# LIFE

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HENRY HUDSON,

BY

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### HENRY HUDSON.

## CHAPTER I.

Hudson's early History little known. — First Voyage, in 1607. — Sails from Gravesend. — Makes Discoveries on the Coast of Greenland. — Sails thence to Spitzbergen. — Proceeds northward, to the Eighty-second Degree of Latitude. — Attempts to find a Passage around the North of Greenland. — Driven back by the Ice. — Returns to the southern Parts of Spitzbergen, and thence to England.

In few men are more rare combinations of talents required, than in discoverers and explorers of new countries and seas. Invincible courage, patience and fortitude under suffering, daring enterprise tempered by prudence, promptness and decision united with calm reflection, sagacity and fertility of invention, strong common sense combined with enthusiasm and vivid imagination, the power of commanding other minds joined to gen-

tleness of manner and ready sympathy, are some of the more prominent traits in the character of this class of men.

Among those, who were peculiarly gifted in these attributes, was the subject of the present memoir, Henry Hudson, the bold navigator of the Arctic Seas, the discoverer of the vast in-a land sea, and of the river in North America, which bear his name.

Of the early history of Hudson hardly any thing is known. He was a native of England, a scientific and professed navigator, and ranked with the most distinguished seamen of his age. He was a contemporary and friend of the famous Captain John Smith, and rivalled him in intrepidity and perseverance. He resided in London, was married, and had one son.\* We are not informed in what way he acquired his practical skill in navigation; but, as he lived in an age immediately succeeding the most dazzling discoveries, and while these discoveries were occupying, with absorbing interest, the mind of the whole civilized world, it is not improbable, that his nautical education may have been received from some one of the great navigators, who followed immediately in the footsteps of Columbus,

Yates and Moulton's History of the State of New York, Vol. I. p. 198.

and explored the new world, which his genius had revealed.

We are first introduced to him by his own journal of a voyage, undertaken at the charge of "certaine worshipfull Merchants of London," in the year 1607. The object of the voyage was to explore the coast of Greenland, and pass round it to the northwest, or directly under the Pole; or, in his own words, "for to discover a passage by the North Pole to Japan and China."\*

The crew consisted in all of twelve persons, including Henry Hudson, the master, and his son John, a boy; all of whom, we are informed, went to the church of Saint Ethelburge, in Bishopsgate Street, a few days before sailing, to partake solemnly of the holy sacrament; a pious practice, which seems to have been very general in those days, and which was highly appropriate for men who were about to encounter the hardships, terrors, and uncertainties of a voyage of discovery in unknown regions.

They sailed from Gravesend, on the 1st of May, 1607, and, taking a northerly course, made the Shetland Islands in twenty-six days. The needle was here found to have no variation; but, four days afterwards, Hudson "found the needle to

Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. III. p. 567.

incline seventy-nine degrees under the horizon"; and, on the 4th of June, he observed a variation of five degrees westwardly. His course, after losing sight of the Shetland Isles, was northwesterly; the object being to reach the coast of Greenland.

On the 11th of June, he saw six or seven whales near the ship, the promise of a harvest, which was destined subsequently to prove of such immense profit to his country and to Holland. Two days afterwards, early in the morning, land was discovered ahead, with ice; and, there being a thick fog, he stood away south by east, six or eight leagues. The weather was so cold, that the sails and ropes were coated with ice; the wind blowing a gale from the northeast. About eight o'clock in the morning, it cleared up, and Hudson was able to see the land distinctly, stretching away northeast by north, and northeast, to the distance of about nine leagues. In his journal, he says, "This was very high land, most part covered with snow. The nether part was uncovered. At the top, it looked reddish, and underneath a blackish clay, with much ice lying about it."\* There was a quantity of fowl on this coast, and a whale was seen close by the shore. Hudson named the headland, thus

<sup>\*</sup> Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. III. p. 567.

discovered, Young's Cape, probably from its being first seen by James Young, one of his crew. Near this cape was a "very high mount, like a round castle," which he named the Mount of God's Mercy. This was on the coast of Greenland.

He continued northeasterly along the coast, encountering a succession of fogs, gales of wind, rains, and snows, occasionally driven from his course by head winds, and at one time lying to for the space of forty-eight hours. His purpose was, to ascertain whether the land he had seen was an island, or part of Greenland; but, being discouraged by the continued fogs, which hid the land from his view, he determined to steer for Newland, or Spitzbergen, and the course was altered to the northeast. At length the weather cleared up, and they enjoyed the comfort of a bright sun, after eighteen days of continued fogs and clouds.

After sailing on this course about fifteen or sixteen leagues, he saw land on the larboard, or left hand, about four leagues distant, stretching northeast and southwest. There was a vast number of birds circling around the land, with black backs and white bodies; and many floating pieces of ice, which they were obliged carefully to avoid. The fog returned again, and Hudson feared that he was embayed, from the quan-

tities of ice about the ship. He therefore steered northeast for five or six leagues, keeping a diligent lookout for the eastward termination of the land, and afterwards stood to the south.

He soon changed his course to the northeast again; and, the weather clearing up, he saw land at the distance of about twelve leagues, in the latitude of seventy-three degrees. This land appeared lofty and covered with snow, and in the north part were seen some very high mountains. The weather in this latitude was much less severe than that which they experienced in the neighborhood of Young's Cape. This land he did not explore any further, being prevented by fogs, calms, and contrary winds; he named it the Land of Hold with Hope.

In his journal, Hudson apologizes for steering so far westwardly, instead of making due north for the Pole. He says, that he was prompted by a desire to see that part of Greenland, which he supposed was hitherto undiscovered. Moreover, being in the vicinity of this land, it was natural to expect westerly winds, which would greatly favor his approach to the Pole. "And," he adds, "considering we found lands contrary to that which our cards make mention of, we accounted our labor so much the more worth. And, for aught that we could see, it is like to be a good land and worth the seeing."\*

<sup>\*</sup> Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. III. p. 568.

On the 24th, the master's mate again saw high land on the larboard, which fell away to the northwest the more they advanced; and this was the last point of Greenland which presented itself to them. Hudson now turned to the northward and eastward, encountering constant fogs; but, being in so high latitude, that the sun was above the horizon the whole twenty-four hours, he was the less incommoded by the thick weather.

By the 26th of June, he saw flocks of birds similar to those he had seen on the coast of Greenland; he concluded that land was not far off, though, from the dense fog, he could see nothing of it. But the next morning, about one or two o'clock, the fog cleared up from the sea, and he saw the coast of Spitzbergen, or Newland, a name, which he says the Dutch had given to it. The land was covered with fog, and the ice was lying very thick all along the shore, for fifteen or sixteen leagues. At noon, he found himself to be in the latitude of seventyeight degrees, and he supposed the land in sight to be Vogelhoeck, a projecting point in the western coast of Spitzbergen.\*

<sup>\*</sup> Forster remarks, that "the honor of the discovery of Spitzbergen belongs to Hudson."- History of the Voyages and Discoveries in the North, p. 326. It is also asserted in Yates and Moulton's History of the 13

He continued to ply to the north and northeast, in the hope of finding a passage to the north of the island, until the middle of July. And it was in this part of the voyage, that his patience and fortitude seem to have been most severely tried. Constantly hemmed in with ice, and in danger of having his ship crushed by the masses, encountering head winds and storms, and

State of New York, (Vol. I. p. 199,) that to Hudson is awarded the honor of discovering Spitzbergen. The same statement had been previously made by Dr. Belknap, (Amer. Biog., Vol. I. p. 395,) and by Dr. Miller, (Collect. N. Y. Hist. Soc., Vol. I. p. 28.) It appears very clearly, however, that Hudson was not the first discoverer of Spitzbergen; as the journal written by himself proves to us, that he knew of its existence and position previously to seeing it, and he recognised the portion of it, which he first saw, as the cape or headland called Vogelhoeck by the Dutch. The island was certainly seen, and probably first discovered, by William Barentz, of Amsterdam. This appears from a Latin work, entitled, Descriptio ac Delineatio Geographica Detectionis Freti sive Transitus ad Occasum supra Terras Americanas in Chinam atque Japonem ducturi, published at Amsterdam, in 1613, twelve years before Hudson's Journal was published in Purchas's Pilgrims. The author of this work says, that Barentz and Cornelius, in the year 1596, being on a voyage of discovery, in the hope of finding a northern passage to China, saw land in latitude 79° 50', and that they named this land Spitzbergen, from its mountainous aspect, and the quantity of snow and ice that was seen. They also named a obliged to change his course almost daily, with disappointment meeting him at every step, he still continued to buffet the storms, availing himself of every moment of favorable weather to work to the northward, till fairly convinced of the impossibility, on account of the ice, of finding a passage by this side of the island. The sea appeared, at different times, blue, green, or

remarkable promontery of this island Vogelhoeck, from the number of birds they found there. The island was, therefore, certainly discovered before Hudson saw it.

Scoresby, in his Account of the Arctic Regions, (Vol. I. p. 20,) speaks of the re-discovery of Spitzbergen by Hudson. This expression seems incorrect, as Hudson himself mentions the name by which it was called by the Hollanders; from which it is evident, that the existence of the island was generally known before his voyage in 1607.

When Hudson first approaches the land, he speaks of it as the same that was "called Newland by the Hollanders," (Purchas, Vol. III. p. 571.) That the country was at first called by the two names of Spitzbergen and Newland is proved by the fact, that there is now in existence a small quarto volume, entitled, Histoire du Pays nommé Spitzberg, ou l'Isle de Terre Neuve, published at Amsterdam, in 1613. The error of ascribing the first discovery to Hudson probably originated in a marginal note of Purchas, in which he says, "Newland, or Greenland, of which the Hollanders made a little discovery by Barentz." Hence it was inferred, that the Newland mentioned by Hudson was Greenland; which is refuted by his Journal.

black; and they saw a large number of morses, seals, and bears; which last animal afforded food to the crew, who are so freely of the flesh one day, that many of them were made sick by it.

On the 14th of July, they saw a bay open towards the west, the shores of which were very high and rugged. The northerly point they named Collins's Cape, in honor of the boatswain, who first discovered it. A great number of whales were swimming about in the bay, one of which came under the keel, and "made her held," but did them no harm. Though there was a quantity of snow lying in the swamps and valleys near the shore, the weather was hot. Several of the crew went on shore, where they found and brought on board a pair of morse's teeth in the jaw; they also found some dozen or more deer's horns, and saw the footsteps of other animals. Two or three streams of fresh water pouring into the bay proved very grateful to the men, who were made thirsty by the heat of the weather. In the evening, a fine gale springing up, they steered northeast again.

The weather was warm and clear on the morning of the 16th, and Hudson perceived that he was almost encompassed with ice. The land extended northeast far into the eighty-first degree of latitude; but, on account of the ice,

there was no passage to the north of it. Hudson therefore determined to sail round the southern extremity of the island, and then seek a passage to the northeast. He accordingly put the ship about, and laid his course southwardly, having been as far north as the eighty-second degree; a higher latitude than had yet been attained by any navigator.

He continued southwardly along the coast of Spitzbergen, having occasional glimpses of land, till the 25th of July, when he saw the land bearing north. He was now convinced, from the general prevalence of the winds since he had been on the coast, that it would be impossible to work his way to the northeast; he therefore abandoned the plan he had formed, of sailing round the southern extremity of the island, and determined to "prove his fortunes" by the west once more, hoping to go round the north of Greenland, and then return, by Davis's Straits, to England. His course was now, accordingly, shaped westward.

On the 27th, being nearly becalmed, they heard a great noise, occasioned by the ice and sea, and found that the sea was heaving them westward towards a large body of ice. The boat was got out, in the hope of towing the ship away from it, but the sea ran so high, that their efforts would have been of little avail. "In this extremity," says Hudson, "it pleased God

to give us a small gale at northwest and by west. We steered away four leagues, till noon. Here we had finished our discovery, if the wind had continued that brought us hither, or if it had continued calm; but it pleased God to make this northwest and by west wind the means of our deliverance; which wind we had not found common in this voyage. God give us thankful hearts for so great deliverance."

At noon the weather cleared up, and Hudson was convinced by the sky, which reflected the ice, that he could find no passage to the north of Greenland. He therefore took advantage of a westerly wind, and steered to the southeast. He again saw the southern extremity of Spitzbergen, and continued his course to the south. For, finding the fogs more thick and troublesome than before, and that many of the stores were beginning to fail; the season, moreover, being so far advanced, that it would be impossible to make the projected voyage this year, even if it were practicable at the proper season; he determined to return to England.

He passed in sight of Cheries Island, and, the weather being clear, he had a distinct view of the land, covered with craggy rocks. Continuing a southerly course through the month of August, he arrived at Tilbury Hope, on the Thames, September 15th, having been absent four months and a half.

#### CHAPTER II.

Hudson's Second Voyage. — Sails from London with the Design of seeking a Northeastern Passage to India. — Passes the North Cape. — Obstructed by Ice. — Arrives at Nova Zembla. — Abandons the Hope of going further North. — Explores an Inlet, or River, in Nova Zembla. — Resolves to return. — Searches for Willoughby's Land. — Arrives in England.

As soon as the season was sufficiently advanced, Hudson prepared for a second voyage of discovery, the object of which was to find a northeast passage to the East Indies, by going to the north of Nova Zembla. The crew amounted to fifteen persons, including Hudson and his young son, who accompanied him on all his voyages. The master's mate was a certain Robert Juet,\* a man of considerable nautical skill and some education, who accompanied Hudson on all his subsequent voyages, and was destined to act a conspicuous part in his adventures.

<sup>\*</sup> So, with Belknap, we prefer to modernize the spelling in Purchas, which is always luct (like lune, luly, iudge), except once Juct (p. 576), and once IVET (p. 581, where it is printed in capitals, like HVDSON.) Yet in Harris's Collection of Voyages, where Purchas is copied and the spelling reformed, it is constantly printed luct.

He sailed from London on the 22d of April, 1608, and after a month's sailing northward, till the 24th of May, he judged himself to be distant only sixteen leagues from the coast of Norway, in latitude of sixty-seven degrees. He had encountered constant fogs till this time, though generally with favorable winds; but the weather now cleared up, and continued fair, yet so cold, that it caused the sickness of the carpenter and several of the crew. He plied constantly to the northward and northeast, as the wind permitted, and, in three days more, was in latitude so high north, that he took an observation at midnight, the sun being on the north meridian, five degrees and a half above the horizon.

On the 1st of June, there came a severe gale, with snow. This continued for two days, when the weather became fair again, and he saw the North Cape about eight leagues distant. There were also several Norway fishermen in sight. Continuing a northeasterly course, he came into the neighborhood of ice, the first he had seen upon the voyage. His wish was to make his way through it, and he consequently held his course, loosening some of it, and bearing away from the larger portions, till late in the afternoon, when he found the ice so thick and firm, that it was impossible to force a further passage through it, and he was obliged to

return, having suffered no other harm than slightly rubbing the sides of his ship.

From this time, he made but a small advance to the north, the highest latitude which he reached being a little more than seventy-five degrees. He was on soundings nearly every day, finding much green ooze, and the water being whitish green. He saw great numbers of whales and porpoises, and he says the sea was covered with fowl. He also heard the bears roaring upon the ice, and saw an immense number of seals. The quantities of ice, by which he was beset, and the head winds, constantly obstructed his progress northward, so that, instead of gaining, he found himself drifting to the south.

He was here compelled to abandon the hope of going to the north of Nova Zembla, being very near its western coast, and unable, from the ice, to work to northward. Turning southward, he saw the part of Nova Zembla called Swart-Cliff by the Dutch. On one occasion, the ship only two miles from the land, he sent six of the men on shore, to examine the appearance of the country, and to fill the water casks. They found the shore covered with long grass, and the ground boggy and overflowed in places with streams from melting snow; the weather being very hot. They also saw traces of deer, foxes, and bears, and picked up some fins of

whales. In returning to the ship, they saw two or three troops or herds of morses swimming near the boat. Soon after this, several of the crew landed, in the hope of killing some of the morses; and they found a cross standing near the shore, with the signs of fires that had been kindled there.

After remaining in this place a short time, they saw a great number of morses in the water, and hoisted sail, and got out the boat to tow the vessel along; in the hope, that by following the morses, they might discover their place of landing, where they might kill them. They continued the chase till they doubled a point, and came to anchor in the mouth of a broad river, or sound, near a small island. They found the position so dangerous, however, from the ice which was borne down the stream, that they were obliged to weigh anchor in the night, and stand out, a fine gale springing up just in season to free them from their danger; but they returned to the same anchorage as soon as the ice had been carried out to sea by the current.

Constantly on the watch for any thing that might aid his discovery of the northeast passage, Hudson had no sooner perceived the broad river, near the mouth of which he had anchored, than he formed hopes that he might here find

a way to the other side of Nova Zembla. When he had ascertained the impossibility of sailing north of this island, it had been his intention to try the passage of the Vaygats, \* a strait which he knew would conduct him to the eastern side, unless obstructed with ice. "But," he says, "being here, and hoping by the plenty of morses we saw here to defray the charge of our voyage, and also that this sound might for some reasons be a better passage to the east of Nova Zembla than the Vaygats, if it held according to a hope conceived by the likeness it gave," he resolved to remain till he could explore it.

Soon after coming to anchor, he observed a large number of morses asleep on a projecting rock of the little island near him, and he therefore despatched the whole crew to hunt them. They only succeeded in killing one; all the rest having plunged into the water at their approach. The men landed, and found the shores high and steep; but, on ascending them, the land appeared quite level. After killing a great quantity of fowl, they returned on board. Several men were now sent, under the command of the mate, to examine the mouth of the

<sup>\*</sup> The Vaygats, Waygats, or Vaigatz, is a strait between the southernmost parts of Nova Zembla and the northern coast of Russia.

river, or sound, by which he hoped to find a passage. After an absence of about twenty-four hours, they returned, bringing a very large deer's horn, and a lock of white hair; also a large number of fowl, which they had shot. They had seen a herd of white deer, and they reported that the shore was covered with drift-wood, that there were convenient bays, and a river coming from the north, which appeared to be a favorite resort of the morses. As for the sound, which they had been sent to examine, they had found it to be two or three leagues in breadth, the water of the color of the sea and very salt, and a strong current setting out; and they had no soundings at twenty fathoms.

This report determined him to explore the sound, and he accordingly weighed anchor, and stood in for the mouth of the river. He crossed a reef where the water was shallow; but after that it deepened again; and, having entered the river, he found it to be more than twenty fathoms deep. After ascending the stream to the distance of nine or ten leagues, he anchored again, the wind being ahead, and the current too strong to allow any farther advance that day. He, however, sent his mate Juet and five of the men in the boat, with provision and weapons, directing them to explore the stream, provided it continued deep, till they found it bending to

the east or southward, promising to follow them with the ship as soon as the wind should prove favorable. The men returned the next day, much fatigued with the labor they had undergone. They had explored the river to the distance of six or seven leagues, when the water became very shallow, not more than four feet deep. Finding that it would be impossible for their ship to pass these shallows, they had not thought it worth while to explore the river beyond this point.

There was no choice, therefore, but to return; and accordingly he set sail and stood to the southwest again, as he tells us in his Journal, "with sorrow that our labor was in vain; for, had this sound held as it did make show of, for depth, breadth, safeness of harbor, and good anchor ground, it might have yielded an excellent passage to a more easterly sea."

The month of July was somewhat advanced, and Hudson had failed in two attempts to discover a northeast passage. The ship was not now provided with stores or conveniences sufficient for attempting the passage of the Vaygats, and there was nothing left but to return to England. He determined, however, to visit Willoughby's Land\* on the way, as he wished to

<sup>\*</sup> It has been asserted by English writers, and frequently repeated, that Sir Hugh Willoughby had

ascertain whether it was laid down correctly or not on the chart; and he supposed that he should find a large number of morses there, as they were driven from the coast of Nova Zembla by the ice. His course was, therefore, laid westerly, being in the latitude of seventy-one degrees. He

discovered Spitzbergen. It appears, however, from Hudson's Journal of his second voyage, that he was not of this opinion, but considered Willoughby's Land as entirely distinct from Spitzbergen. He steered west for this land, being in latitude 71°, while he well knew, that the most southerly point of Spitzbergen was several degrees to the north of this. In the old Dutch maps, Willoughby's Land is placed to the southeast of Spitzbergen.

The author of the Latin work cited in a former note. who is very accurate in his statements, maintains stoutly, that Willoughby's Land was not Spitzbergen, and cites a passage from the manuscript Journal of Willoughby to prove it. This passage agrees exactly with the Journal afterwards published in Purchas's Pilgrims. except in some slight variations of orthography. It is as follows; "The 14th day, earely in the morning, we descovered land, which land we bare withal, hoising out our boat to descover what land it might be, but the boat could not come to land, the water was so shoare. where was very much yee also, but there was no similitude of habitation, and this land lyeth from Seynam 160 leagues, being in latitude 72 degrees; then we plyed to the northward the 15th, 16th, and 17th day." There is no mention in Willoughby's Journal, published in Purchas's Pilgrims, of his having reached a higher

did not, however, come within sight of this land. After having sailed nearly west for about ten days, he perceived the promontory of Wardhus, on the coast of Lapland, and soon after doubled the North Cape. By the end of July, being off the coast of Norway, the nights had become dark,

northern latitude than 72°; and it is very evident, that Hudson expected to find Willoughby's Land considerably to the south of Spitzbergen.

It may be satisfactory to some of our readers to examine for themselves the Latin passage referred to in this note. We therefore cite it entire.

"Qui Anglicanse Navigationis cognitionem habent, non ignorant quam iniquis rationibus nitantur, et defendere conentur Angli, Equitem Hugonem Willougby (Capitaneum trium Navium, vocatarum Bona Esperenza. Eduardus Bona Adventurus, et Bona Confidentia) invenisse et detegisse magnam illam insulam Spitsbergensem, idque septimo anno Regni Eduardi Sexti, anno nimirum Domini 1553. Nam eorum rerum maritimarum ipsæ lucubrationes atque scripta contrarium manifestò testantur, nimirum prædictum Equitem cum tribus istis navibus ex portu Anglicano Ratcliff solvisse (ut Septentrionem versus Regnum Cathava detegeret) 10 May, 1553, et ab insula Norvegie Seyna 30 Julii; eumque duabus navibus, matutino tempore 14 Augusti, terram quandam detegisse sitam à dicta Insula Seynam (Mesocæcias) 160 Anglicanis Leucis (milliaribus Germanicis 120) ad altitudinem 72 graduum. Quod quidem præfatus Eques propria manu Anglicè conscripsit his verbis." The writer then quotes the passage in English from Willoughby's journal, as contained above.

so that a light was required in the binacle, not having been used for two months before.

Hudson would have been glad to pursue his course to Greenland from this point, to attempt the northwest passage; but the season was now so far advanced as to render such a plan impracticable, and he determined to waste no more time and money in an unavailing search; and, therefore, made sail for England, where he arrived on the 26th of August, having been absent about four months.

#### CHAPTER III.

Hudson's third Voyage.— He seeks Employment from the Dutch East India Company. — Sails from Amsterdam.— Disappointed in the Hope of passing through the Vaygats. — Sails Westward, to the Bank of Newfoundland, and thence to the Coast of America. — Enters Penobscot Bay. — Intercourse with the Natives. — Sails to Cape Cod, and explores the Coast to the Southward. — Returns to the North. — Discovers the Outlet of Hudson's River. and anchors in New York Bay.

THE London Company had become discouraged by two unsuccessful attempts to find a northern passage to China; and Hudson, whose mind was completely bent upon making the discovery, sought employment from the Dutch East India Company. The fame of his adventures had already reached Holland, and he had received from the Dutch the appellations of the bold Englishman, the expert pilot, the famous navigator.\* The company were generally in fa-

Yates and Moulton's History of New York, Vol. I. p. 201. These writers, in their account of Hudson's third voyage, make frequent references to a history of

vor of accepting the offer of his services, though the scheme was strongly opposed by Balthazar Moucheron, one of their number, who had some acquaintance with the Arctic seas. They accordingly gave him the command of a small vessel, named the Half Moon, with a crew of twenty men, Dutch and English, among whom was Robert Juet, who had accompanied him as mate on his second voyage. The Journal of the present voyage, which is published in Purchas's Pilgrims, was written by Juet.

He sailed from Amsterdam the 25th of March, 1609, and doubled the North Cape in about a month. His object was to pass through the Vaygats, or perhaps to the north of Nova Zembla, and thus reach China by the northeast passage. But after contending for more than a fortnight with head winds, continual fogs, and ice, and finding it impossible to reach even the coast of Nova Zembla, he determined to abandon this plan, and endeavor to discover a passage by the northwest. He accordingly directed his course westerly, doubled the North Cape again, and in

the same expedition by Lambrechtsen, President of the Zeeland Society of Sciences, who appears to have had access to the records of the Dutch East India Company. A translation of his Kort Beschryving was made by Mr. Van der Kemp, and was consulted in manuscript by Yates and Moulton.

a few days saw a part of the western coast of Norway, in the latitude of sixty-eight degrees. From this point he sailed for the Faroe Islands, where he arrived about the end of May.

Having replenished his water casks at one of these islands, he again hoisted sail, and steered southwest, in the hope of making Buss Island, which had been discovered by Sir Martin Frobisher, in 1578, as he wished to ascertain if it was correctly laid down on the chart. As he did not succeed in finding it, he continued this course for nearly a month, having much severe weather, and a succession of gales, in one of which the foremast was carried away. Having arrived at the forty-fifth degree of latitude, he judged it best to shape his course westward, with the intention of making Newfoundland. While proceeding in this direction, he one day saw a vessel standing to the eastward, and, wishing to speak ther, he put the ship about, and gave chase; but finding, as night came on, that he could not overtake her, he resumed the westerly course again.

On the 2d of July, he had soundings on the Grand Bank of Newfoundland, and saw a whole fleet of Frenchmen fishing there. Being on soundings for several days, he determined to try his luck at fishing; and, the weather falling calm, he set the whole crew at work to so much

purpose, that, in the course of the morning, they took between one and two hundred very large cod. After two or three days of calm, the wind sprang up again, and he continued his course westward, till the 12th, when he first had sight of the coast of North America. The fog was so thick, however, that he did not venture nearer the coast for several days; but at length, the weather clearing up, he ran into a bay at the mouth of a large river, in the latitude of forty-four degrees. This was Penobscot Bay, on the coast of Maine.

He already had some notion of the kind of inhabitants he was to find here; for, a few days before, he had been visited by six savages, who came on board in a very friendly manner, and ate and drank with him. He found, that, from their intercourse with the French traders, they had learned a few words of their language. Soon after coming to anchor, he was visited by several of the natives, who appeared very harmless and inoffensive; and, in the afternoon, two boats full of them came to the ship, bringing beaver skins and other fine furs, which they wished to exchange for articles of dress. They offered no violence whatever, though we find in Juet's Journal constant expressions of distrust, apparently without foundation.

They remained in this bay long enough to

cut and rig a new foremast; and, being now ready for sea, the men were sent on shore upon an expedition, that disgraced the whole com-What Hudson's sentiments or motives, with regard to this transaction, were, we can only conjecture from a general knowledge of his character, as we have no account of it from himself. But it seems highly probable, that, if he did not project it, he at least gave his consent to its perpetration. The account is in the words of Juet, as follows. "In the morning we manned our scute with four muskets and six men, and took one of their shallops and brought it aboard. Then we manned our boat and scute with twelve men and muskets, and two stone pieces, or murderers, and drave the salvages from their houses, and took the spoil of them, as they would have done of us." After this exploit, they returned to the ship, and set sail immediately. It does not appear from the Journal that the natives had ever offered them any harm, or given any provocation for so wanton an act. The writer only asserts, that they would have done it, if they could. No plea is more commonly used to justify tyranny and cruelty, than the supposed bad intentions of the oppressed.

He now continued southward along the coast of America. It appears that Hudson had been

informed by his friend, Captain John Smith, that there was a passage to the western Pacific Ocean south of Virginia, and that, when he had proved the impossibility of going by the northeast, he had offered his crew the choice, either to explore this passage spoken of by Captain Smith, or to seek the northwest passage, by going through Davis's Strait. Many of the men had been in the East India service, and in the habit of sailing in tropical climates, and were consequently very unwilling to endure the severities of a high northern latitude. It was therefore voted, that they should go in search of the passage to the south of Virginia.

In a few days they saw land extending north, and terminating in a remarkable headland, which he recognised to be Cape Cod. Wishing to double the headland, he sent some of the men in the boat to sound along the shore, before venturing nearer with the ship. The water was five fathoms deep within bowshot of the shore, and, landing, they found, as the Journal informs us, "goodly grapes and rose trees," which they brought on board with them. He then weighed anchor, and advanced as far as the northern extremity of the headland.\* Here he heard the

<sup>\*</sup>There is some confusion in that part of the Journal, in which these particulars are related. The northernmost point of Cape Cod is in the latitude of 42° 7.

woice of some one calling to them; and, thinking it possible some unfortunate European might have been left there, he immediately despatched some of the men to the shore. They found only a few savages; but, as these appeared very friendly,

But the first "headland" described in the Journal was in 41° 45', which corresponds very nearly with the south end of Chatham Beach. The course thence pursued was to the southeast, and we are told, two days afterwards, of another headland, "that lyeth in 41° 10'." And the journalist adds, "This is that headland, which Captaine Bartholomew Gosnold discovered in the yeere 1602, and called Cape Cod, because of the store of codfish that he found thereabout." But, if the latitude as here stated be correct, this headland was that of the southwest point of Nantucket.

De Laet's great work on the "New World" was published at Leyden, in the year 1625. He is said to have had in his possession a part of the Journal of this voyage, written by Hudson himself. He tells us, that Hudson first saw the land in latitude 41° 43', and, supposing it to be an island, called it New Holland; but that he afterwards discovered it to be connected with the continent, and the same as the White Cape, or Cape Cod, (promontorium Blancum, sive Cod.) He moreover adds, that Hudson ascertained this cape to be seventyave miles farther westward from Europe, than the position assigned to it in the charts. - Novus Orbis, Lib. III. c. 7. These discrepancies may perhaps be in some degree accounted for by the inaccuracy of the latitudes, or errors of figures in transcribing or printing the Journal; but, after all, it is doubtful what parts of the promontory of Cape Cod were seen by Hudson.

they brought one of them on board, where they gave him refreshments, and also a present of three or four glass buttons, with which he seemed greatly delighted. The savages were observed to have green tobacco, and pipes, the bowls of which were made of clay, and the stems of red copper.

The wind not being favorable for passing west of this headland into the bay, Hudson determined to explore the coast farther south; and the next day he saw the southern point of Cape Cod, which had been discovered and named by Bartholomew Gosnold, in the year 1602. He passed in sight of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, and continued a southerly course till the middle of August, when he arrived at the entrance of Chesapeake Bay. "This," says the writer of the Journal, "is the entrance into the King's river,\* in Virginia, where our Englishmen are."+ The colony, under the command of Newport, consisting of one hundred and five persons, among whom were Smith, Gosnold, Wingfield, and Ratcliffe, had arrived here a little more than two years before; and, if Hudson could have landed, he would have enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing and conversing with his own countrymen, and in his own lan-

<sup>\*</sup> James River, thus called in honor of King James.

<sup>†</sup> Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. III. p. 589.

guage, in the midst of the forests of the New World. But the wind was blowing a gale from the northeast, and, probably dreading a shore with which he was unacquainted, he made no attempt to find them.

He continued to ply to the south for several days, till he reached the latitude of thirty-five degrees forty-one minutes, when he again changed his course to the north. It is highly probable, that, if the journal of the voyage had been kept by Hudson himself, we should have been informed of his reasons for changing the southerly course at this point. The cause, however, is not difficult to conjecture. He had gone far enough to ascertain, that the information given him by Captain Smith, with respect to a passage into the Pacific south of Virginia, was incorrect; and he probably did not think it worth while to spend more time in so hopeless a search. He therefore retraced his steps; and, on the 28th of August, discovered Delaware Bay, where he examined the currents, soundings, and the appearance of the shores, without attempting to land. From this anchorage, he coasted northwards, the shore appearing low, like sunken ground, dotted with islands, till the 2d of September, when he saw the highlands of Neversink, which, the journalist remarks, "is a very good land to fall with and a pleasant land to see."

The entrance into the southern waters of New York is thus described in the Journal. "At three of the clock in the afternoon, we came to three great rivers. So we stood along to the northernmost, thinking to have gone into it: but we found it to have a very shoal bar before it, for we had but ten foot water. Then we cast about to the southward, and found two fathoms, three fathoms, and three and a quarter, till we came to the southern side of them; then we had five and six fathoms, and anchored. So we sent in our boat to sound, and they found no less water than four, five, six, and seven fatnoms, and returned in an hour and a half. So we weighed and went in, and rode in five fathoms, cozy ground, and saw many salmons, and mullets, and rays very great." The next morning, having ascertained by sending in the boat, that there was a very good harbor before him, he ran in, and anchored at two cables' length from the shore. This was within Sandy Hook Bay.

He was very soon visited by the natives, who came on board his vessel, and seemed to be greatly rejoiced at his arrival among them. They brought green tobacco, which they desired to exchange for knives and beads; and Hudson observed, that they had copper pipes, and ornaments of copper. They also appeared to have plenty of maize, from which they made good

bread. Their dress was of deerskins, well cured, and hanging loosely about them. There is a tradition, that some of his men, being sent out to fish, landed on Coney Island. They found the soil sandy, but supporting a vast number of plum trees loaded with fruit, and grape vines growing round them.\*

The next day, the men, being sent in the boat to explore the bay still farther, landed, probably on the Jersey Shore, where they were very kindly received by the savages, who gave them plenty of tobacco. They found the land covered with large oaks. Several of the natives also came on board, dressed in mantles of feathers and fine furs. Among the presents they brought, were dried currants, which were found extremely palatable.

Soon afterwards five of the men were sent in the beat to examine the north side of the bay, and sound the river, which was perceived at the distance of four leagues. They passed through the Narrows, sounding all along, and saw "a narrow river to the westward, between two islands"; supposed to be Staten Island and Bergen Neck. They described the land as covered with trees, grass, and flowers, and filled with delightful fragrance. On their return to the ship,

<sup>\*</sup> Vates and Mositon's History of New York, Vol. I. p. 210.

they were assaulted by two canoes, one containing twelve, and the other fourteen savages. It was nearly dark, and the rain which was falling had extinguished their match, so that they could only trust to their oars for escape. One of the men, John Colman, who had accompanied Hudson on his first voyage, was killed by an arrow shot into his throat, and two more were wounded. The darkness probably saved them from the savages, but at the same time it prevented their finding the vessel; so that they did not return till the next day, when they appeared bringing the body of their comrade. Hudson ordered him to be carried on shore and buried, and named the place, in memory of the event, Colman's Point.\*

He now expected an attack from the natives, and accordingly hoisted in the boat, and erected a sort of bulwark along the sides of the vessel, for the better defence. But these precautions were needless. Several of the natives came on board, but in a friendly manner, wishing to exchange tobacco and Indian corn for the trifles which the sailors could spare them. They did not appear to know any thing of the affray, which had taken place. But, the day after, two large canoes came off to the vessel, the one filled

<sup>\*</sup> Probably the point since known as Sandy Hook.

with armed men, the other under the pretence of trading. Hudson, however, would only allow two of the savages to come on board, keeping the rest at a distance. The two who came on board were detained, and Hudson dressed them up in red coats; the remainder returned to the shore. Presently another canoe, with two men in it, came to the vessel. Hudson also detained one of these, probably wishing to keep him as a hostage; but he very soon jumped overboard, and swam to the shore. On the 11th Hudson sailed through the Narrows, and anchored in New York bay.

## CHAPTER IV.

Hudson explores the River which now bears his Name. — Escape of the Hostages. — Strange Experiment with the Natives. — Anchors near the present Site of Albany. — Returns down the River. — Battle with the Natives, near Hoboken. — Sails from the Bay, and leaves America. — Arrives in England.

Hupson now prepared to explore the magnificent river, which came rolling its waters into the sea from unknown regions. Whither he would be conducted in tracing its course, he could form no conjecture. A hope may be supposed to have entered his mind, that the long desired passage to the Indies was now at length discovered; that here was to be the end of his toils; that here, in this mild climate, and amidst these pleasant scenes, was to be found that object, which he had sought in vain through the snows and ice of the Arctic zone. With a glad heart, then, he weighed anchor, on the 12th of September, and commenced his memorable voyage up that majestic stream, which now bears his name.

The wind only allowed him to advance a few

miles the first two days of the voyage; but the time, which he was obliged to spend at anchor, was fully occupied in trading with the natives, who came off from the shore in great numbers. bringing ovsters and vegetables. He observed that they had copper pipes, and earthen vessels to cook their meat in. They seemed very harmless and well disposed; but the crew were unwilling to trust these appearances, and would not allow any of them to come on board. The next day, a fine breeze springing up from the southeast, he was able to make great progress, so that he anchored at night nearly forty miles from the place of starting in the morning. He observes, that "here the land grew very high and mountainous," so that he had undoubtedly anchored in the midst of the fine scenery of the Highlands.

When he awoke in the morning, he found a heavy mist overhanging the river and its shores, and concealing the summits of the mountains. But it was dispelled by the sun in a short time; and, taking advantage of a fair wind, he weighed andhor, and continued the voyage. A little circumstance occurred this morning, which was destined to be afterwards painfully remembered. The two savages, whom he held as hostages, made their escape through the portholes of the vessel, and swam to the shore; and, as soon

as the ship was under sail, they took pains to express their indignation at the treatment they had received, by uttering loud and angry cries. Towards night, he came to other mountains, which, he says, "lie from the river's side," and anchored, it is supposed, near the present site of Catskill Landing. "There," says the Journal, "we found very loving people, and very old men; where we were well used. Our boat went to fish, and caught great store of very good fish." \*

The next morning, September 16th, the men were sent again to catch fish, but were not so successful as they had been the day before, in consequence of the savages having been there in their canoes all night. A large number of the natives came off to the ship, bringing Indian corn, pumpkins, and tobacco. The day was consumed in trading with the natives, and in filling the casks with fresh water; so that they did not weigh anchor till towards night. After sailing about five miles, finding the water shoal, they came to anchor, probably near the spot where the city of Hudson now stands. The weather was hot, and Hudson determined to set his men at work in the cool of the morning. He accordingly, on the 17th, weighed anchor at dawn,

<sup>\*</sup> Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. III. p. 593.

and ran up the river about fifteen miles; when, finding shoals and small islands, he thought it best to anchor again. Towards night, the vessel having drifted near the shore, grounded in shoal water, but was easily drawn off, by carrying out the small anchor. She was aground again in a short time in the channel, but, the tide rising, she floated off.

The two days following, he advanced only about five miles, being much occupied by his intercourse with the natives. Being in the neighborhood of the present town of Castleton, he went on shore, where he was very kindly received by an old savage, "the governor of the country," who took him to his house, and gave him the best cheer he could. At his anchorage, also, five miles above this place, the natives came flocking on board, bringing a great variety of articles, such as grapes, pumpkins, beaver and otter skins, which they exchanged for beads, knives, and hatchets, or whatever trifles the sailors could spare them. The next day was occupied in exploring the river; four men being sent in the boat, under the command of the mate, for that purpose. They ascended several miles, and found the channel narrow, and in some places only two fathoms deep, but, after that, seven or eight fath-In the afternoon, they returned to the ship. Hudson resolved to pursue the examination of

the channel on the following morning, but was interrupted by the number of natives who came on board. Finding that he was not likely to gain any progress this day, he sent the carpenter ashore to prepare a new foreyard; and, in the mean time, prepared to make an extraordinary experiment on board.

From the whole tenor of the Journal, it is evident, that great distrust was entertained by Hudson and his men towards the natives. He now determined to ascertain, by intoxicating some of the chiefs, and thus throwing them off their guard, whether they were plotting any treachery. He accordingly invited several of them into the cabin, and gave them plenty of brandy to drink. One of these men had his wife with him, who, the Journal informs us, "sate so modestly as any one of our countrywomen would do in a strange place"; but the men had less delicacy, and were soon quite merry with the brandy. One of them, who had been on board from the first arrival of the ship, was completely intoxicated, and fell sound asleep, to the great astonishment of his companions, who probably feared that he had been poisoned; for they all took to their canoes and made for the shore, leaving their unlucky comrade on board. Their anxiety for his welfare, however, soon induced them to return; and they brought a quantity of beads, which they gave

him, perhaps to enable him to purchase his freedom from the spell that had been laid upon him.

The poor savage slept quietly all night, and, when his friends came to visit him the next morning, they found him quite well. This restored their confidence, so that they came to the ship again in crowds, in the afternoon, bringing various presents for Hudson. Their visit, which was one of unusual ceremony, is thus described in the Journal. "So, at three of the clock in the afternoon, they came-aboard, and brought tobacco and more beads, and gave them to our master, and made an oration, and showed him all the country round about. Then they sent one of their company on land, who presently returned, and brought a great platter full of venison, dressed by themselves, and they caused him to eat with them. Then they made him reverence, and departed, all save the old man that lay aboard."\*

At night the mate returned in the boat, having been sent again to explore the river. He reported, that he had ascended eight or nine leagues, and found but seven feet of water, and irregular soundings.

It was evidently useless to attempt to ascend the river any further with the ship, and Hudson therefore determined to return. We may well

<sup>\*</sup> Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. III. p. 594.

imagine, that he was satisfied already with the result of the voyage, even supposing him to have been disappointed in not finding here a passage to the Indies. He had explored a great and navigable river to the distance of nearly a hundred and forty miles; he had found the country along the banks extremely fertile, the climate delightful, and the scenery displaying every variety of beauty and grandeur; and he knew that he had opened the way for his patrons to possessions, which might prove of inestimable value.

It is supposed, that the highest place which the Half Moon reached in the river, was the neighborhood of the present site of Albany; and that the boats, being sent out to explore, ascended as high as Waterford, and probably some distance beyond. The voyage down the river was not more expeditious than it had been in ascending; the prevalent winds were southerly, and for several days the ship could advance but very slowly. The time, however, passed agreeably, in making excursions on the shore; where they found "good ground for corn and other garden herbs, with a great store of goodly oaks, and walnut trees, and chesnut trees, ewe trees, and trees of sweet wood in great abundance, and great store of slate for houses, and other good stones;" or in receiving visits from the natives, who came off to the ship in numbers.

While Hudson was at anchor near the spot where the city bearing his name now stands, two canoes came from the place where the scene of the intoxication had occurred, and in one of them was the old man, who had been the sufferer under the strange experiment. He brought another old man with him, who presented Hudson with a string of beads, and "showed all the country there about, as though it were at his command." Hudson entertained them at dinner, with four of their women, and in the afternoon dismissed them with presents.

He continued the voyage down the river, taking advantage of wind and tide as he could, and employing the time, when at anchor, in fishing or in trading with the natives, who came to the ship nearly every day, till, on the 1st of October, he anchored near Stony Point.

The vessel was no sooner perceived from the shore to be stationary, than a party of the native mountaineers came off in their canoes to visit it, and were filled with wonder at every thing it contained. While the attention of the crew was taken up with their visiters upon deck, one of the savages managed to run his canoe under the stern, and, climbing up the rudder, found his way into the cabin by the window; where, having seized a pillow and a few articles of wearing apparel, he made off with them in

the canoe. The mate detected him as he fled, fired at, and killed him. Upon this, all the other savages departed with the utmost precipitation; some taking to their canoes, and others plunging into the water. The boat was manned and sent after the stolen goods, which were easily recovered; but, as the men were returning to the vessel, one of the savages, who were in the water, seized hold of the keel of the boat, with the intention, as was supposed, of upsetting it. The cook took a sword and lopped his hand off, and the poor wretch immediately sunk. They then weighed anchor and advanced about five miles.

The next day, Hudson descended about seven leagues, and anchored. Here he was visited in a canoe by one of the two savages, who had escaped from the ship as he was going up. But fearing treachery, he would not allow him or his companions to come on board. Two canoes filled with armed warriors then came under the stern, and commenced an attack with arrows. The men fired at them with their muskets, and killed three of them. More than a hundred savages now came down upon the nearest point of land, to shoot at the vessel. One of the cannon was brought to bear upon these warriors, and, at the first discharge, two of them were killed, and the rest fled to the woods.

The savages were not yet discouraged. They

had, doubtless, been instigated to make this attack by the two, who escaped near West Point, and who had probably incited their countrymen by the story of their imprisonment, as well as by representing to them the value of the spoil, if they could capture the vessel, and the small number of men who guarded it. Nine or ten of the boldest warriors now threw themselves into a canoe, and put off towards the ship; but a shot from the cannon made a hole in the canoe, and killed one of the men. This was followed by a discharge of musketry, which destroyed three or four more. This put an end to the battle; and in the evening, having descended about five miles, Hudson anchored in a part of the river out of the reach of his enemies, probably near Hoboken.

Hudson had now explored the bay of New York, and the noble stream which pours into it from the north. For his employers he had secured possessions, which would beyond measure reward them for the expense they had incurred in fitting out the expedition. For himself, he had gained a name, that was destined to live in the gratitude of a great nation, through unnumbered generations. Happy in the result of his labors, and in the brilliant promise they afforded, he spread his sails again for the Old World, on the 4th of October, and, in a little more than a month, arrived safely at Dartmouth, in England.

The Journal kept by Juet ends abruptly at this place. The question, therefore, immediately arises, whether Hudson pursued his voyage to Holland, or whether he remained in England, and sent the vessel home. Several Dutch authors assert, that Hudson was not allowed, after reaching England, to pursue his voyage to Amsterdam; and this seems highly probable, when we remember the well known jealousy with which the maritime enterprises of the Dutch were regarded by King James.

Whether Hudson went to Holland himself, or not, it seems clear from various circumstances, that he secured to the Dutch Company all the benefits of his discoveries, by sending to them his papers and charts. It is worthy of note, that the earliest histories of this voyage, with the exception of Juet's Journal, were published by Dutch authors. Moreover, as we have already seen, Hudson's own Journal, or some portion of it at least, was in Holland, and was used by De Laet previously to the publication of Juet's Journal in Purchas's Pilgrims. But the most substantial proof, that the Dutch enjoyed the benefit of his discoveries earlier than any other nation, is the fact, that the very next year they were trading in Hudson's River; which it is not probable would have happened, if they had not had possession of Hudson's charts and Journal.

## CHAPTER V.

Hudson's Fourth Voyage.— He engages in the Service of the London Company.— Sails to Iceland.— Disturbances among his Crew.— Advances westward.— In great Danger from the Ice.— Enters and explores Hudson's Bay.— Unsuccessful in the Search for a Western Passage.— Determines to winter in the Bay.

THE success of Hudson's last voyage probably stimulated the London Company to take him again into their employment, and to fit out another vessel in search of that great object of discovery, the northwest passage. We find him setting out on a voyage, under their auspices, early in the spring of 1610. His crew numbered several persons, who were destined to act a conspicuous part in the melancholy events of this expedition. Among these were Robert Juet, who had already sailed with him as mate in two of his voyages; Habakuk Pricket, a man of some intelligence and education, who had been in the service of Sir Dudley Digges, one of the London Company, and from whose Journal we learn chiefly the events of the voyage; and Henry Greene, of whose character and circumstances it is necessary here to give a brief account.

It appears from the Journal, that Greene was a young man of good abilities and education, born of highly respectable parents, but of such abandoned character, that he had forced his family to cast him off. Hudson found him in this condition, took pity upon him, and received him into his house in London. When it was determined, that he should command this expedition, Hudson resolved to take Greene with him. in the hope, that, by exciting his ambition, and by withdrawing him from his accustomed haunts, he might reclaim him. Greene was also a good penman, and would be useful to Hudson in that capacity. With much difficulty Greene's mother was persuaded to advance four pounds, to buy clothes for him; and, at last, the money was placed in the hands of an agent, for fear that it would be wasted if given directly to him. He was not registered in the Company's books, nor did he sail in their pay; but Hudson, to stimulate him to reform, promised to give him wages, and on his return to get him appointed one of the Prince's guards, provided he should behave well on the voyage.

Hudson was also accompanied, as usual, by his son. The crew consisted of twenty-three men; and the vessel was named the *Discovery*.

The London Company had insisted upon Hudson's taking in the ship a person, who was to aid him by his knowledge and experience, and in whom they felt great confidence. This arrangement seems to have been very disagreeable to Hudson, as he put the man into another vessel before he reached the mouth of the Thames, and sent him back to London, with a letter to his employers stating his reasons for so doing. What these reasons were, we can form no conjecture, as there is no hint given in the Journal.

He sailed from London on the 17th of April, 1610. Steering north from the mouth of the Thames, and passing in sight of the northern part of Scotland, the Orkney, Shetland, and Faroe Isles, and having, in a little more than a month, sailed along the southern coast of Iceland, where he could see the flames ascending from Mount Hecla, he anchored in a bay on the western side of that island. Here they found a spring so hot, that "it would scald a fowl," in which the crew bathed freely. At this place, Hudson discovered signs of a turbulent and mutinous disposition in his crew. The chief plotter seems to have been Robert Juet, the mate. Before reaching Iceland, Juet had remarked to one of the crew, that there would be bloodshed before the voyage was over; and he was evidently at

that time contriving some mischief.\* While the ship was at anchor in this bay, a circumstance occurred, which gave Juet an opportunity to commence his intrigues. It is thus narrated by Pricket.

"At Iceland, the surgeon and he [Henry Greene] fell out in Dutch, and he beat him ashore in English, which set all the company in a rage, so that we had much ado to get the surgeon aboard. I told the master of it, but he bade me let it alone; for, said he, the surgeon had a tongue that would wrong the best friend he had. But Robert Juet, the master's mate, would needs burn his finger in the embers, and told the carpenter a long tale, when he was drunk, that our master had brought in Greene to crack his credit that should displease him; which words came to the master's ears, who, when he understood it, would have gone back to Iceland, when he was forty leagues from thence, to have sent home his mate, Robert Juet, in a fisherman. But, being otherwise persuaded, all was well. So Henry Greene stood upright, and very inward with the master, and was a serviceable man every way for manhood; but for religion, he would say, he was clean paper, whereon he might write what he would."+

Wydhouse's note; Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. III. p. 609.

<sup>†</sup> Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. III. p. 601.

He sailed from Iceland on the 1st of June, and for several days Juet continued to instigate the crew to mutiny, persuading them to put the ship about and return to England.\* This, as we have seen, came to the knowledge of Hudson, and he threatened to send Juet back, but was finally pacified. In a few days he made the coast of Greenland, which appeared very mountainous, the hills rising like sugar loaves, and covered with snow. But the ice was so thick all along the shore, that it was found impossible to land. He therefore steered for the south of Greenland, where he encountered great numbers of whales. Two of these monsters passed under the ship, but did no harm; for which the journalist was devoutly thankful. Having doubled the southern point of Greenland, he steered northwest, passed in sight of Desolation Island, in the neighborhood of which he saw a huge island or mountain of ice, and continued northwest till the latter part of June, when he came in sight of land bearing north, which he supposed to be an island set down in his chart in the northerly part of Davis's Strait. His wish was to sail along the western coast of this island, and thus get to the north of it; but adverse winds and the quanti-

Wydhouse's note; Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. III. p. 609.

ties of ice, which he encountered every day, prevented him.

· Being south of this land, he fell into a current setting westwardly, which he followed, but was in constant danger from the ice. One day, an enormous mountain of ice turned over near the ship, but fortunately without touching it. This served as a warning to keep at a distance from these masses, to prevent the ship from being crushed by them. He encountered a severe storm, which brought the ice so thick about the ship, that he judged it best to run her among the largest masses, and there let her lie. In this situation, says the journalist, "some of our men fell sick; I will not say it was of fear, although I saw small sign of other grief." As soon as the storm abated. Hudson endeavoured to extricate himself from the ice. Wherever any open space appeared, he directed his course, sailing in almost every direction; but the longer he contended with the ice, the more completely did he seem to be enclosed, till at last he could go no further. The ship seemed to be hemmed in on every side, and in danger of being soon closely wedged, so as to be immovable. In this perilous situation, even the stout heart of Hudson almost yielded to the feeling of despair; and, as he afterwards confessed to one of the men, he thought he should never escape from the ice, but that he was doomed to perish there.

He did not, however, allow his crew, at the time, to be aware what his apprehensions really were; but, assembling them all around him, he brought out his chart, and showed them that they had advanced in this direction a hundred leagues further than any Englishman had done before; and gave them their choice whether to proceed, or to return home. The men could come to no agreement: some were in favor of returning. others were for pushing forward. This was probably what Hudson expected; the men were mutinous, and yet knew not what they wanted themselves. Having fairly convinced them of this, it was easier to set them at work to extricate the ship from her immediate danger. After much time and labor, they made room to turn the ship round, and then by little and little they worked their way along for a league or two, when they found a clear sea.

The scene which has just been described, seems indeed a subject worthy of the talents of a skilful painter. The fancy of the artist would represent the dreary and frightful appearance of the ice-covered sea, stretching away as far as the eye could reach, a bleak and boundless waste; the dark and broken clouds driving across the fitful sky; the ship motionless amidst the islands and mountains of ice, her shrouds and sails being fringed and stiffened with the frozen spray. On

the deck would appear the form of Hudson himself, displaying the chart to his men; his countenance care-worn and sad, but still concealing, under the appearance of calmness and indifference, the apprehensions and forebodings, which harrowed his mind. About him would be seen the rude and ruffian-like men; some examining the chart with eager curiosity, some glaring on their commander with eyes of hatred and vengeance, and expressing in their looks those murderous intentions, which they at last so fatally executed.

Having reached a clear sea, Hudson pursued his course northwest, and in a short time saw land bearing southwest, which appeared very mountainous and covered with snow. This he named Desire Provokes. He had now entered the Strait which bears his name, and, steering west, he occupied nearly the whole month of July in passing through it. To the various capes, islands, and promontories, which he saw, he gave names either in commemoration of some circumstance, which happened at the time, or in honor of persons and places at home, or else for the reward of the discoverer.

Some islands, near which he anchored, and where his ship was but just saved from the rocks, he called the *Isles of God's Mercies*. On the 19th, he passed a point of land, which he named

Hold with Hope. To the main land, which he soon after discovered, he gave the name of Magna Britannia. On the 2d of September, he saw a headland on the northern shore, which he named Salisbury's Foreland; and, running southwest from this point about fourteen leagues, he entered a passage not more than five miles in width, the southern cape at the entrance of which he named Cape Worsenholme, and that on the north side, Cape Digges.

He now hoped, that the passage to the western sea was open before him, and that the great discovery was at length achieved. He therefore sent a number of the men on shore at Cape Digges, to ascend the hills, in the hope that they would see the great ocean open to them beyond the Strait. The exploring party, however, were prevented from making any discovery, by a violent thunder storm, which soon drove them back to the ship. They saw plenty of deer, and soon after espied a number of small piles of stones, which they at first supposed must be the work of some civilized person. On approaching them, and lifting up one of the stones, they found them to be hollow, and filled with fowls, hung by the neck. They endeavored to persuade their commander to wait here, till they could provision the ship from the stores, which were thus remarkably provided for

them. But his ardor was so great to find his way into the ocean, which he felt convinced was immediately in the vicinity, that he could suffer no delay, but ordered his men to weigh anchor at once; a precipitancy which he had afterwards reason bitterly to regret. Having advanced about ten leagues through the Strait, he came into the great open Bay or sea which bears his name.

Having entered the Bay, he pursued a southerly course for nearly a month, till he arrived at the bottom of the Bay; when, finding that he was disappointed in his expectation of thus reaching the western seas, he changed his course to the north, in order to retrace his steps. On the 10th of September, he found it necessary to inquire into the conduct of some of the men, whose mutinous disposition had manifested itself a good deal of late. Upon investigation, it appeared, that the mate, Robert Juet, and Francis Clement, the boatswain, had been the most forward in exciting a spirit of insubordination. The conduct of Juet at Iceland was again brought up, and, as it appeared that both he and Clement had been lately plotting against the commander, they were both deposed, and Robert Billet was appointed mate, and William Wilson boatswain.

The remaining part of September and all October were passed in exploring the great Bay.

At times the weather was so bad, that they were compelled to run into some bay and anchor; and in one of the storms they were obliged to cut away the cable, and so lost their anchor. At another time they ran upon a sunken ledge of rocks, where the ship stuck fast for twelve hours, but was at last got off without being much injured. The last of October having now arrived, and winter beginning to set in, Hudson ran the vessel into a small bay, and sent a party in search of a good place to intrench themselves till the spring. They soon found a convenient station; and, bringing the ship thither, they hauled her aground. This was on the 1st of November. In ten days they were completely frozen in, and the ship firmly fixed in the ice.

## CHAPTER VI.

Dreary Prospect for the Winter. — Disturbances and Sufferings of the Crew. — Unexpected Supply of Provisions. — Distress from Famine. — Hudson sails from his Wintering-Place. — Mutiny of Greene and Others. — Fate of Hudson and Eight of the Crew. — Fate of Greene and Others of the Mutineers. — Return of the Vessel to England.

THE prospect for Hudson and his men was now dreary and disheartening. In addition to the rigors of a long winter, in a high northern latitude, they had to apprehend the suffering, which would arise from a scarcity of provisions. The vessel had been victualled for six months, and that time having now expired, and their stores falling short, while, at the same time, the chance of obtaining supplies from hunting and fishing was very precarious, it was found necessary to put the crew upon an allowance. In order, however, to stimulate the men to greater exertions, Hudson offered a reward or bounty for every beast, fish, or fowl, which they should kill; hoping, that in this way the scanty stock

of provisions might be made to hold out till the breaking up of the ice in the spring. About the middle of November, John Wil-

liams, the gunner, died. We are not informed what was his disease, but we are led to suppose from the Journal, that his death was hastened, if not caused, by the unkind treatment he experienced from Hudson. It appears very evident from the simple narration by Pricket, that "the master," as he calls him, had become hasty and irritable in his temper. This is more to be regretted, than wondered at. The continual hardships and disappointments, to which he had been exposed, and especially the last unhappy failure in discovering the northwest passage, when he had believed himself actually within sight of it, must have operated powerfully upon an ardent and enthusiastic mind like his, in which the feeling of regret at failure is always proportionate to the strength and confidence of hope when first formed. In addition to this, the troublesome disposition of the crew, which must have caused ceaseless anxiety, undoubtedly contributed much to disturb his calmness and self-possession, and render him precipitate and irritable in his conduct. Many proofs of this soon occurred.

The death of the gunner was followed by consequences, which may be regarded as the beginning of troubles, that in the end proved fatal. It appears, that it was the custom in those times, when a man died at sea, to sell his clothes to the crew by auction. In one respect, Hudson violated this custom, and probably gained no little ill will thereby. The gunner had a gray cloth gown or wrapper, which Henry Greene had set his heart upon possessing; and Hudson, wishing to gratify his favorite, refused to put it up to public sale, but gave Greene the sole choice of purchasing it.

Not long after this, Hudson ordered the carpenter to go on shore, and build a house, or hut, for the accommodation of the crew. The man replied, that it would now be impossible to do such a piece of work, from the severity of the weather, and the quantity of snow. The house ought to have been erected when they had first fixed their station there, but now it was too late, and Hudson had refused to have it done at first. The carpenter's refusal to perform the work excited the anger of the master to such a degree, that he drove him violently from the cabin, using the most opprobrious language, and finally threatening to hang him.

Greene appeared to take sides with the carpenter, which made Hudson so angry, that he gave the gown, which Greene had coveted so much, to Billet, the mate; telling Greene, with much abusive language, that, as not one of his friends at home would trust him to the value of twenty shillings, he could not be expected to trust him for the value of the gown; and that, as for wages, he should have none if he did not behave better. These bitter taunts sunk deep into Greene's heart, and no doubt incited him to further mutinous conduct.

The sufferings of the men were not less, during the winter, than they had had reason to apprehend. Many of them were made lame, probably from chilblains and freezing their feet; and Pricket complains in the Journal, written after the close of the voyage, that he was still suffering from the effects of this winter. They were, however, much better supplied with provisions than they had anticipated. For three months they had such an abundance of white partridges about the ship, that they killed a hundred dozen of them; and, on the departure of these, when spring came, they found a great plenty of swans, geese, ducks, and other waterfowl.

Hudson was in hopes, when he saw these wild fowl, that they had come to breed in these regions, which would have rendered it much easier to catch them; but he found that they went still further north for this purpose. Before the ice had broken up, these birds too had disappeared, and the horror of starvation began to stare them in the face. They were forced to

search the hills, woods, and valleys, for any thing that might afford them subsistence; even the moss growing on the ground, and disgusting reptiles, were not spared. Their sufferings were somewhat relieved, at last, by the use of a bud, which is described as "full of turpentine matter." Of these buds the surgeon made a decoction, which he gave the men to drink, and also applied them hot to their bodies, wherever any part was affected. This was undoubtedly very effectual in curing the scurvy.

About the time that the ice began to break up, they were visited by a savage, whom Hudson treated so well, that he returned the day after to the ship, bringing several skins, some of which he gave in return for presents he had received the day before. For others Hudson traded with him, but made such hard bargains, that he never visited them again. As soon as the ice would allow of it, some of the men were sent out to fish. The first day they were very successful, catching about five hundred fish; but after this, they never succeeded in taking a quarter part of this number in one day. Being greatly distressed by want of provisions, Hudson took the boat and coasted along the

<sup>•</sup> Probably the bud of the Tacamahaca tree, the Populus balsamifera of Linneus.

bay to the southwest, in the hope of meeting some of the natives, from whom he might obtain supplies. He saw the woods blazing at a distance, where they had been set on fire by the natives; but he was not able at any time to come within sight of the people themselves. After an absence of several days, he returned unsuccessful to the ship.

The only effect of this little expedition was defeating a conspiracy, formed by Greene, Wilson, and some others, to seize the boat and make off with her. They were prevented from putting this scheme in execution by Hudson's unexpected determination to use the boat himself. Well would it have been for him, if they had been allowed to follow their wishes.

Having returned to the ship, and finding every thing now prepared for their departure according to his directions, before weighing anchor he went through the mournful task of distributing to his crew the small remnant of the provisions, about a pound of bread to each man; which he did with tears in his eyes. He also gave them a bill of return, as a sort of certificate for any who might live to reach home. Some of the men were so ravenous, that they devoured in a day or two the whole of their allowance of bread.

They sailed from the bay, in which they had

passed the winter, about the middle of June, and, in three or four days, being surrounded with ice, were obliged to anchor. The bread he had given the men, and a few pounds of cheese, which had remained, were consumed. Hudson now intimated to one of the crew, that the chests of all the men would be searched, to find any provisions that might have been concealed there; and ordered him at the same time to bring all that was in his. The man obeyed, and produced thirty cakes in a bag. This indiscretion on the part of Hudson appears to have greatly exasperated his crew, and to have been the immediate cause of open mutiny.

They had been detained at anchor in the ice about a week, when the first signs of this mutiny appeared. Greene, and Wilson, the boatswain, came in the night to Pricket, who was lying in his berth very lame, and told him, that they and several of the crew had resolved to seize Hudson, and set him adrift in the boat, with all on board who were disabled by sickness; that there were but few days' provisions left, and the master appeared entirely irresolute which way to go; that for themselves they had eaten nothing for three days; their only hope, therefore, was in taking command of the ship, and escaping from these regions as quickly as possible; and that they would carry their plot into execution, or perish in the attempt.

Pricket remonstrated with them in the most earnest manner, entreating them to abandon such a wicked intention, and reminding them of their wives and children, from whom they would be banished for ever, if they stained themselves with so great a crime. But all he could say had no effect., He then besought them to delay the execution for three days, for two days, for only twelve hours; but they sternly refused. Pricket then told them, that it was not their safety for which they were anxious, but that they were bent upon shedding blood and revenging themselves, which made them so hasty. Upon this, Greene took up the bible which lay there, and swore upon it, that he would do no man harm, and that what he did was for the good of the voyage, and for nothing else. Wilson took the same oath, and after him came Juet and the other conspirators separately, and swore in the same words. The words of the oath are recorded by Pricket, because, after his return to England, he was much blamed for administering any oath, as he seemed by so doing to side with the mutineers. The oath, as administered by him, ran as follows;

"You shall swear truth to God, your Prince, and Country; you shall do nothing but to the glory of God and the good of the action in hand, and harm to no man." How little regard was paid to this oath by the mutineers, will shortly appear.

It was decided, that the plot should be put in execution at daylight; and, in the mean time, Greene went into Hudson's cabin to keep him company, and prevent his suspicions from being excited. They had determined to put the carpenter and John King into the boat with Hudson and the sick, having some grudge against them for their attachment to the master. King and the carpenter had slept upon deck this night. But about daybreak, King was observed to go down into the hold with the cook, who was going for water. Some of the mutineers ran and shut down the hatch over them, while Greene and another engaged the attention of the carpenter, so that he did not observe what was going on.

Hudson now came up from the cabin, and was immediately seized by Thomas, and Bennet, the cook, who had come up from the hold, while Wilson ran behind and bound his arms. He asked them what they meant, and they told him he would know when he was in the shallop. Hudson called on the carpenter to help him, telling him that he was bound; but he could render him no assistance, being surrounded by mutineers. In the mean time, Juet had gone down into the hold, where King was; but the latter, having armed himself with a sword, attacked Juet, and would have killed him, if the

noise had not been heard upon deck by the conspirators, some of whom ran down and overpowered him. While this was done, two of the sick men, Lodlo and Bute, boldly reproached their shipmates for their wickedness, telling them, that their knavery would show itself, and that their actions were prompted by mere vengeance, not the wish to preserve their lives. But their words had no effect.

The boat was now hauled along side, and the sick and lame were called up from their berths. Pricket crawled upon deck as well as he could, and Hudson, seeing him, called to him to come to the hatchway to speak with him. Pricket entreated the men, on his knees, for the love of God to remember their duty, and do as they would be done by; but they only told him to go back to his berth, and would not allow him to have any communication with Hudson. Hudson was in the boat, he called again to Pricket, who was at the horn window, which lighted his cabin, and told him that Juet would "overthrow" them all. "Nay," said Pricket, "it is that villain, Henry Greene;" and this he said as loud as he could.

After Hudson was put into the boat, the carpenter was set at liberty, but he refused to remain in the ship unless they forced him; so they told him he might go in the boat, and allowed him to take his chest with him. Before he got into the boat, he went down to take leave of Pricket, who entreated him to remain in the ship; but the carpenter said he believed that they would soon be taken on board again, as there was no one left who knew enough to bring the ship home; and that he was determined not to desert the master. He thought the boat would be kept in tow; but, if they should be parted, he begged Pricket to leave some token for them if he should reach Digges's Cape first. They then took leave of each other with tears in their eyes, and the carpenter went into the boat, taking a musket and some powder and shot, an iron pot, a small quantity of meal, and other provisions. Hudson's son and six of the men were also put into the boat. The sails were now hoisted, and they stood eastward with a fair wind, dragging the shallop from the stern; and in a few hours, being clear of the ice, they cut the rope by which the boat was dragged, and soon after lost sight of her for ever.

The account here given of the mutiny, is nearly in the words of Pricket, an eyewitness of the event. It is difficult at first to perceive the whole enormity of the crime. The more we reflect upon it, the blacker it appears. Scarcely a circumstance is wanting, that could add to the baseness of the villany, or the horror of the

suffering inflicted. The principal conspirators were men, who were bound to Hudson by long friendship, by lasting obligations, and by common interests, adventures, and sufferings. Juet had sailed with him on two of his former voyages, and had shared in the glory of his discoveries. Greene had been received into his house, when abandoned even by his own mother; had been kindly and hospitably entertained, encouraged to reform, and taken, on Hudson's private responsibility; into a service in which he might gain celebrity and wealth. Wilson had been selected from among the crew, by the approving eye of the commander, and appointed to a place of trust and honor. Yet these men conspired to murder their benefactor, and instigated the crew to join in their execrable scheme.

Not contented with the destruction of their commander, that nothing might be wanting to fill up the measure of their wickedness, they formed the horrible plan of destroying, at the same time, all of their companions, whom sickness and suffering had rendered a helpless and unresisting prey to their cruelty. The manner of effecting this massacre was worthy of the authors of such a plot. To have killed their unhappy victims outright would have been comparatively merciful; but a long, lingering, and painful death was chosen for them. The imagi-

nation turns with intense and fearful interest to the scene. The form of the commander is before us, bound hand and foot, condescending to no supplication to the mutineers, but calling in vain for assistance from those, who would gladly have helped him, but who were overpowered by numbers, or disabled by sickness. The cry of the suffering and dying rings in our ears, as they are dragged from their beds, to be exposed to the inclemencies of the ice-covered sea in an open boat. Among them appears the young son of Hudson, whose tender years can wake no compassion in the cold-blooded murderers.

We refrain from following them, even in fancy, through their sufferings after they are separated from the ship; their days and nights of agony, their cry of distress, and the frenzy of starvation, their hopes of relief defeated, their despair, and their raving as death comes on. Over these awful scenes the hand of God has hung a veil, which hides them from us for ever. Let us not seek to penetrate, even in imagination, the terrors which it conceals.

How far Pricket's account, in regard to the course pursued by Hudson, is worthy of confidence, must be left to conjecture. It should be remembered, however, that Pricket was not free from the suspicion of having been in some degree implicated in the conspiracy, and that his

narrative was designed in part as a vindication of himself. The indiscreet severity charged upon Hudson, and the hasty temper he is represented to have shown, in embroiling himself with his men, for apparently trifling reasons, are not consistent with the moderation, good sense, and equanimity, with which his conduct had been marked in all his preceding voyages. It is moreover hardly credible, that, knowing as he did, the mutinous spirit of some of the crew, he should so rashly inflame this spirit, at a time when he was surrounded by imminent dangers, and when his safety depended on the united support of all the men under his command. Hence, whatever reliance may be placed on the veracity of Pricket, it is due to the memory of Hudson not to overlook the circumstances, by which his pen may have been biased.

When Hudson and the men were deposited in the boat, the mutineers busied themselves with breaking open chests and pillaging the ship. They found in the cabin a considerable quantity of biscuit, and a butt of beer; and there were a few pieces of pork, some meal, and a half bushel of pease in the hold. These supplies were enough to save them from immediate starvation; and they expected to find plenty of game at Digges's Cape.

Henry Greene was appointed commander,

though evidently too ignorant for the place. It was a full month before they could find their way to the Strait, which leads out of the great Bay in which they had wintered. Part of this time they were detained by the ice; but several days were spent in searching for the passage into Davis's Strait. During this time they landed often, and sometimes succeeded in catching a few fish or wild fowl; but supplied their wants principally by gathering the cockle-grass, which was growing in abundance on every part of the shore. They arrived within sight of Digges's Cape about the last of July, and immediately sent the boat on shore for provisions. The men who landed found considerable quantities of game, as it was a place where the wild fowl breed. There were great numbers of savages about the shore, who appeared very friendly, and testified their joy by lively gestures.

The next day Henry Greene went ashore, accompanied by Wilson, Thomas, Perse, Moter, and Pricket. The last was left in the boat, which was made fast to a large rock, and the others went on shore in search of provisions. While some of the men were busy in gathering sorrel from the rocks, and Greene was surrounded by the natives, with whom he was trading, Pricket, who was lying in the stern of the boat, observed one of the savages coming

in at the bows. Pricket made signs to him to keep off; and while he was thus occupied, another savage stole round behind him. Pricket suddenly saw the leg and foot of a man by him, and looking up, perceived a savage with a knife in his hand, aiming a blow at him. He prevented the wound from being fatal, by raising his arm and warding off the blow; but was still severely cut. Springing up, he grappled with the savage, and drawing his dagger, at length put him to death.

In the mean time. Greene and the others were assaulted by the savages on shore, and with difficulty reached the boat, all of them wounded except Perse and Moter. The latter saved his life by plunging into the water, and catching hold of the stern of the boat. No sooner had they pushed off, than the savages let fly a shower of arrows, which killed Greene outright, and mortally wounded some of the others, among them Perse, who had hitherto escaped. Perse and Moter began to row toward the ship, but Perse soon fainted, and Moter was left to manage the boat alone, as he had escaped unwounded. The body of Greene was thrown immediately into the sea. Wilson and Thomas died that day in great torture, and Perse two days afterwards.

The remainder of the crew were glad to de-

part from the scene of this fatal combat, and immediately set sail, with the intention of reaching Ireland as soon as possible. While they were in the Strait, they managed to kill a few wild fowl occasionally; but the supply was so small, that they were obliged to limit the crew to half a fowl a day, which they cooked with meal; but this soon failed, and they were forced to devour the candles. The cook fried the bones of the fowls in tallow, and mixed this mess with vinegar, which, says Pricket, was "a great daintie."

Before they reached Ireland, they were so weakened, that they were forced to sit at the helm to steer, as no one among them was able to stand. Just before they came in sight of land, Juet died of want, thus meeting the very fate, to avoid which he had murdered his commander and friend. The men were now in utter despair. Only one fowl was left for their subsistence, and another day would be their last. They abandoned all care of the vessel, and prepared to meet their fate, when the joyful cry of "a sail," was heard. It proved to be a fishing vessel, which took them into a harbor in Ireland, from which they hired a pilot to take them to England; where they all arrived in safety, after an absence of a year and five months.

The year following, the Discovery, the vessel in which Hudson made his last voyage, and the Resolution, were sent out, under the command of Captain Thomas Button, who was accompanied by Pricket, in the hope of learning something of the fate of Hudson, and of relieving him; and, at the same time, to discover, if possible, the northwest passage. Pricket had observed, in the voyage with Hudson, when the ship had struck upon a rock near Digges's Island, that a strong tide from the westward had floated her off again. The London Company had hopes, from this fact, that there might be a passage to the western ocean at no great distance from this place. The expedition was unsuccessful in both objects. No tidings of Hudson could ever be gained; and the discovery of the northwest passage is a problem, which, after the lapse of more than two centuries, has scarcely yet been solved.