

# **Seas No Mariner Has Sailed<sup>1</sup>**

## **John Kendrick**

### **Introduction**

When Christopher Columbus reached the Indies in 1492, he found exactly what he expected: a group of islands. It had been known for two hundred years that there were 7448 islands in the ocean east of Ind.<sup>2</sup> It did not occur to Columbus or anyone else to doubt the word of Marco Polo, who had reported their existence and their number. Columbus believed until his death that he had reached the most easterly. If Polo had just said that there were "countless" or "thousands" of islands, he might not have been believed, but to most such a precise reckoning could not have been wrong.

When Columbus left the New World for the last time in 1504, the lands of the ancient Caribs already contained Spanish settlements. By that time Alvarez Cabrai had attained the Brazilian coast. In 1513, Balboa reached and crossed the isthmus of Panama, and in 1520 Magellan sailed to the Pacific through the strait named for him. As the Caribbean and Gulf of Mexico became better known, more islands were discovered. It was apparent that one, Florida, was very large; there was some suspicion that it was part of a large land mass. Twenty years after Columbus's final departure from the Indies, the existence of a continent to the south of the Caribbean was considered likely and it was realized that this southern land mass, drained by great rivers, was not part of Asia. But it was still very much an open question whether there was another continent to the north of Florida, or just more islands. Cabot had reached Newfoundland, followed by Corte Real, but that was about all that was known.

### **Verrazano and His Voyages**

This was the state of knowledge when Giovanni Verrazano sailed to America.<sup>3</sup> Although a self-described Florentine, he may have been born in Lyons into one of the Florentine mercantile families that had been settled there for several generations. As with many contemporaries, there is disagreement about the place and date of his birth. From what is known of his career, we can estimate that he was born about 1485, whether in Florence or Lyons.<sup>4</sup>

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Verrazano may have been off Newfoundland and the Gulf of St. Lawrence with a French expedition in 1508. He was probably either in or trading to the Iberian peninsula in 1517 and is thought to have visited the Levant at some time. At any rate, he was definitely in France by 1522 and began to petition François I for support for a voyage to America, finally sailing in 1524. After his return he described the voyage as "made by order of Your Majesty," so it had some official status, although most of the money came from rich Florentine merchants in Lyons.

Crossing the Atlantic, Verrazano kept as close as he could to the thirty-second parallel, then eased off or was driven to the north, falling in with the American coast at about 34° North. As he coasted northward, what he could see of the land narrowed to a sandy strip, beyond which lay open water. He decided he was looking at the *Mare Indicum*, the sea which lay to the east of Ind. He could not find an entry, although he landed in two places, so he sailed on, looking for a northern promontory. After a time, the strip of land widened again, and he continued his voyage northward. In deference to his patron, he called this land *Nova Gallia*.<sup>5</sup> Since his voyages are not the primary topic of this paper, I need not describe his discovery of New York harbour and other wild spots, nor his return to France.

That strip of land seen by Verrazano is now known as the Outer Banks of North Carolina, and the water beyond is Pamlico Sound (see figure 1). The land inshore is low-lying, and although it might have been discerned by a sharp-eyed lookout at the main top on a day with good visibility, Verrazano can hardly be blamed for missing it. He was in a dangerous position: he had no consort, was off an exposed coast, and could see some of the dangers. Cape Hatteras, which has been unloved by sailors (including the present writer) in both peace and war, lies off the central part of Pamlico Sound. This could be why the explorer, looking for a passage to the Pacific, did not make more of an effort to follow up his discovery.

After the voyage, Verrazano may have lost his French royal sponsorship. He sought or was offered help by Henry VIII of England and João III of Portugal. Yet when he finally chartered a vessel and left France on another voyage to North America in 1528, it was again under the sponsorship of Florentine merchants. His ship returned from this voyage, but he did not. His brother Girolamo, who was aboard, is supposed to have said that Giovanni had been captured and eaten by cannibals in the Caribbean. Verrazano does not appear to have revisited Cape Hatteras.<sup>6</sup>

In 1527 the Genoese geographer, Vesconte Maggiolo, drew a map which included the 1524 discoveries (see figure 2).<sup>1</sup> It showed the *Mare Indicum* west of the isthmus, as reported by Giovanni Verrazano. It was not until later that it began to be referred to as the Sea of Verrazano. The original of the Maggiolo map was lost when the Ambrosiana Library in Milan was destroyed in an air raid in 1943, but several reproductions had been made. It is not known how much contact Maggiolo had with the Verrazanos. His map corresponds with one published by Girolamo Verrazano in 1529, but which might have been drawn earlier by one of the brothers.

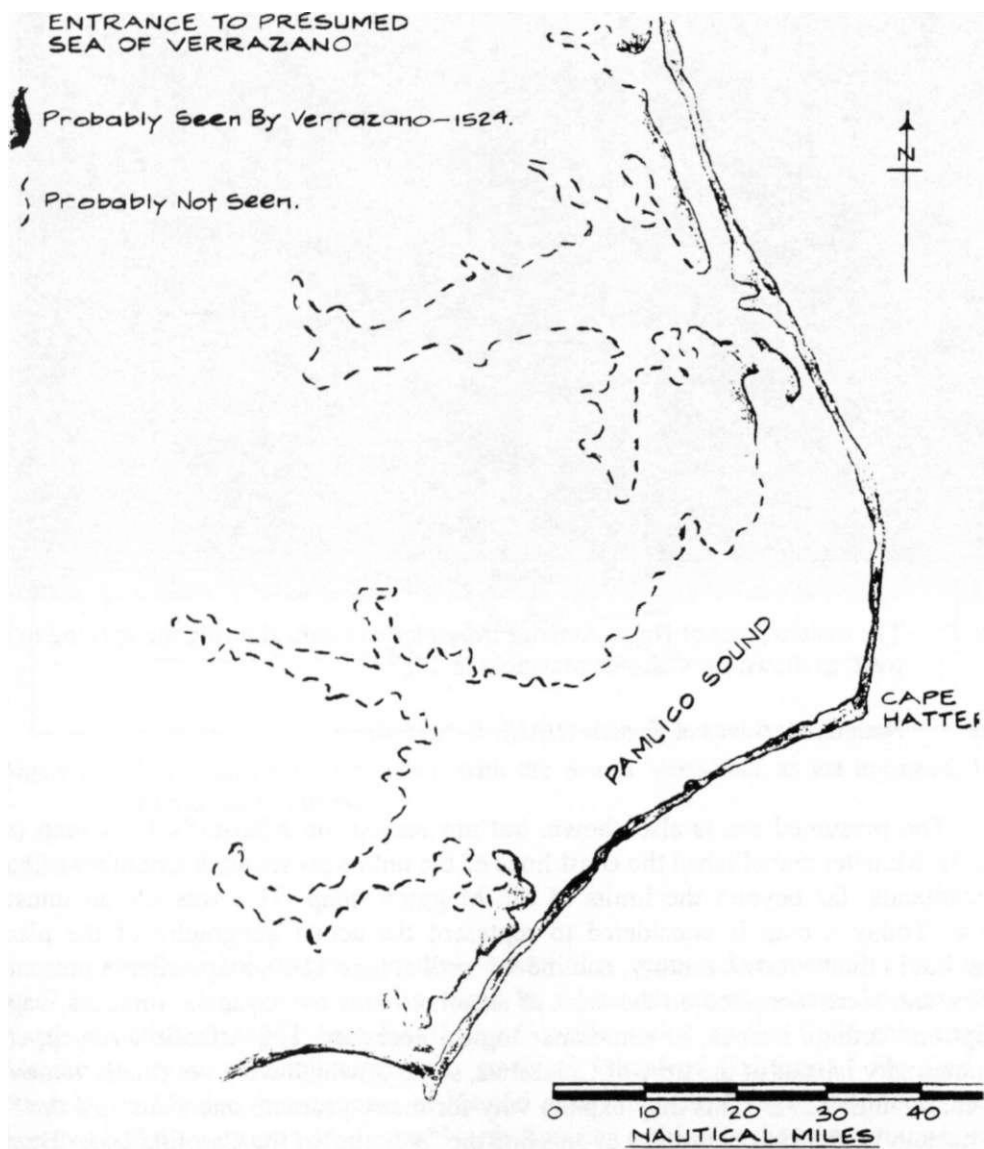


Figure 1: The coast of modern South Carolina, as seen (and as not seen) by Verrazano.

Source: Drawn by the author.

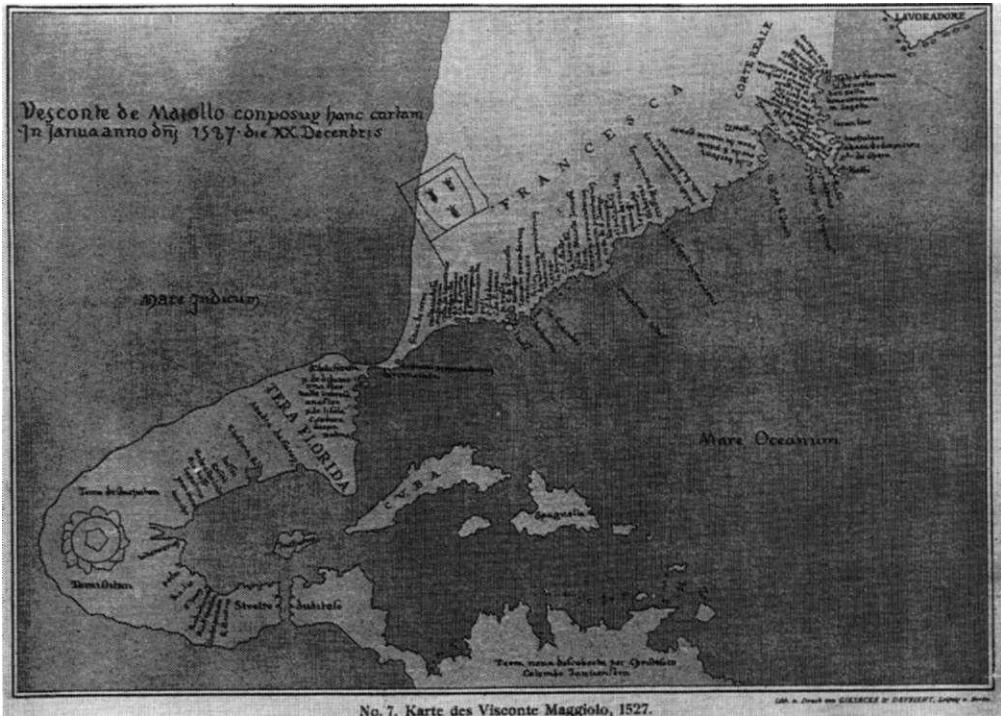


Figure 2: The eastern coast of North America from Florida north, showing the opening to the west, as drawn by Vesconte Maggiolo in 1527.

Source: National Archives of Canada (NAC), C-139526.

The presumed sea is also shown, but not named, on Minister's 1544 map (see figure 3). Munster embellished the coast lines of the unknown sea with a number of bays and headlands, far beyond the limits of the Maggiolo map. This was not an unusual practice. Today a map is considered to represent the actual geography of the places shown, but in the sixteenth century, and indeed until at least 1800, maps often represented theories, and were compiled on the basis of sketches made by voyagers, rumours, vague descriptions, artistic licence, or sometimes logical necessity. The Atlantic was peppered with imaginary islands at the time of Columbus, some of which were not finally removed from charts until 1873.\* This may explain why for many years no one examined the Sea of Verrazano by the simple process of crossing the "isthmus" of the Carolina Outer Banks. There were so many imaginary places to inspect, and there was no reason why the Sea of Verrazano should be first on the list.

Another factor in the neglect of Verrazano's discovery may have been that he was in the French service. After Jacques Cartier's voyages in the 1530s, France's primary

interests lay to the north, in the fisheries of the Grand Banks and the estuary of the St. Lawrence River. Neither Spain nor England is known to have followed up Verrazano's findings, although belief in his sea persisted in England.



Figure 3: The Munster map of 1544, with the Sea of Verrazano, as yet unnamed, between Florida and Francisca.

Source: NAC, NMC-93764.

The Sea of Verrazano, or some variant of it, appeared on a number of maps from 1527 to 1790. One version had its origin in a Spanish voyage along the west coast of North America. In 1542 Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo sailed up the California coast from Mexico to try to circumnavigate the mythical Island of California.<sup>9</sup> He died before returning to Mexico, but rumours of his and other Spanish voyages abounded, including one that had the western coastline of North America turning to the east, somewhere north of Cape Mendocino, into a "big water." It was not surprising that this turn would be connected with the Sea of Verrazano or at least with some passage to the Atlantic Ocean. The story reached England in 1572 through an English resident of Mexico named Henry Hawks, who reported that it might end in a strait between Greenland and Newfoundland.<sup>10</sup>

## Enter Michael Lok

The story was probably picked up by an English merchant adventurer named Michael Lok. From a mercantile family - his father, William, supplied silk, gold cloth and jewels to Henry VIII and became a gentleman of the privy chamber, as well as an alderman and sheriff of the City of London — Michael, born about 1532, was not as successful.<sup>11</sup> He travelled extensively, mastered a number of languages, met Martin Frobisher, and became intrigued with the possibility of a Northwest Passage between the Atlantic and the Pacific, to the north of the land explored by Cabot, Cartier, and others. Lok knew of the Sea of Verrazano, but decided to back Martin Frobisher financially when the latter made his first northern voyage, from which he brought back a lump of rock judged to be rich in gold. The Cathay Company was then formed to exploit Frobisher's discoveries, with Lok appointed governor for life. The Company brought back an alleged 1500 tons of ore from Frobisher's subsequent voyages, but failed when the rock was found to contain no gold. These ventures landed Lok in debtors' prison and led to lawsuits which continued for the rest of his life. In 1592, with his fortunes at a low ebb, Lok went to Aleppo as consul for the Levant Company. Two years later he was dismissed, after which he sued in Venice for his salary, apparently without success. He went back to England in 1596 with nothing more than a story to his name.

In judging Lok's tale, the circumstances described above must be remembered, as well as his abiding interest in a Northwest Passage. The story is too well known to require detailed description.<sup>12</sup> He claimed to have met a certain Juan de Fuca in Venice, and to have been told of de Fuca's discovery of a passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic in 1592, while in the Spanish service. The entrance was between 47° and 48° North, with "an exceeding high Pinacle (sic)" on the northern side of the entrance and the customary profusion of gold, silver, and pearls along the way.

All that was and is known of the mythical Strait of Juan de Fuca is what Lok reported. He was the author of a map published by Richard Hakluyt in 1582 which shows the Pacific side of the North American continent terminating at 46° Latitude, with the northern ocean extending to the southeast as the Sea of Verrazano, and to the northeast as an unnamed sea which connected to the waters explored by Frobisher (see figure 4). Through Lok's map, the mythical seas of Verrazano and de Fuca became one.<sup>13</sup>

The map names the Sea of Verrazano, but does not identify the Strait of Juan de Fuca — for a very good reason. The date 1582 was ten years before the date of de Fuca's reported voyage.<sup>14</sup> For good measure, Lok shows the city of "Quiviri" on the south shore near the entrance, and "Cevola" inland to the south. These were two mythical cities of enormous wealth, which had been sought to the north of Mexico since an "account" of Quivira, Cibola, and the Seven Cities was brought back to Mexico in 1538.<sup>15</sup> A note printed near "Quiviri" on Lok's map records visits by Portuguese, Spanish, and English navigators. The Portuguese reference may be to the mythical voyage of Bartolomé de Fonte, although it is dated 1520, twenty years before de Fonte's reputed voyage. The Spanish reference is probably to Cabrillo's voyage. The English visit is dated 1580, which

must refer to Drake. As if that were not enough, the Gulf of California is shown on Lok's map, terminating just across a narrow isthmus south of the strait. It is hard to believe that this map, showing such easily attained wealth, was not connected to Lok's financial woes. Through most or all of 1581, he had been in prison for debts incurred to finance Frobisher's last voyage. It is not clear when he was released, or just when the map was first drawn, so we cannot be sure that the map helped to obtain his freedom, although the two events occurred at about the same time.

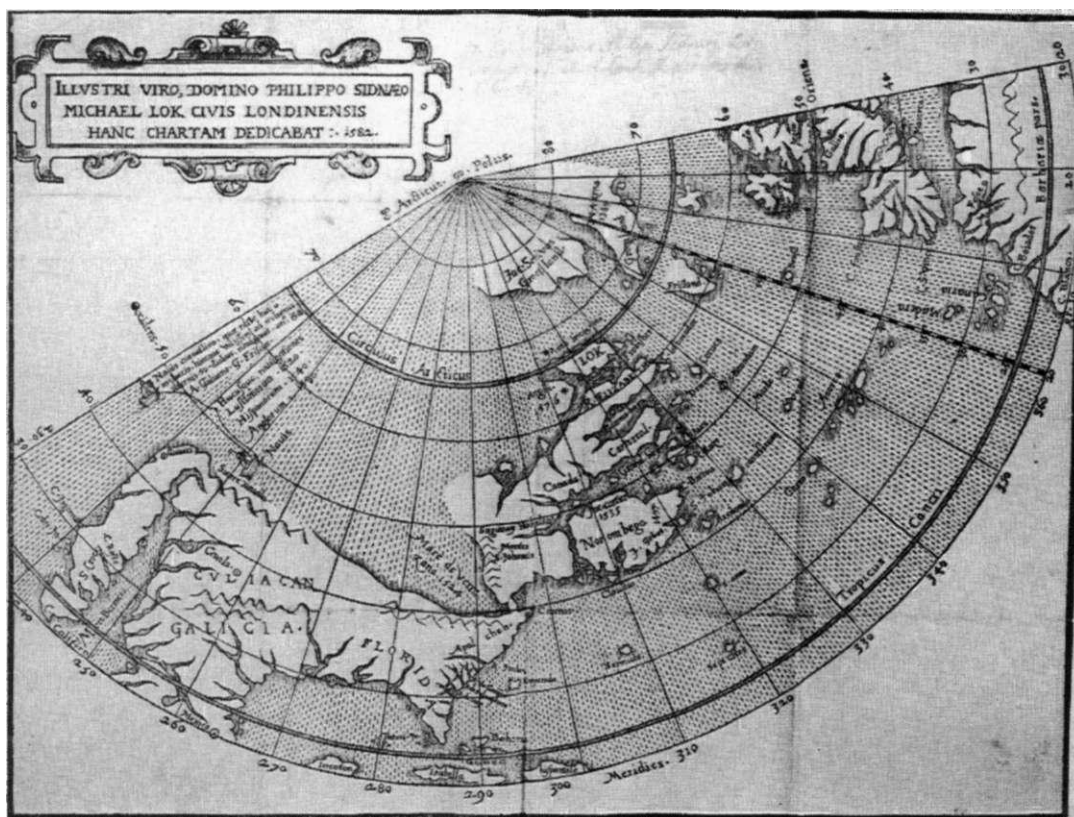


Figure 4: Michael Lok's map of the Northwest Passage and the Sea of Verrazano, 1582.

Source: Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library, Brown University.

Lok did not come back to England with the de Fuca story until fourteen years after the date on the map, or four years after the alleged voyage. His story, backed by copies of an exchange of letters between himself and de Fuca, is the only evidence of the existence of the Greek, let alone the strait. Again, it is hard to believe that the story was more than an embellishment of the rumours of the Cabrillo voyage and the ideas

expressed earlier on Lok's own map. We know the map to have been an invention, but de Fuca probably existed, unless an exchange of letters with Lok was an elaborate forgery.<sup>16</sup> Presuming the letters to be authentic, they told Lok exactly what he wanted to believe. De Fuca's story corresponded with his map: both map and story originated at times when Lok was in desperate financial straits, owing mostly to his obsession with a navigable passage through North America, and more important, with the fortune that would make his father's steady job of clothing and adorning the wives of Henry VIII look insignificant.

Lok's two wives predeceased him, and he died about 1615, still defending an action arising from the debts of the Cathay Company, and leaving the survivors among his fifteen children to fend for themselves. He would by then have been in his eighties.

### The Virginia Settlement

In 1584, while Lok was touting the Northwest Passage, Sir Walter Raleigh turned his attention south to the gap between French and Spanish areas of interest. He obtained a charter from Elizabeth of England, granting him a concession to develop unknown lands north of Florida. Raleigh named the area Virginia, in honour of the Virgin Queen. He did not go there himself, but sent two ships, which anchored off the Carolina Banks, and found an opening at the north end of Pamlico Sound. The captain sent a party ashore on Roanoke Island, which is close to the Outer Banks. This should have disposed of the imagined proximity of the Pacific Ocean, but geographical myths die hard and the Sea of Verrazano was not to be so easily dismissed.

No one was left ashore on that first voyage, but the next year Sir Richard Grenville went to Virginia on Raleigh's behalf, examining the territory near Roanoke Island and leaving a party of 107 men when he sailed back to England in the autumn of 1585. They had a miserable winter and were glad when Sir Francis Drake arrived in 1586 to take them back to England. By that time, Pamlico and Albemarle Sounds were both known, although not mapped. This was four years after the appearance of Lok's map, which claimed an English voyage of 1580 from Drake's New Albion to Quivira. It was six years before Juan de Fuca, according to Lok, sailed from the Pacific to the Atlantic.

The future Virginia settlements are not a part of the story of the unsailed seas. The narrative of the first settlement has been taken this far to set the scene for the disappearance of the Sea of Verrazano. The trouble is that it did not disappear but rather was moved, first to the headwaters of the James River, and then across the Blue Ridge Mountains. The Sea appeared to have settled down because it was still just across the mountains on John Farrer's "Mapp of Virginia" of 1651-1652 (see figure 5). Its shores, said the "mapp," could be discovered by ten days march from the James River with fifty horsemen and thirty foot. The men and horses never marched, but the Sea attained a new dignity anyway. It was called the Sea of China and the Indies, and it was stated on the map that this was where Drake sailed when he was in the Pacific after 1577 and where he landed at the place he named New Albion.





Figure 5: The fourth state of the John Farrer map of Virginia, bearing the name of his daughter, Virginia.

Source: Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library, Brown University.

Navigators of Drake's time had only a very rough idea of longitude. Even so, when he visited Virginia in 1586, Drake must have known he was a long way east of New Albion; far more than a ten days' march. Probably no one asked him, and by the time Farrer's map appeared, Drake had been dead for fifty-five years. So what had started as the Sea of Verrazano was still around, somewhere over the rainbow that must have graced the Blue Pudge Mountains.

The Strait of Juan de Fuca was equally durable, appearing on maps in various guises. De Fuca, or Lok, did not have an exclusive right to the inter-ocean passage. We have spoken of Bartolomé de (or da) Fonte, who claimed to have traversed North America by sea, emerging in the Pacific at 53° North. As stated above, this is likely the Portuguese venture listed on Lok's map. Ferrer Maldonado, who was a real Spanish navigator, was said to have done the same thing, but farther north, at about 60° North. Geographers had a great time relating these three non-voyages in various ways on their maps.

### A Voice from the Ottoman Empire.

At about the same time as the Lok map was drawn, an anonymous author in the Ottoman Empire wrote a manuscript which was first just called a "new report," but is known by a specific title on subsequent copies: *Tarik el-Hindi el-garbi*' (History of the Indies of the West). It was completed about 1580, and a number of manuscript copies had been made by 1720.<sup>18</sup> The same maps are not included in all copies. Among them, in at least one copy, was a map of the world (see figure 6). From the theory, dating from the time of Columbus, that North America was just a group of islands, theoretical geography has gone to the other extreme. Except for the presumed Terra Australis at the top,<sup>19</sup> all the continents are shown as one body of land, joined by isthmuses connecting a proto-Greenland with Scandinavia and with the continent which embraces North America, Asia, and Europe. The real Isthmus of Panama completes the connections between the continents. The Gulf and Peninsula of California are identifiable, and to the north of them lies a Verrazano-type sea.

The Ottoman map is based on one by Gastaldi, which appeared in Italy in 1548. The Munster map of 1544, which is quite different, may not have been known to the Ottoman cartographer. He probably did not know of Lok's map, either. The sea is not named, but to the north of it is an inscription written in Arabic script, but in the Turkish language, which means "the new region." In Africa another inscription labels it as "the old world." A third inscription in the upper margin cautions the reader that "some people inscribe the Old World and the New Region on one page and depict them in this manner." Evidently the cartographer recognized that the world was shown in more than one way on Western maps.

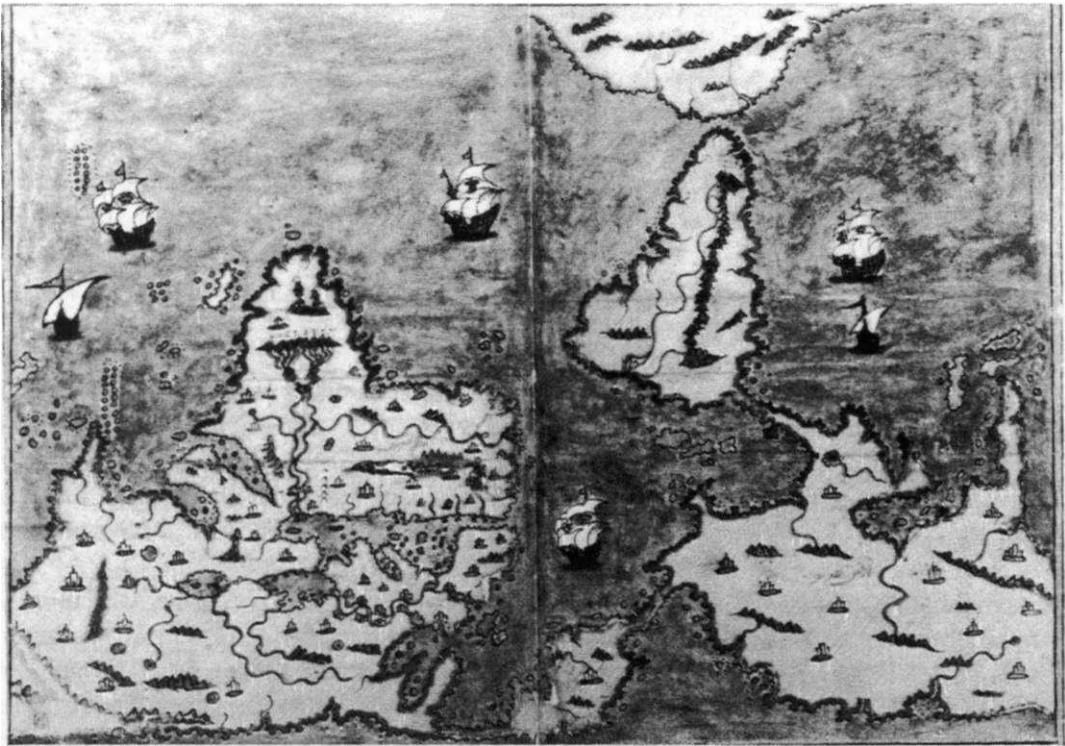
Prior to Atatiirk's introduction of a modified Roman alphabet in 1928, written works in Turkish used the Arabic alphabet, but since some Turkish phonemes do not occur in Arabic, there were two Turkish languages; a written one that a few people wrote but nobody spoke, and a spoken one that nobody wrote. This introduces ambiguities which can only be resolved by a qualified scholar. I am fortunate in having translations provided to me by Thomas Goodrich and Ertugrul Ceylan.

Until it was printed in 1730, the book existed only in manuscript.<sup>20</sup> It was reprinted in 1875, and in the Ottoman Empire this book and its map and illustrations were almost the only source of information about the New World until about 1900. It was nearly four centuries after Giovanni Verrazano made his understandable error that his "Sea" finally disappeared from the last map.

### **The French Geographers**

French interest in the geography of North America resulted from their search for a route from New France to China. Prominent among French geographers were members of a family which flourished throughout the eighteenth century. The doyen of this clan was Claude de ITsle (1644-1720), assisted by sons Guillaume (1675-1726) and (Joseph)

Nicolas (1688-1768), and carried on after Guillaume's death by his son-in-law, Philippe Buache (1700-1773). Guillaume de l'Isle and Philippe Buache are the best known. The mapmaking business passed out of the family about 1779,<sup>21</sup> but a nephew of Philippe, Jean Nicolas Buache de Neuville (1741-1825), continued to attract attention as late as 1790, when a paper he presented led to orders for the Spanish navigator Alejandro Malaspina to look for the Strait of Maldonado.<sup>22</sup> None of the members of the de l'Isle clan is known to have set foot in North America, possibly excepting Louis, brother of Nicolas, who was with Chirikov on his 1741 voyage to the Alaska coast, while serving Russia as a geographer.<sup>23</sup>



*Figure 6:* Map drawn in Turkey about 1600, showing the Sea of Verrazano (unnamed). The map is oriented with south uppermost.

*Source:* Courtesy of the Edward E. Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago.

When the de l'Isles came on the scene, the ghost of the Sea of Verrazano had been exorcised in Virginia, which had been divided into Carolina and a smaller Virginia to make room for the name of another queen. Verrazano's Sea had been banished from eastern North America by René Robert La Salle, whose search for a western sea led to the exploration of the Mississippi between 1681 and 1687, leaving no room for any unsailed ocean east of the great river. West of the Mississippi, an attractive blank existed

for the benefit of geographers. In this space Guillaume placed the second of the unsailed seas in our title, identifying it as *La Mer de l'Ouest*. He had no doubts as to its existence, of which he had given proofs in 1700.<sup>24</sup> But he did not want the map to be published because it might be useful to foreigners. He presented a memoir and map to the Court of France in 1717 showing this sea. We know the map through a 1753 copy bearing the name of Philippe Buache.<sup>25</sup> *La Mer de l'Ouest* extends eastward from the *Mer du Sud* (the Pacific Ocean), with an entry just north of *Cap Blanc* (the Spanish *Cabo Blanco*) at about 44° latitude. The golden city of Quivira is at the southeast corner.<sup>26</sup> These echoes of the Lok and Cabrillo rumours were well over a century old.

In 1754, Philippe Buache published another map (see figure 7) incorporating the earlier ideas of Guillaume and Nicolas de l'Isle, and reflecting reports of the travels of Pierre de la Vérendrye and his sons, who explored the country to the west and south of Lake *Ouinipigon* (Winnipeg) in search of a route to the west and new sources of furs.<sup>27</sup> On the Buache map, a range of mountains separates the plains from the *Mer de l'Ouest*. The *Rivière de l'Ouest* enters that sea at its southeast corner, near Quivira. The sea extends from 45° to 55°, which could accommodate the Strait of Juan de Fuca, although Buache did not mention it. The *Mer de l'Ouest* did not connect with the Atlantic but on the map was left unclosed at its northern end, where a strait or river connects it with other bodies of water.

The origin of the legend of the *Mer de l'Ouest* is uncertain. Some historians believe the *Mer de l'Ouest* and the Sea of Verrazano were aspects of the same legend. Verrazano was in the service of France, and stories of *La Mer de l'Ouest* did not originate with the de l'Isles, but as Jacques Mathieu states, date to the earliest days in New France.<sup>28</sup> In Lucie Lagarde's opinion, the Sea of Verrazano "*pourrait être une première ébauche de Mer de l'Ouest*."<sup>29</sup> Marcel Trudel described the *Mer de l'Ouest* as "*cette Mare Indicum que Verrazano avait cru apercevoir au-delà d'un isthme en 1524*."<sup>30</sup> Jean Delanglez argued that the *Mer de l'Ouest* arose in the course of French explorations of the interior of North America.<sup>31</sup> Another possibility — the most likely, in my opinion — is that the *Mer de l'Ouest* owed its existence to the Cabrillo rumours of a "big water." At least those reports, which were also reflected in Lok's 1582 map, correspond with the sea as sought by the La Vérendryes in 1738-1743 and as shown on the copies of Guillaume de l'Isle's map. Whether the *Mer de l'Ouest* had a Florentine, French or Spanish origin, it did come into theoretical existence. In so doing it subsumed the Strait of Juan de Fuca on many maps and in the writings of Philippe Buache.

### The Approach from the Pacific

After the mid-eighteenth century, Spain became alarmed by reports of Russian activities in eastern Siberia and the Aleutians, which were perceived as possible threats to California. There was also a suspicion that Drake had used some passage to the north to reach the Pacific for his successful raids on Spanish shipping. The stories of de Fonte and Maldonado then resurfaced, leading Spain to send a number of voyages from Mexico to

the northwest coast between 1774 and 1791. It was only towards the end of this period that Spain became interested in the mythical Strait of Juan de Fuca. The entrance to the actual Strait was sighted in 1785 by the English fur trader Barkley, but the Spanish left its exploration to the last, sending their first voyage into the Strait in 1790. The stimulus for further exploration was not so much the apocryphal mariner claimed as an acquaintance by Michael Lok as the activities of John Meares.

Meares was an English naval lieutenant on half-pay and not employed in the Naval Service when he visited the coast in 1788. He was a fur trader, and his claims to having official status as a naval representative of his country were false. He even traded under the Portuguese flag to evade British monopolies and a Chinese embargo. His narrative of his voyage, and of those of other ships owned by his syndicate, is one of the least reliable documents of the period.<sup>32</sup> One of his maps (see figure 8) shows an unnamed sea reminiscent of the *Mer de l'Ouest* opening from the Strait of Juan de Fuca (named). He claimed that the American sloop *Lady Washington* had sailed through it in the autumn of 1789, entering via the Strait of Juan de Fuca and emerging somewhere near the present southern tip of Alaska. On the map was a notation "Land Seen" far to the east. John Kendrick, captain of *Lady Washington*, never sailed or claimed to sail into the strait.<sup>33</sup>

Meares' report of the Strait of Juan de Fuca is mentioned prominently in the instructions for the last Spanish voyage of exploration in 1792.<sup>34</sup> It was only when Alcalá Galiano mapped the shoreline east of Vancouver Island in that year, meeting George Vancouver en route, that the Sea of Verrazano and the *Mer de l'Ouest* were set at rest. It took that long for Giovanni Verrazano's 1524 mistake to be finally corrected, although to this day there are believers in de Fuca and his voyage.

## Conclusion

It seems strange today to think that the fictitious Sea of Verrazano and the equally mythical *Mer de l'Ouest* lasted so long. There are a number of reasons for this. One is a very ancient belief in theoretical geography, a conviction still widespread late in the eighteenth century. If some learned geographer said it was so, he was believed, even though he had never been near the place. This belief long predated Marco Polo, provided an audience for Buache, and may be around still. A second reason is the extraordinary power of myth, especially if it is useful. The Island of California had to be abolished by Spanish royal decree in 1747, although navigators had reached the mouth of the Colorado River in 1526.<sup>35</sup> The golden city of Quivira, even though it moved from Mexico to the present state of Washington, lasted just as long.

A second reason for the persistence of these errors lies in the scarcity of information. Drake's voyage is known only through an anonymous six-page insert in Hakluyt and a narrative produced over fifty years later by an unknown compiler. As we have seen, Guillaume de l'Isle did not want his map published because it might be useful to foreigners. Similarly, the Spanish guarded the findings of their explorers closely for the security of the nation, and everyone had to guess what the Russians were doing.



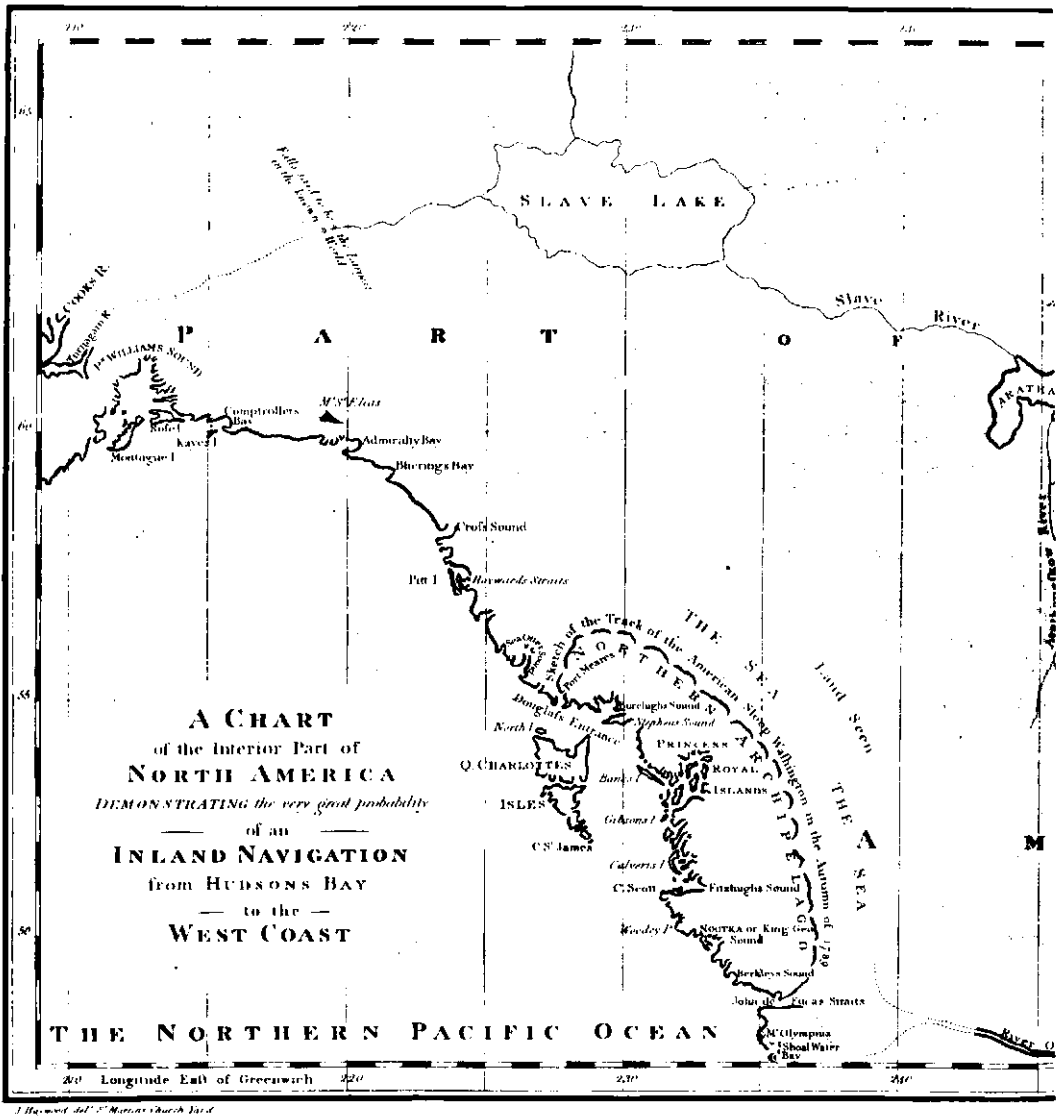


Figure 8: The Mearns map of 1790.

Source. Courtesy of Dr. P.R. Sandwell.

Perhaps as much as anything, the persistence of belief in the Sea of Verrazano and the *Mer de l'Ouest* was due to a love of armchair travelling. As Robert Herrick told his brother in the mid-seventeenth century:

Thou at home, without or tide or gale  
 Canst in thy map securely sail  
 Seeing those painted countries, and so guess  
 By those fine shades their substances.  
 And from thy compass taking small advice,  
 Buy'st travel at the lowest price.

## NOTES

- \* John Kendrick is a Vancouver historian and the author of three published books. His most recent book is *The Voyage of Sutil and Mexicana: The Last Spanish Exploration of the Northwest Coast of America* (Spokane, 1991).
1. My debt to Dora Polk goes beyond the citations of her work. Dr. Polk's exposition of the establishment and continuance of historical myths is part of the reason for writing this paper. Edward Dahl of the National Archives of Canada gave invaluable help, particularly in locating the originals of most of the illustrations. Dr. P.R. Sandwell gave permission for the reproduction of the Meares map from his copy of Meares *Voyage*.
  2. See R.A. Skelton, *Explorers' Maps* (London, 1958).
  3. This paper will not enter the debate over the correct spelling of the explorer's name. The concept of "correct" spelling originated towards the end of the eighteenth century.
  4. The main source of information on Verrazano is Lawrence C. Wroth, *Voyages of Giovanni Verrazano, 1524-1528* (New Haven, 1970).
  5. Called "Francesca" on the first map of the voyage.
  6. Girolamo may not have been on the 1524 voyage.
  7. It is not known whether this map was based on navigational records of the 1524 voyage or on Girolamo's memory.
  8. Samuel Eliot Morison, *The European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages* (New York, 1971).
  9. See Dora Polk, *The Island of California* (Spokane, 1991).
  10. Richard Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (London, 1589), cited in Polk, *Island*, 213.
  11. The life of Michael Lok is based on Leslie Stephen (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1885-1901), XII, 92.
  12. It was first published in *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (London, 1625). Most histories of the Northwest coast include it.
  13. Richard Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages touching the Discoverie of America and the Islands Adjacent* (London, 1582).
  14. Prof. George Davidson of the University of California pointed this out to Dr. Newcombe prior to 1914. See C.F. Newcombe, *The First Circumnavigation of Vancouver Island* (Victoria, 1914).
  15. Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations*.



16. Reprinted in Warren L. Cook, *Flood Tide of Empire* (New Haven, 1973).
17. There are several variant transliterations of the title, some using the spelling *Tarikh*. Taken as meaning *Tarih* (history) rather than *Tarik* (road or way).
18. Information on this publication is taken from Thomas D. Goodrich, "Tarihi-i Hind-i garbi: An Ottoman book on the New World," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, CVII, No. 2 (1987). See also Goodrich, "Ottoman Views of America and American Things" (Unpublished paper, Madrid, 1991).
19. The map is oriented with south uppermost.
20. Twenty-one copies of the manuscript had been located by 1987. They are listed in Goodrich, 1987.
21. R. V. Tooley, *French Mapping of the Americas* (London, 1967).
22. Ricardo Cerezo Martinez, *La Expedicion Malaspina 1789-1794 Diario General del Viaje* (Madrid, 1990).
23. Information on the de ITsle and Buache families is based on Tooley, *French Mapping*, with confirmation from Skelton, *Explorers' Maps*.
24. This information is taken from the map itself, quoting a memorandum written by de ITsle in 1706.
25. Philippe Buache, *Considerations Géographiques et Physiques sur les Nouvelle Découvertes...* (Paris, 1753). The date on the map itself is 1752.
26. J. Nicolas de ITsle published a copy of Guillaume's 1717 map at about the same time.
27. G. Hubert Smith, *The Explorations of the La Vérendryes in the Northern Plains, 1738-43* (Lincoln, 1983).
28. Jacques Mathieu, *La Nouvelle France* (Québec, 1991).
29. Lucie Lagarde, "Le Passage du Nord-Ouest dans la Cartographie française du 18e siècle," *Imago Mundi*, t. 41 (1989).
30. Marcel Trudel, *Atlas de la Nouvelle-France* (Québec, 1968).
31. Jean Delanglez, "A Mirage: The Sea of the West," *Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française*, I (1947), 346-381 and 541-568.
32. John Meares, *Voyages Made in the Years 1788 and 1789 from China to the North West Coast of America* (London, 1790).
33. Robert Gray, Kendrick's predecessor in command of the *Lady Washington*, visited the entrance to the Strait of Juan de Fuca in April 1789. For a full analysis and refutation of Meares' claim, see Newcombe, *The First Circumnavigation*.
34. Mexico, Archivo General de la Nación, Marina 82.
35. Polk, *Island*.