world was too small for him, he was tempted to try to discover and explore the new land in the west, of the existence of which there were rumours. He therefore sailed west, and discovered an ice-bound country, which he called "Greenland," because, quoth he, "people will be attracted to it if the land has a good name."

This intended fraud upon emigrants was an example that was followed in his own day, as well as in later times, for an imaginative chronicler subsequently asserted that "there is the best of wheat in Greenland."

Eric's ruse was successful, for the verdure of Greenland soon attracted hundreds of settlers to the east, and especially to the west coast of Greenland, as the ruins of many churches there still attest.

In A.D. 994 Eric and his son Leif, having heard of new lands further

west having been sighted by Bjarne, made up their minds to explore them, and for that purpose bought and fitted out Bjarne's vessel. But Eric while on his way to the port was thrown by his horse, and took his fall as an omen that he was not destined to give any more Greenlands to the world, and he therefore allowed Leif to sail without him. But from what we know of his proclivities we may be quite sure that he had a wonderful name already coined for that new land—*Vinland the Good*. Could words picture a more attractive bait for emigrants?

How much of the story of the subsequent exploration of Vinland by his son Leif is purely imaginary it is difficult to say. All that relates to shiploads of grapes, self-sown fields of wheat, and the genial semi-tropical winter climate of that favoured land we may dismiss as myths or exaggerations. Where then was Vinland situated?

We have one test, viz. the length of the shortest day there. Professor Thorfaeus, who wrote at the beginning of the last century, found that it indicated 49° N., i. e. the latitude of Newfoundland, which was probably very near the mark, for though Rafn contends for the latitude of Rhode Island, $41^{\circ} 24' 10''$ N., the latest authority, the Icelandic-English Dictionary by Gudbrand Vigfasson (Oxford, 1874), makes the hours of sunrise and sunset 8.30 A.M. and 3.30 P.M. (instead of 7.30 A.M. and 4.30 P.M., as Rafn contends), and therefore carries back Vinland to Greenland.

There is no part of the coast from Greenland to Rhode Island which has not been pounced upon by some writer as the site of Vinland.

We cannot depend on the sailing directions of the Sagas, and Captain Graah has shown that, preserved for a long time only by oral traditions, they have been changed to suit the fancy of the different persons to whom we are indebted for their preservation. We have, however, beside the length of the shortest day, another guide, viz. that the natives met at Vinland were Eskimo, or a race resembling them in their boats, &c.—such as the Naskapi, or "Mountaineers," who are found occasionally in Newfoundland. The advocates of the Rhode Island theory, in order to explain the presence of Eskimo so far south, have started the theory that the Skraelings at the beginning of the 11th century inhabited the eastern coast of North America as far south as Rhode Island, but were driven into the Arctic Regions by the races now found on the sea-coast. Not a particle of evidence can be adduced to support this idea, and the authorities cited by Rafn disprove it, for an Icelandic geographer describes the more northern country, Furderstrands, as too cold for human habitations, and as bounded on the south by Skraelingsland. Their home, therefore, was then, as it still is, Labrador.

Rafn also quotes an account of Arctic explorations as far north as Lancaster Sound, by the Northmen, who found traces of the Skraelings there. So numerous were they in those regions, that they ultimately destroyed the settlements both on the west and east coasts of Greenland.

Helluland and Markland.—From the various accounts given by Rafn I prepared a map, showing Helluland, Markland, and Vinland, which proved to agree almost with the maps* of the Northern Atlantic by the Iclander Sigurd Stephanius (1570), and by Gudbrandius Torlacius (1606) except that I made Genunga Gap run between Markland and Vinland, in accordance with one of the authorities quoted by him. Rafn avers that the descriptions given by Icelandic writers are irreconcilable, when in truth they only appear to him to be so, because he sought to make them support his Rhode Island theory.

It is clear that what is now called Greenland was assumed to be an extension of the North of Europe, and that "Greenland" embraced all the country north of the Straits of Belleisle. Davis Strait was looked upon as an inlet running into Greenland, but not as a strait separating Greenland from the land to the westward. The land north of Hudson Strait was called Funderstrands, and was so cold as not to be habitable. All the country south of Hudson Strait was called Helluland, as well as Skraellingsland (our Labrador), and it was divided into Great Helluland to the north, and Little Helluland or Markland to the south. In one account, however, Little Helluland is omitted and Labrador divided into Helluland and Markland, the latter being to the south. The Westbygda of Greenland, so often referred to, was on the east side of Davis Strait, and was the site of the cathedral. Assuming such to be the case the accounts quoted by Rafn will at once become intelligible and consistent, though totally at variance with his theory, which identifies Great Helluland with Labrador, Little Helluland with Newfoundland, and Markland with Nova Scotia. How utterly untenable his theory is will be clear on comparing it with the authorities which he himself cites.

Thus Bjorn Jonaes says, "The western deserts of Greenland lie between Westbygda of Greenland and Little Helluland or Markland," which according to Rafn means "between the Westbygda of Greenland and Newfoundland or Nova Scotia."

Again, Brndasagn Snaefellsass, quoted by Jonaes, says, "We call the northern deserts of Greenland Northern Greenland; Great Helluland the *deserts of Helluland*," i.e. according to Rafn, "the deserts of Newfoundland."

Vinland the Good.—Rafn quotes the following notice of Vinland from a fragment of the Vellum Codex, No. 192, supposed to have been written about the end of the 14th century: "From Bjarmeland [in Europe] extends uninhabited land towards the north, until Greenland begins; south of Greenland is Helluland; next lies Markland; thence it is not far to Vinland the Good, which some think goes out of Africa; and if so, the sea must run between Vinland and Markland."

This, I contend, points to Newfoundland, which extends towards

* Published in Kohl's 'History of Maine.'

Africa, and is separated from Markland (Labrador) by the Strait of Belleisle. He adds, "All these countries are in that part of the world called Europe," an idea that prevailed even after the discovery of America by Columbus.

With this account agrees one of a very early date: * "Now is to be told what lies opposite Greenland, out from the bay which has been before named. The land is called Furderstrands. There are so strong frosts there that it is not habitable so far as one knows. South from that is Helluland, which is called Skraellingsland; from thence it is not far to Vinland the Good, which some think goes out from Africa."

Hence it is clear that the Northmen placed the land of the Eskimo between a northerly uninhabitable region and the more southern Vinland.

The same description says: "Between Vinland and Greenland is Genunga Gap, which flows from the sea called Mare Oceanum, and surrounds the whole earth." This is the "River Ocean" of Homer, and is used in the Eddas as the name of the watery wastes of Chaos. The ancient Britons knew it as "the sea of Dylan," which so often meets us in the Welsh triads, and which is to be met with also in Sūs and the Sudān, for a Susi told me recently that "Dylan means a river which surrounds the whole earth."

Bjarne's Voyage to Vinland the Good.—As we cannot rely on the sailing directions given in the Sagas, a very cursory reference to the alleged voyages to Vinland will suffice. The number of days occupied by each voyage is, however, more likely to be correct. Bjarne's voyage seems to have really taken place, and to have been accurately described. The accounts of subsequent voyages appear to have been based on Bjarne's, and to be as nearly as possible mere transcripts of it reversed. In 906 Bjarne sailed from Iceland to Greenland, but "after three day's sailing, . . . the land was out of sight under the water," he was driven southwards by north winds, with foggy weather for many days. At length he once more saw the sun, and having sailed one day more he sighted land. As the wind had changed from north to south-west, in which quarter it remained steady, it is evident that the northerly gale went round with the sun, i. e. to the east, then to south, and then to south-west. Had the wind "backed" to the west and south-west, the weather would have continued unsettled. Hence we conclude that Bjarne's vessel was driven to the banks of Newfoundland, where fogs constantly prevail, whence, the wind veering to the east, south, and south-west, he was driven into the Gulf of St. Lawrence and around Newfoundland. The land he first saw was "without mountains, and covered with wood, and had small heights." It was on his larboard side, and was probably one of the Magdalen Islands, or possibly the eastern end of Prince Edward Island. Afterwards they sailed *two days*, when they saw "a

* Gripla. Antiq. Am., p. 230.

flat land covered with wood." This may have been the north-west coast of Newfoundland near the west end of the Straits of Belleisle, which for a long distance is marked on Bayfield's chart as a "low limestone coast." I am informed that there are woods on it, though they may be small compared with the vast forests that are found up the rivers, whence extensive lumbering operations are now being carried on. Bjarne then put to sea for *three days*, with a south-westerly wind, and saw a third land, which was "high and covered with mountains and ice-hills." They coasted along it, and "saw it was an island." They probably sighted Labrador, and rounding its south-east point, supposed it to be an island. Thence they sailed with the same favourable south-westerly wind (which grew into a gale) for *four days*, when they sighted a "fourth land, which was Greenland."

Leif's Voyage to Vinland.—This seems, as nearly as possible, a version of Bjarne's reversed. Neither time nor bearings are given, and we are merely told that Leif "found the land first which Bjarne had found last."* They saw no grass there. "Great icebergs were over all up the country, but like a plain of flat stones was all from the sea to the mountains." This they called Helluland. They then sailed thence and found another land which was "flat and covered with wood, and white sands were far around where they went, and the shore was low." This was therefore called "Markland" i. e. wood-land. They sailed thence for *two days* with a north-easterly wind (the opposite to that which Bjarne met with), when they sighted an island to the northward of the land, and sailed into a sound, between it and a cape which ran out northwardly from the land. Thence they sailed westwardly round the cape, into a place where at ebb-tide the vessel was left high and dry, some distance from the shore; and when the tide rose, they towed the vessel into a river, which led into a lake (or inlet?), where they landed and built booths.

If this narrative is something more than a Norse Odyssey or a fiction, we must infer that Leif touched at Labrador (called by him Helluland); sailed thence to some more southern part of Labrador (called by him Markland); and thence past the island of Belleisle into one of the many shallow inlets on the south side of the Straits of Belleisle. The "low land covered with wood," and its "white sands" may possibly be the part of Newfoundland sighted by Bjarne, or it may be *Blanc Sablon*, near Bradore Bay, on the south coast of Labrador. It is, however, evident that Leif cannot have reached the south coast of the gulf of St. Lawrence, judging by the number of days expended on the voyage. The Saga of Karlsefne says that the voyage from Greenland to Helluland only took *two days*, and that from Helluland to Markland *three days*.

* In the account of the Saga of Eric the Red, of Karlsefne's voyage, it is simply stated that he sailed to Vinland. The Icelandic Saga of a later date was less cautious, and gives many impossible courses.

Now Leif's voyage from Markland to Vinland took *two days*, or the number of days spent by Bjarne in going from the land first sighted by him to the "flat land covered with wood." Bjarne's voyage from the first land sighted by him to Greenland occupied in all $2 + 3 + 4 = 9$ days.

From the Sagas of Eric the Red and of Karlsefne we learn that the voyages from Greenland to Vinland took six days in all. Hence, Vinland, if beyond Labrador, must be sought for in Newfoundland, either in one of the shallow inlets near the island of Belleisle, or in some place along the north-west coast of that island. The fact that grapes are found there, according to Anspach, lends some weight to this view. It is possible too, that the Naskapi, sometime found in Newfoundland, and resembling the Eskimo in many respects, may have been included under the name Skraelings by the Northmen.

It is clear that, like Greenland, Vinland the Good was a fraud on emigrants; that the stories as to shiploads of grapes, self-sown fields of wheat, genial winter weather, &c., were the productions of Eric's prolific brain; and that we must first succeed in finding Greenland's verdant mountains before we can hope to discover the vine-clad hills of Vinland the Good.

Even the Sagas have not been able to suppress the truth. We find Thorshall, one of Eric's retainers, giving vent to his feelings on the subject of Vinland in rhymes, in which there was more sober prose than poetry, and which from their allusions to "boiling fetid whales," have a decidedly arctic flavour.

Now, when Thorshall carried water to the ship, he sang these verses:—

"People told me when I came
Hither, all would be so fine,
The Good Vinland known to fame,
Rich in fruits and choicest wine.
Now the water-pail they send,
To the fountain I must bend.
Not from out this land divine
Have I quaffed one drop of wine."

When they were about to depart, and to hoist sail, Thorshall again sang:—

"Let our trusty band haste to Fatherland!
Let our vessel brave plough the angry wave!
While those few that love Vinland here may rove,
Or with idle toil fetid whales may boil,
Here in Funderstrand, far from Fatherland."

II. THE COLONY OF TERRA NOVA, OR THE "LAND OF THE CORTE REALS."

The history of European colonisation, north of Florida, has been hitherto supposed to have begun at the commencement of the seventeenth century, except perhaps a small English settlement at St. John's, Newfoundland. It has not hitherto been known to historians that the eastern portion of British North America was the first part of the New World that was constituted a colony, that from 1500 to 1579 commissions were regularly issued to the Corte Reals as governors of Terra Nova, and that by virtue of this claim on the part of the Portuguese, at least three settlements were made by the Portuguese themselves, and later by the Spaniards (after they had annexed Portugal), one of these colonies being the earliest European settlement in North America after the discovery of the New World by Cabot.

A flood of light has been shed upon this early colonisation by Señor Ernesto do Canto, of San Miguel, Azores, whose most recent publication on early Portuguese exploration consists mainly of a selection of documents connected with the family of the Corte Reals, the explorers and first governors of North-eastern America.*

The information contained in Señor do Canto's work enables me to claim for the north-eastern parts of America almost a century of historical existence prior to the seventeenth century. This colony, embracing Labrador, Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia, and, under the grant to Fagundes, probably a large portion on the east coast of the present United States, was far the earliest European colony (excepting perhaps Vinland) not only in North America, but also in the New World, for the commissions of the Corte Reals date in regular succession from 1500 (i.e. two years after America had been discovered by Columbus, and six years after its discovery by Cabot) until 1579, soon after which Portugal and its possessions were annexed to Spain. Kohl is too hasty when he claims that Ponce de Leon, who was appointed Adelantado of "the islands of Florida and Bimini" in 1513, was the earliest European governor in America.

This colony of the Corte Reals was not merely a nominal one, for in the course of the sixteenth century the Portuguese made a settlement in Cape Breton in 1521, and another in 1567, while the Spaniards, their successors, sent a third to the same country. Of these three colonies little or nothing is known; even the colony of Terra Nova has lost its place in history, which begins the annals of British North America a century later with the arrival of French settlers in La Nouvelle France.

In 1500 Gaspar Corte Real explored the coast of Labrador, probably nearly as far north as Hudson Strait, and also Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. He brought back several of the natives, who resembled the

* 'Os Corte-Reaes. Memoria Historica, acompanhada de muitos documentos ineditos.' Ponta Delgada (San Miguel), 1883.

present Micmac Indians. He went there again, in 1501, with three vessels, but that in which he sailed never returned. In 1502 his brother, Miguel, sailed in search of Gaspar, and met with the same fate. Again, in 1503, an expedition was sent out to try to get some tidings of the two gallant brothers, but without success, and the king, discouraged by these disasters, refused to allow Vasco Annes, the elder brother, and one of the ornaments of his court, to continue the search.

In early charts * of this continent the Portuguese flag is frequently represented as waving over Labrador, Newfoundland (Baccalaos), and Nova Scotia, which were sometimes described as the "Land of the Corte Reals," and as the "country discovered by João Alvares."

We now know that the person to whom these Christian names belonged was João Alvares Fagundes, who early in the sixteenth century carried on explorations in North-eastern America, and who, in 1521, had a grant of the country between the land of the Corte Reals and the northern boundary of the Spanish colonies, including the "terra firma and islands" discovered by him, a grant which for the first time included a portion of the United States. It is probable that, from the southern limits of the land of the Corte Reals being very indefinite, this supplementary grant was issued to Fagundes,† who contemplated making a settlement there, and who was appointed governor of it.

Traditions as to this early settlement still linger among the Micmacs, who aver that certain earth-mounds at St. Peter's, Cape Breton, were built by white men before the arrival of the French. This belief received many years ago a confirmation by the discovery in one of these mounds of an archaic cannon formed of bars of iron fastened with iron bands or hoops, those toward the breech being the strongest. This gun attracted little attention at the time, and was broken up. My knowledge of this circumstance is derived from the historian of that province,‡ who for more than twenty years was on circuit in Cape Breton once, if not twice, a year. He frequently spoke of the enigma, and regretted the stupidity and utter want of interest which prevailed at that time with respect to the early history of the country. An inquiry into the date of the manufacture of such guns showed clearly that it must have been brought out before the arrival of the French in Cape Breton.§ Were these remains at St. Peter's vestiges of this early Portuguese colony? When recently at San Miguel's, I carefully searched with Señor do Canto his *Arquivo dos Açores*, and then found that the colony, composed partly of Azoreans, sailed to Newfoundland, but "finding the place too cold," went south-west to Cape Breton.

* See Peter Reinel's map, 1505; also Kohl's maps, Nos. IX., X., and XIII.

† Do Canto, 'Os Corte-Reaes,' p. 90.

‡ Judge Haliburton, the author's father.

§ The article "Artillery," in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' says that such guns were made from 1500 to 1545, when cast-iron guns were first introduced.

From a rare pamphlet, 'Tractado das Ilhas Novas,' by Francisco de Sousa, written in 1570, and published at San Miguel in 1877, Señor do Canto, in his 'Os Corte-Reaes' (pp. 89-93) copies an account of the colony in question, and has also given us a description of the discoveries, and a copy of the commission of João Alvares Fagundes.

It appears from this that the colony referred to by F. de Sousa was planned by some noblemen at Viana, consequent upon the discoveries made by João Alvares Fagundes. They sent out a ship and a caravel, but Newfoundland (Baccalaos) having been found too cold, the settlers sailed to the west and south-west, and having lost their ships, were obliged to remain. News was subsequently received from them through Biscayans, who were then in the habit of frequenting that coast. They asked for priests; said that the natives were well disposed; and that the country produced "nuts, chestnuts, grapes and other fruits, showing the goodness of the soil."

Allusions in early writers point to the existence of this early Portuguese colony. Anthony Parkhurst, in a letter published in 1578, when speaking of the excellent timber in Cape Breton, says:—"I could not find it in my heart to make proof whether it be true or no, that I have read, and heard, of Frenchmen and Portugals to be in that river (the St. Lawrence) and about Cape Breton. If I had not been deceived by the vile Portuguese descending of the Jews and the Judas kind, I had not failed to have searched that river and the coast of Cape Breton which might have been found out to have benefited our country."

Brown,* who quotes this, adds "that we have needs reason to lament that Parkhurst was prevented from visiting Cape Breton by the Portugals, who probably, as reported by some later writers, had made a temporary settlement in the island, and were carrying on a lucrative trade which they wished to keep to themselves."

The settlement here referred to is that of 1567, which will hereafter be described. The colony of Fagundes of 1521 has been unknown to historians, though the circumstances that led to the attempt to colonise Terra Nova have not escaped attention. Peschel † says that "the discoveries of the Corte Reals had no political results except in the active prosecution of the productive fisheries on the coast of Newfoundland." He quotes in a note Francisco do Mendo Frigozo as saying that "soon after the discovery of America a company was organised in Aveiro, Viana, and the island of Terceira for the colonisation of Terra Nova." Portuguese fishermen, it is stated, were seen by English ships near Newfoundland in 1527.‡

Kohl (p. 188) remarks on this, "The Portuguese fishing company made their experiments, and their first fishing voyages were undoubtedly

* Brown, 'History of Cape Breton,' p. 35.

† Peschel, 'Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen,' p. 33.

‡ Herrera, Dec. ii. liv. v. c. 4; also Rutt's letter in Purchas' 'Pilgrims,' viii. p. 809.

at the same time real exploring expeditions, continuing the work of the Corte Reals. It is therefore to be regretted that no journals of the voyages of these first Portuguese fishermen have come down to us, and that we know so little of the beginning and progress of these fisheries." No doubt this Viana company must have been in active operation some years before the colony in question sailed to Cape Breton. Fagundes had already been an explorer, and his name is connected with the north-east coast of America by early charts, while his discoveries, as we have seen, are referred to in his commission.

We also meet with a probable reference to this colony in connection with the cattle and swine which Champlain (1618) says "were left there (Sable Island) more than sixty years ago" (i. e. before 1558) by the Portuguese. In Haies's report of the voyage of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, given by Hakluyt, and probably written about 1583, he says, "Sablon lyeth about 25 leagues to the seaward of Cape Breton, whither we were determined to go upon intelligence we had of a Portugal during our abode at St. John's, who was himself present when the Portuguese (about thirty years past) did put on the said island both neat and swine to breed, which were since exceedingly multiplying."

It appears that the Baron de Lery, in 1518, landed some cattle at Canso, and the remainder on Sable Island, on his abandoning his intention of forming a settlement in Nova Scotia. It seems also probable that the Portuguese must for the same reasons have landed their cattle at Sable Island, and that that date is the probable time when the settlement of Fagundes was broken up.

It is not improbable that Fagundes' vessels were lost on Sable Island, and that the emigrants ultimately succeeded in reaching St. Peter's, which lies opposite to that island.

We can scarcely hope that something more definite as to the fate of this colony will ever be discovered.

III. A PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENT AT INGANISH, CAPE BRETON, 1567.

De Laet (B. ii. ch. 5) tell us that the Portuguese placed Port Ningani from 18 to 20 leagues to the north-west of the cape which afterwards gave its name to the island Cape Breton, "where they formerly had a settlement, which they have since abandoned." Champlain says that the Portuguese were forced to do this by the cold and rigorous climate.*

Until recently this was all we knew about this colony, but Señor E. do Canto has now discovered a MS. charter in the Torre do Tombo, at Lisbon, from which it appears that the king, on May 4th, 1567, appointed Manuel Corte Real notary public of a colony about to be founded in Terra Nova, and for which two ships and a caravel were then about to start from Terceira.† In 1579 the captaincy of that

* Brown, 'History of Cape Breton,' p. 35.

† E. do Canto, 'Os Corte-Reaes,' p. 161.

colony was conferred upon Vasco Annes, the fourth in succession of the Corte Reals.* The author of the 'Tractado das Ilhas Novas' appears to have sailed with the expedition of 1567, and it is quite clear that up till then no tidings from the colony founded by Fagundes had been received. It is quite clear that a Portuguese colony existed for some time at Inganish, which was abandoned on account of the cold. Was Inganish the site also of Fagundes' colony, as well as of the settlement made in 1567? It seems improbable that the colony of 1521, cut off from all communication from the mother-country for half a century, should have survived until 1567, and we are forced to conclude that the cattle and swine left on Sable Island in 1553 were the property of the Fagundes colonists, who had abandoned their settlements. It seems clear, at the same time, that the colonists who sailed in 1567 were aware that Fagundes had found Newfoundland too cold for a settlement, and had given the preference to Cape Breton. We must assume, therefore, that the colonists of 1567 settled some place in Cape Breton or Nova Scotia. Champlain says the Portuguese abandoned their settlement at Ningani (Inganish) on account of the cold. A Portuguese gentleman informed me last winter that there existed a tradition at Viana, that the colony of Terra Nova was sold to the English on account of the cold climate. Señor do Canto refers to a similar tradition, but applies it to the colony of 1521, instead of to that of 1567.† This sale must have taken place after 1567, for otherwise the Portuguese, having sold out their rights to the English, would hardly have attempted, after the transfer, to make a settlement in that country. It would be interesting if we could find some allusion to this sale in the English records that we possess as to the north-east of America in the 16th century.

IV. A SPANISH SETTLEMENT AT SYDNEY, CAPE BRETON (SPANISH HARBOUR) BETWEEN 1580-97.

We are told that in the 17th century Louisbourg (called English Harbour) was frequented by the English fishermen; St. Ann's by the French; and Spanish Harbour by the Spaniards. Why was Sydney—at one time known as Spanish Harbour—the favourite resort of Spanish fishermen?

About the time Fagundes sailed to Cape Breton, the Spaniards seemed to question his right to that country, as appears from the Spanish map of 1527,‡ where the Spanish line of demarcation includes

* Ib. pp. 121 and 126.

† "A terra descoberta por João Alvares, dizem que foi vendida por seus herdeiros aos Ingleses por ser muito fria."

‡ This anonymous map is sometimes ascribed to Fernando Columbus, but held by Harris to be the work of Nuña Garcia de Torenó. It was an official map of the Spanish Hydrographical Office, and gives the Spanish view of the meridian on which the line of demarcation ran. This line is the same on Ribero's map of 1529. The Portuguese view is shown in the Cantino map of 1502. The map of 1529 is published in Kohl's collection, No. 38.

Cape Breton and Nova Scotia, leaving Newfoundland to the Portuguese. It is probable, however, that the Spaniards did not practically question the claims of the Portuguese, which were specially guarded in commissions to Spanish explorers. In 1580, however, the question was settled by the annexation of Portugal and its dominions by Spain. We know that towards the close of the 16th century a Spanish colony was sent to Cape Breton, and we can assume that it sailed some time after 1580. Our only account of it is a melancholy one, for Charlevoix* says, that the forty poor wretches whom the Marquis de la Roche left on Sable Island (1598), "found on the sea-shore some wrecks of vessels, out of which they built barracks to protect themselves. They were the *remains of Spanish vessels which had sailed to settle Cape Breton.*" Any one who has seen the wreck-strewn coast of Sable Island must remember it as suggesting a graveyard of vessels. Those that have been there a few years are soon covered by the drifting sands, and the half-buried skeletons of later wrecks are to be counted by the dozen, in different stages of sepulture and decay. It is probable, therefore, that these wrecks, which were used by the French convicts, cannot have been there many years previously. The date, therefore, of this Spanish expedition to Cape Breton must have been between 1580 and 1598. We may infer that the emigrants found their way to what was called by them "Spanish Harbour," and that thenceforward it became the resort of the Spanish fishermen.

An inlet in Sydney Harbour is still known as the "North-west Arm or Spanish River."

We have no account of the fate of this colony, but we may infer that it only existed for a short time. The French took possession of, and colonised that country early in the 17th century, and their writers are silent as to the existence of any Spanish settlement there at that time.

It is even possible that this Spanish colony was sent by Vasco Annes Corte Real, for that family was a favourite one with the Spanish Court, and one of the last of them held the important post of Governor of the Low Countries. The interest of the Corte Reals in maritime discovery and in colonisation survived their connection with Terra Nova, for we find that Père Labat dedicates his work to the Governor of the Low Countries, as a just tribute to an enlightened patron and friend.

So thoroughly forgotten is this lost colony of Terra Nova that, though there are many Portuguese names that survive on the map of North-eastern America, they no longer suggest their origin or meaning.

Few persons imagine that the Bay of Fundy is the "Deep Bay," or Baya Fonda; or that Cape Race means the "Bare Cape" or Cabo raso. The "Land of the Corte Reals" knows them no more.

* See Shea's 'Charlevoix,' New York, 1866, p. 244