

### **APPENDIX III**

*The Horse's Mouth: Juan de Fuca speaks*

*Courtesy of*

*Purchas' His Pilgrimes*

*Hakluyt Posthumus*

*Or*

*Purchas his Pilgrims*

*By*

*Samuel Purchas, B.D.*

*1625*

Samuel Purchas was a delightful gentleman *and* scholar who in pursuit of the northwest and other passages secured a pastoral stipend to keep bodies (his, his wife's and numerous children's) and souls together while he compiled twenty volumes (over 4,000 pages) of Hakluyt's vast collection of early explorations.

Consumed by this mammoth literary adventure, Purchas had little time to proof read (notice the capricious dating in Juan de Fuca's story), fortunate, perhaps, otherwise he (Purchas) may have himself noticed that Thomas Cavendish, a *relative* of his first wife, owed Juan de Fuca 60,000 ducats. But his Sunday sermon was due . . . and de Fuca escaped oblivion.

## ***Michael Lok***

. . . was Consul in Aleppo, Syria and without him, Juan de Fuca may not have been buried at all, certainly, if buried, without recognition. Appendix III, ridiculed by many, was thoughtfully scanned by others, like Samuel Purchas, who exhumed him for the world to read in 1625.

Michael Lok was also consumed by the search for the Northwest Passage and had invested in enough expeditions to incur financial ruin. While he ruminated from his cell on Fleet Street, his fifteen children crawled about the London streets for food. Yet when his fortunes reversed again, he was ready to resume *his* financial search for the Strait of Anian by taking out his “purse” to finance Juan de Fuca’s trip to England there to meet Queen Elizabeth.

Suleiman the Magnificent died in 1566, King Philip in 1598 and Queen Elizabeth in 1603 while Juan de Fuca may have preceded her or was still recovering on his couch.

But very much alive in 1788 was Charles William Barkley who rounding the corner of Tatoosh Island in Washington State on his ship, rode into the controversial “strait” and brought Juan de Fuca out of the pages of Hakluyt into maritime fame.

**M**ost historians' articles are anchored in Juan de Fuca's account dictated in Italian and Spanish to Michael Lok and John Douglas in Venice. It was 1596.

Most controversy spills out in the descriptions of the strait itself *and* the directions of various channels.

Perched in the crow's nest the perspective four hundred years later may be improved. Alleged errors previously may be due, in part, to:

- The English presses to which Samuel Purchas obligingly agrees, and
- The linguistic mutations which have been shown in the content of this study, and continue here.

Following are some of the alleged inconsistencies:

- Juan de Fuca erred in calculating the latitude by 60 miles.  
the strait entrance situated at 48 degrees, 23 North rather than between 47 and 48 degrees specified in the report.  
  
What is not specified is this area's lack of sun and intensity of winds, two factors making an exact latitude reading difficult.  
Juan de Fuca implies that the season was fall or winter (the Indians were wearing skins and that he returned *still* in the year 1592).
- The *mouth* of the strait reckoned at 30-40 leagues (90 to 120 miles):

Width in Italian is	Larghezza
Length is	Lunghezza

It is the *length* of the strait *from* its mouth, Tatoosh Island to the town of Pt. Townsend, Washington that is between 30-40 leagues.

- A "longer" sea to the south was specified:

Broad in Italian is	Largo
Long	Lungo

A "longer" sea to the south does exist extending approximately 110 miles from Pt. Townsend via Puget Sound to the capitol city of Washington State, Olympia.

- Landmarks: The pinnacle referenced in the report exists also: a spire 187 feet high (below Cape Flattery).
- Natural resources: Although early explorers found it necessary to verbally decorate their reports with jewels (so they would be read), it is necessary to adorn this summary with the fact that 30 – 40 miles west of the strait at Monte Cristo “the Bureau of Mines in 1983 estimated the area might hold more than 50 million tons of ore containing gold, silver, copper, lead and zinc.” (*The Seattle Times/Post Intelligencer* Sunday edition, February 7, 1993).

In addition, in 1858, there was a gold rush at the Fraser River, Canada. And in 1898, another gold rush in Alaska.

- Finally, “diverse islands,” – hundreds from which to choose.

The view from the crow’s nest might be more vivid were one to have a look at the original Italian or Spanish documents. Juan de Fuca had his own quite objective view, wishing to return to the site to “more perfectly” assess the possibility of attaining the dream of having discovered the Strait of Anian.

But Michael Lok’s “purse would not stretch so wide at that time,” and we find that Juan de Fuca, thanks to Captain Charles William Barkley in 1787, must be content with a name more familiar to himself, the Strait of Juan de Fuca.

*The Account of Michael Lok*

Note known errors shown on page 3.

*Appendix A Lok's Account of Fuca's Voyage, 1592*

A NOTE made by me Michael Lok the elder, touching the Strait of Sea, commonly called Fretum Anian, in the South Sea, through the Northwest passage of Meta incognita.

When I was at Venice, in April 1596, happily arrived there an old man, about threescore years of age, called commonly Juan de Fuca, but named properly Apostolos Valerianos, of Nation a Greek, borne in the Iland Cefalonia, of profession a Mariner, and an ancient Pilot of Shippes. This man being come lately out of Spaine, arrived first at Ligorno, and went thence to Florence in Italie, where he found one John Dowglas, an Englishman, a famous Mariner, ready comming for Venice, to be Pilot of a Venetian Ship, named Ragasona for England, in whose company they came both together to Venice. And John Dowglas being well acquainted with me before, he gave me knowledge of this Greek Pilot, and brought him to my speech; and in long talke and conference betweene us, in presence of John Dowglas; this Greek Pilot declared in the Italian and Spanish languages, thus much in effect as followeth.

First he said, that he had bin in the West Indies of Spaine by the space of fortie yeeres, and had sailed to and from many places thereof, as Mariner and Pilot, in the service of the Spaniardis.

Also he said, that he was in the Spanish Shipp, which in returning from the Islands, Philippinas and China, towards Nova Spانيا, was robbed and taken at the Cape California, by Capitaine Candish Englishman, whereby he lost sixtie thousand Duckets, of his owne Goods.

Also he said, that he was Pilot of three small Ships which the Viceroy of Mexico sent from Mexico, armed with one hundred men, Souldiers, under a Captain, Spaniards, to discover the Straits of Anian, along the coast of the South-Sea, and to fortifie in that Strait, to resist the passage and proceedings of the English Nation, which were feared to passe through those Straits into the South Sea. And that by reason of a mutinie which happened among the Souldiers, for the Sodome of their Capitaine, that Voyage was overthrown, and the Ships returned backe from California coast to Nova Spانيا, without any effect of thing done in that Voyage. And that after their returne, the Capitaine was at Mexico punished by justice.

Also he said, that shortly after the said Voyage was so ill ended, the said Viceroy of Mexico, sent him out againe Anno 1592, with a small Caravela, and a Pinnace, armed with Mariners only, to follow the said Voyage, for discovery of the same Straits of Anian, and the passage thereof, into the Sea which they call the North Sea, which is our North-west Sea. And that he followed his course in that Voyage West and North-west in the South Sea, all alongst the coast of Nova Spانيا, and California, and the Indies, now called North America [all]

which Voyage he signified to me in a great Map, and a Sea-card of mine owne, which I laid before him) until hee came to the Latitude of fortie seven degrees, and that there finding that the Land trended North and Northeast, with a broad Inlet of Sea, betweene 47. and 48. degrees of Latitude: hee entred therinto, sayling therein more then twentie dayes, and found that Land trending still sometyme North-west and Northeast, and North, and also East and South-eastward, and very much broader Sea then was at the said entrance, and that hee passed by divers Islands in that sayling. And that at the entrance of this said Strait, there is on the North-west coast thereof, a great Hedland or Iland, with an exceeding high Pinnacle, or spired Rocke, like a pillar therupon.

Also he said, that he went on Land in divers places, and that he saw some people on Land, clad in Beasts skins: and that the Land is very fruitfull, and rich of gold, Silver, Pearle, and other things like Nova Spانيا. And also he said, that he being entred thus faire into the said Strait, and being come into the North Sea already, and finding the Sea wide enough every where, and to be about thirtie or fortie leagues wide in the mouth of the Straits, where he entred; hee thought he had now well discharged his office, and done the thing which he was sent to doe: and that hee not being armed to resist the force of the Salvage people that might happen, hee therefore set stile and returned homewards againe towards Nova Spانيا, where hee arrived at Acapulco, Anno 1592, hoping to be rewarded greatly of the Viceroy, for this service done in this said Voyage.

Also he said, that after his comming to Mexico, hee was greatly welcommed by the Viceroy, and had great promises of great reward, but that having sued there two yeaeres time, and obtained nothing to his content, the Viceroy told him, that he should be rewarded in Spaine of the King himselfe very greatly, and willed him therefore to goe into Spaine, which Voyage hee did performe.

Also he said, that when he was come into Spaine, he was greatly welcomed there at the Kings Court, in wordes after the Spanish manner, but after long time of suite there also, hee could not get any reward there neither to his content. And that therefore at the length he stole away out of Spaine, and came into Italie, to goe home againe and live among his owne Kindred and Countrymen, he being very old.

Also he said, that hee thought the cause of his ill reward had of the Spaniards, to bee for that they did understand very well, that the English Nation had now given over all their voyages for discoverie of the Northwest passage, wherefore they need not feare them any more to come that way into the South Sea, and therefore they needed not his service therin any more.

Also he said, that in regard of this ill reward had of the Spaniards, and understanding of the noble minde of the Queene of England, and of her warres maintayned so valiantly against the Spaniards, and hoping that her Majestie would doe him justice for his goods lost by Capitaine Candish, he would bee content to goe into England, and serve her Majestie in that voyage for the discouerie perfectly of the Northwest passage into the South Sea, and would put his life into her Majesties bands to performe the same, if shee would furnish him with onely one ship of fortie tunnes burden and a Pinnasse, and that he would per-

forme it in thirtie dayes time, from one end to the other of the Streights. And he willed me so to write into England.

And upon this conference had twice with the said Greekke Pilot, I did write therof accordingly into England unto the right honourable the old Lord Treasurer Cecil, and to Sir Walter Raleigh, and to Master Richard Hakluyt that famous Cosmographer, certifying them hereof by my Letters. And in the behalfe of the said Greekke Pilot, I prayed them to disburse one hundred pounds of money, to bring him into England with my selfe, for that my owne purse would not stretch so wide at that time. And I had answerre hereof by Letters of friends, that this action was very well liked, and greatly desired in England to bee effected; but the money was not ready, and therefore this action clved at that time, though the said Greekke Pilot perchance liveth stull this day at home in his owne Countrie in Cefalonnia, towards the which place he went from me within a fortnight after this conference had at Venice.

And in the meane time, while I followed my owne businesse in Venice, being in Law suit against the Companie of Merchants of Turkie, and Sir John Spencer their Governeur in London, to recover my pension due for my office of being their Consall at Aleppa in Turkie, which they held from me wrongfully. And when I was (as I thought) in a readinesse to retурne home into England, for that it pleased the Lords of her Majesties honourable Privie Counsell in England, to looke into this Cause of my Law suit for my relief; I thought that I should be able of my owne purse to take with me into England the said Greekke Pilot. And therefore I wrote unto him from Venice a Letter dated in July 1596. which is copied hereunder.

Al Mag<sup>o</sup> Sig<sup>o</sup> Capitan Juan De Fuca Piloto de Indias, amigo char<sup>o</sup>, en Zefalonnia.

Muy honrado Señor, siendo yo para buelverme en Inglaterra dentro de pocas mezcs, y acuerdandom de lo tratado entre my y V.M. en Venesia, sobre el viaggio de las Indias, me ha parecido bien de scrivir esta carta a V.M. para que si tengais animo de andar con mig<sup>o</sup>, puedais escribirme presto, en que maniera quereis concertaros. Y puedais embarmi vuestra carta, con esta nao Ingles que sta al Zante (sino halala otra coientura mecie) con el sobrescrito que diga, en casa del Sennor Eleazar Heyman Mercader Ingles, al trigetto, de San Thomas en Venisia. Y Dios guarde la persona de V.M. Amigo de V. M. Michael Lok Ingles.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>. To the Magnificent Señor Captain Juan de Fuca, Pilot of the Indies, dear friend in Zefalonnia.

Very honored Sir: Since I am ready to return to England within a few months, and remembering what we had discussed in Venice, about a voyage to the Indies, it seemed advisable for me to write to you, in case you want to go with me, so that you can write to me at once about what manner of contract you would desire. You can send your letter to me by this English ship, which is in Zante (unless you find some better means), addressed on the outside to the house of Signor Eleazar Heyman, English merchant, at the ferry of St. Thomas in Venice. God guard the person of Your Grace. Done in Venice on the first day of July, of the Year 1596.

The friend of Your Grace, Michael Lok, Englishman

Some of the obvious errors of the printers are highlighted in yellow.

And I sent the said Letter from Venice to Zante, in the ship Clerubin. And shortly after I sent a copie thereof in the ship Mynyon. And also a third copie thereof by Manca Orlando Patron de Nave Venetian. And unto my said Letters he wrote me awere to Venice by one Letter which came not to my hands. And also by another Letter which came to my hands, which is copied hereunder.

Al III<sup>mo</sup>. Sig<sup>o</sup>. Michal Loch Ingles, en casa del Sig<sup>r</sup>. Lazaro Merca. der Ingles, al tragetto de San Thomas en Venesia.  
Muy Ilustre Señor. lo carta de V.M. recevi á 20. dins del Mese di Settembre, por loqual veo Loch V.M. me manda, io tengho anino de complir Loch tengo promettido á V.M. y no solo yo, mas tengo vinte hombres para llevar con miglo, por che son hombres vagilentes; y assi estoí esperando, por otra carta che avise á V.M. parache me embias los dineros che tengo escrito á V.M. Porche bien save V. M. como io vine pover, porche me gleyeo Captain Candis mas de sessanta mill ducados, come V. M. bien save: embiandome lo dicho, iré a servir á V. M. con todos mis compagnoas. I no sporo oura cossa mas de la voluntad é carta de V.M. I con tanto nostro Sig<sup>r</sup>. Dios guarda la Ilustre persona de V. M. muchos annos. De Cefallonia á 24. de Setembre del 1596.

Amigo & servitor de V. M.

Juan Fuca <sup>2</sup>

And the said Letter came to my hands in Venice, the 16. day of November, 1596. but my Law suite with the Companie of Turkie was not yet ended, by reason of Sir John Spencers suite made in England at the Queenes Court to the contrarie, seeking onely to have his money discharged which I had attached in Venice for my said pension, and thereby my owne purse was not yet readie for the Greekke Pilot.

And nevertheless, hoping that my said suite would have shortly a good end: I wrote another Letter to this Greekke Pilot from Venice, dated the 20. of November, 1596. which came not to his hands. And also another Letter, dated the 24. of Januarie 1596. which came to his hands. And therfore he wrote me answer, dated the 28. of May, 1597. which I received the first of August 1597. by Thomas Norden an English Merchant yet living in London, wherein he promised still to

<sup>2</sup>. The defective Spanish of Fuca's letter to Lok is approximately the linguistic blend that might be expected from a poorly educated Levantine pilot; in approximate translation it reads: Very Illustrious Sir: I received your letter of the month of September, by which I see what your worship orders me. I am eager to fulfill what I promised you, and not only me, but I have twenty men to take with me, because they are brave men; and thus I am waiting, because in another letter I advised your worship so that you would send me the money which I wrote you about. Your worship knows how I became poor, because Captain Candis took away from me more than sixty thousand ducats, as you well know. Upon sending me what I have written, I will go to serve your worship with all of my companions. And I await nothing more than the will and letter of your worship. And so may our Lord God preserve the illustrious person of your worship many years. From Cefallonia on September 24th, 1596.

The friend and servant of your worship,  
Juan Fuca.

goe with me into England, to performe the said voyage for discouerie of the North-west passage into the South Sea, if I would send him money for his charges according to his former writing, without the which money, he said he could not goe, for that he said he was undone utterly, when he was in the Ship Santa Anna, which came from China, and was robbed at California. And yet againe afterward I wrote him another Letter from Venice, whereunto he wrote me answer, by a Letter written in his Greekke language, dated the 20. of October, 1589. the which I have still by me, wherein he promiseth still to goe with me into England, and performe the said voyage of discouerie of the North-west passage into the South Sea by the said streights, which he calleth the Streight of Nova Spania, which he saith is but thirtie daies voyage in the streights, if I will send him the money formerly written for his charges. The which money I could not yet send him, for that I had not yet recovered my pension owing mee by the Companie of Turkie aforesaid. And so of long time I stayed from any funder proceeding with him in this matter. And yet lastly, when I my selfe was at Zante, in the moneth of June 1602, minding to passe from thence for England by Sea, for that I had then recovered a little money from the Companie of Turkie, by an order of the Lords of the Privie Counsell of England, I wrote another Letter to this Greekke Pilot to Cefallonia, and required him to come to me to Zante, and goe with me into England, but I had none answere therof from him, for that as I heard afterward at Zante, he was then dead, or very likely to die of great sicknesse. Whereupon I returned my selfe by Sea from Zante to Venice, and from thence I went by land through France into England, where I arrived at Christmas, An. 1602. safely. I thanke God, after my absence from thence ten yeeres time; with great troubles had for the Company of Turkies businesse, which hath cost me a great summe of money, for the which I am not yet satisfied of them.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup>. Lok's account is reproduced from Purchas, *Hakuytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, in Hakuyt Society, Works, ex. ser. 14 (Glasgow, 1909) 1:15-21.

Juan de Fuca's "defective" Spanish may have been due to "defective" ability of the English to properly translate the letter, as well as deciphering calligraphic styles.