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DISCOVERY OF AMERICA BY NORTHMEN

ADDRESS

At the Unveiling

OF

THE STATUE OF LEIF ERIKSEN

DISCOVERY OF AMERICA BY NORTHMEN

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OF

THE STATUE OF LEIF ERIKSEN

DELIVERED IN FANEUIL HALL

OCT. 29, 1887

BY

EBEN NORTON HORSFORD

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PREFACE.

THE address delivered in Faneuil Hall on the occasion of the Unveiling of the Statue to Leif Eriksen has been revised, and there have been added to it, in the interest of the reader, several maps and illustrations that may help to fulfil the object I had in view, — a justification of the monument to Leif in Boston. The matter omitted at the delivery, for want of time, has found its place in these pages. I have attempted to present in the address the essential story of the discovery of America by the Northmen, omitting only the matters which properly enough may appear in an account of the life and usages of the people, but which do not so immediately concern the strict history of the Discovery of America.

In the Appendix I have printed some notes: and, that the reader might have the principal sources of the Saga lore before him, I have added the larger part of Joshua Toulmain Smith's version (1842) of the Saga of Eirek the Red, with occasional parallel passages from Beamish's translation, and extracts from Thorfinn's Saga, and also the three "pieces" (Tháttir) interpolated into

the life of Olaf Tryggvason, which are embraced in the paper of J. Eliot Cabot.

A subsequent paper will discuss the Landfall of the Northmen, and the site of the houses built by Leif and occupied by him, Thorwald, and Thorfinn, and where, after additions by Thorfinn, the son Snorri was born.

I find no evidence of there having been any buildings erected by the early Northmen on the south side of the peninsula of Cape Cod, or on the shores of Narragansett Bay.

E. N. H.

CAMBRIDGE, March 1, 1888.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

ADDRESS 9

APPENDIX A. — DIGHTON ROCK 65

" B. — LATITUDE OF VINLAND 65

" C. — ANDRÉ THEVET 81

" D. — WOOD'S HOLL 83

" E. — INDIAN CORN FOUND GROWING IN VINLAND . . 84

SAGA OF EIREK THE RED 89

SAGA OF THORFINN 97

THATTIR EIREK'S RAUDA AND GRAENLENDINGA THATT. (CABOT) 105

ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS.

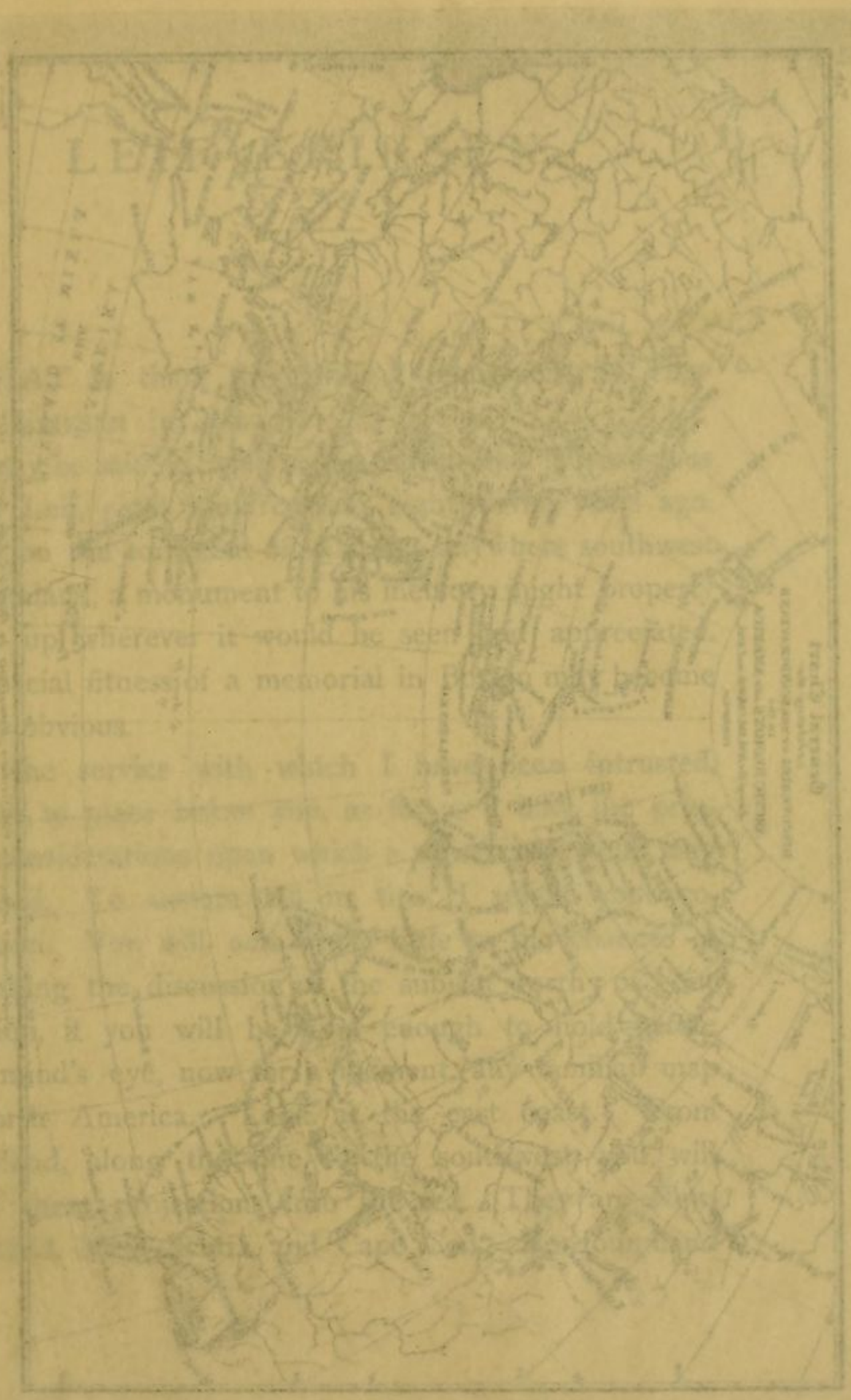
Illustrations.

PAGE

STATUE OF LEIF ERIKSEN . . . . . *Frontispiece*
RUNIC INSCRIPTIONS ON STONE IN THE ISLAND OF KINGIKTORSOAK 11
RUINS OF A CHURCH AT GARDAR 12
DIGHTON ROCK, MASSACHUSETTS 24
MILLSBORO ROCK, PENNSYLVANIA 25
MILL AT CHESTERTON, ENGLAND 26
TOWER AT NEWPORT 26
FINN MAGNUSEN'S CHART 67
FAC-SIMILE OF A PAGE FROM THE SAGA OF EIREK THE RED: CODEX FLATEYENSIS 89

Maps.

THE NORTH ATLANTIC 9
FOG BELT (HYDROGRAPHICAL BUREAU) 31
BASS HARBOR, MOUNT DESERT 32
THE NORTH ATLANTIC, 1570, BY SIGURD STEPHANIUS 37
RUYSCH'S MAP, 1507 39
MAP OF HIERONYMUS VERRAZANO, 1529 (REV. DR. DE COSTA) . 40
" " MICHAEL LOK, 1582 46
MERIAM'S MAP 47
MAP OF VERRAZANO (MAIOLLO) 48
NOLIN'S MAP 51
RARE MAP IN POSSESSION OF S. L. M. BARLOW 54
BEHAIM'S MAP, WITH ADDITIONS, 1492 60
LEUTHNER'S MAP OF LABRADOR 69
HENDERSON'S MAP OF ICELAND 75
MONTANUS'S MAP, 1671 83



General Chart

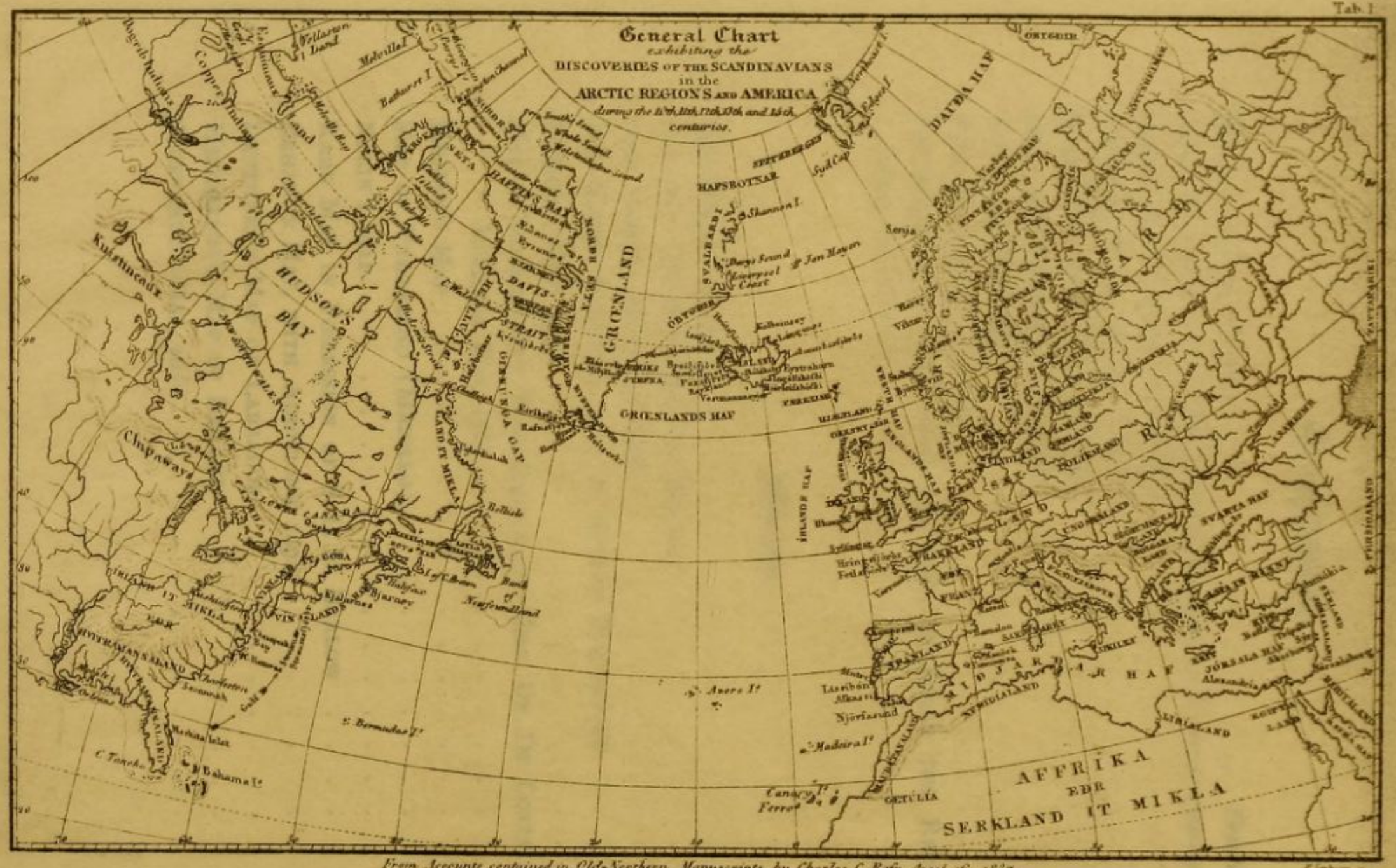
exhibiting the

DISCOVERIES OF THE SCANDINAVIANS

in the

ARCTIC REGIONS AND AMERICA

during the 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th centuries.



From Accounts contained in Old-Northern Manuscripts by Charles C. Rafn. April 16. 1837.

LEIF ERIKSEN.

I.

WHAT is there to justify a monument to Leif Eriksen in Boston?

It may be said in reply at the outset, that it is obvious that if Leif, eight hundred and eighty-seven years ago, landed on the continent of America anywhere southwest of Greenland, a monument to his memory might properly be set up wherever it would be seen and appreciated. The special fitness of a memorial in Boston may become equally obvious.

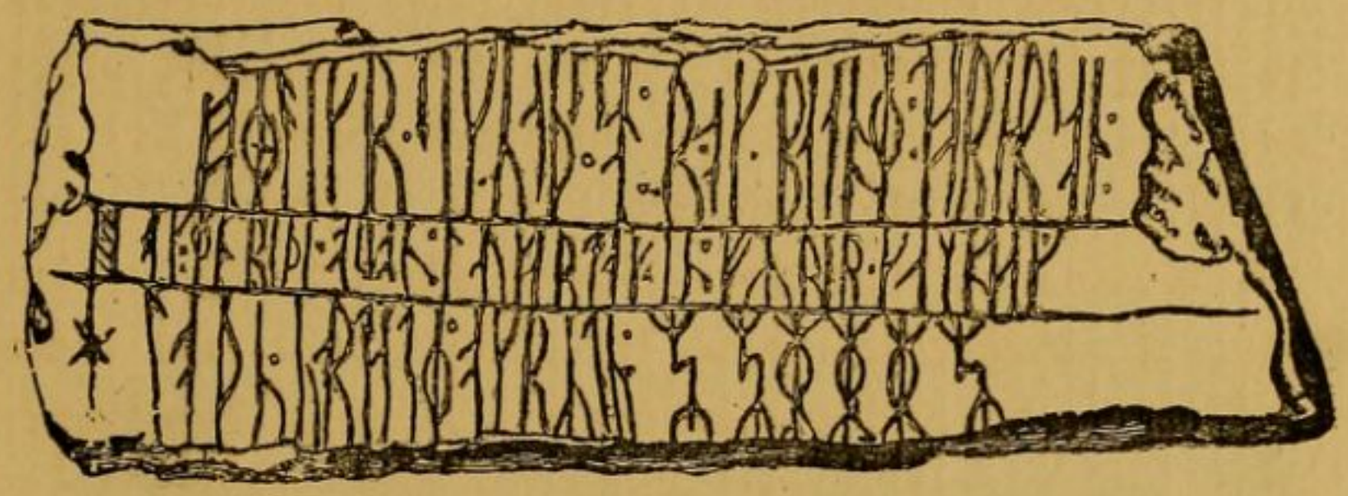
In the service with which I have been intrusted, I desire to place before you, as far as I may, the principal considerations upon which a sound judgment may be based. To sustain me in this, I solicit your co-operation. You will add not a little to the chances of my making the discussion of the subject worthy of your attention, if you will be kind enough to hold before your mind's eye, now for a moment, any familiar map of North America. Look at the east coast. From Greenland, along the line to the southwest, you will notice three projections into the sea. They are Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Cape Cod. Newfoundland

is bold, rocky, mountainous, of meagre vegetation, and with few beaches. The other two, Nova Scotia and Cape Cod, are without mountains, wooded, and skirted by extended white-sand beaches. The first may thus be easily distinguished by the navigator from the other two. Look at their relative distances apart. They are about as two to three to six; that is, if you could sail with a fair wind from Cape Cod to Nova Scotia in two days, it would take about three days, with the same wind, to go on to the southern headlands of Newfoundland; and, having coursed along Newfoundland to Belle Isle, it would take you six days more to reach Greenland. A more violent wind on the last section might reduce the time to four days. Remember the three points, — Newfoundland and Nova Scotia and Cape Cod.

There are, as we all know, Danish people now living in Greenland; Arctic explorers and whalers share their hospitality. Authentic history tells us of extensive settlements of Scandinavians who went there from Iceland as early as the tenth century, — indeed Greenland would appear to have been discovered toward the close of the ninth century, — and that by about the middle of the fourteenth century the plague and war had quite blotted them out. The Danes now living there are of more recent times. They entered upon the abandoned settlements of the earlier colonists.

As evidence that Northmen long ago occupied Greenland, there is, on an island not far from and to the north of Disco on the west coast of Greenland, in latitude

73°, — you may see it to-day, — a mass of rock covered with inscriptions in characters which belong to these people of the North. These inscriptions have been



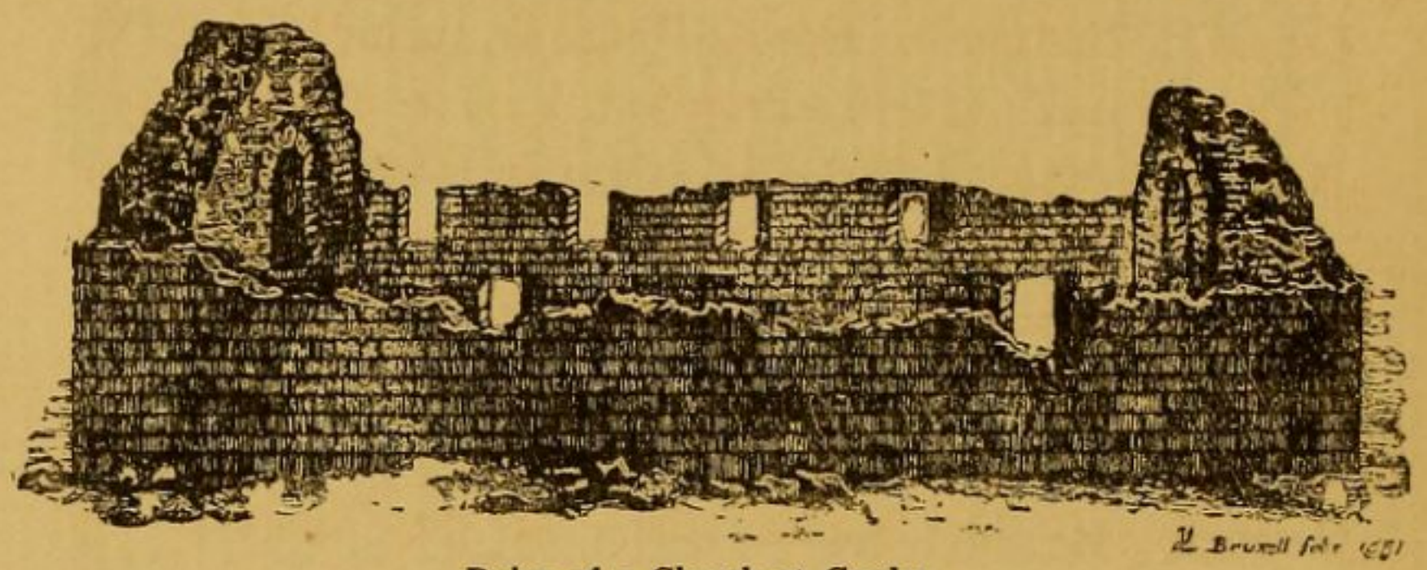
Runic Inscriptions on Stone in the Island of Kingiktorsoak.

deciphered. Their date is 1135. Numerous similar columns, with like inscriptions, are found in Norway and Sweden. Research has proved them all to be of common origin.

At Gardar, on one of the bays of southern Greenland, there are yet standing the walls of a massive stone church, which, in common with the entire Greenland coast, has sunk to a lower level (in keeping, as the geologists tell us, with the rise of the coast of Norway), until its foundations are now below the level of the sea. There are remains of other churches, and also inscriptions both in Runic and Latin. At one time there were not less than two hundred and eighty distinct settlements in southern Greenland.

Of the bishop who first ruled in church matters over the people worshipping in these ancient edifices, we have authentic records in the Catholic Church. Not only

of him, Bishop Upsi, who was sent out to Greenland and also to *Vinland* in 1121, but of at least eighteen other bishops are there records preserved in the Icelandic Church Annals. Bishop Eric Upsi heads the list. The Bishopric of Gardar was occupied from 1121 to 1537. This is a clear and distinct recognition of settlements in *Vinland*, the portion of America where the



Ruins of a Church at Gardar.

Northmen claim to have made their earliest settlements, in the beginning of the eleventh century.

The Icelandic records that make certain mention of Bishop Upsi are of three classes, as Rafn, the Danish writer, informs us. There are the Annals of the Kings, which refer to the parent country; there are the Church Icelandic Annals; and lastly, the Annals of the Lœgmen, or governors of Iceland. They all refer to Bishop Eric Upsi, sometimes to him as Bishop Eric. The Catholic Church records mention him as the earliest of American bishops. The records tell us further that the tribute to the Pope from the colonies over which these bishops presided, besides the Peter's

Pence, amounted to twenty-six hundred pounds of walrus-teeth annually. They gave of what they had. Who may estimate the shrines and images to which this Arctic ivory contributed?

These Icelandic records are a part of a vast body of literature, of which Professor Fiske, late of Cornell University, the first of American Icelandic scholars, says: "All the literature of this period in all the other Teutonic dialects of Europe [and he includes the Old High German] is but a drop to a bucket of water compared with that of Iceland." If you would form some idea of how much of it one man may become acquainted with, in the treatment of one theme only, look at the table of manuscripts and books which Paul Riant consulted in the preparation of his "Expeditions and Pilgrimages of the Scandinavians at the time of the Crusades." The titles alone of the works cited cover fifty royal octavo pages.

Why should you confide in these records? This is a legitimate inquiry. I will try to answer it.

II.

In the rise of men from barbarism, the step that may be regarded as one of the most significant is that which gives them pride in personal achievement. Out of this pride come the story-tellers, the bards, the minstrels. Out of this come pride of family, pride in ancestry, and much besides of factors in civilization.

The man of ready and retentive memory, the narrator, if a man of character, comes to be trusted with family records, genealogies, titles to lands, and the history of important events. He is the custodian of the laws and precedents of his times, as well as the friend and counsellor of kings and the chronicler of dynasties and of wars. In the progress of civilization, this man of memory precedes the writer of history.

This professional chronicler may be traced back to Bible times; but you may see the mode of his training and witness his accomplishment to-day. The Zuñi Indians in New Mexico, studied so carefully, so long, and with such measureless self-sacrifice by Mr. Cushing, have a priesthood set apart for this particular purpose. I have heard members of this priesthood, on several occasions, recite stories made as settings to moral precepts or to phenomena in natural history. I have heard a given story three times repeated, — as it seemed to me, and as Mr. Cushing assured me it was, — absolutely without variation. Of one relation to which I listened, and which with its concurrent translation lasted nearly three hours, Mr. Cushing said that he had heard it several times before, on public or festive occasions, and that there had not been the variation of a word. Mr. Cushing has heard a story, of much length and at different times, by two relators, and without concert; and their performances were like an utterance and its echo.

Now, these persons are so carefully trained to repeat what they hear, and from an age so early, that a boy of twelve years may be sent as a spy to a distant

tribe, to listen for days to the conversations going on about him, and to bring home, word for word, what he has heard. The accomplishment of such persons in this direction becomes very great. It seems almost marvellous, but we have well-known examples of it. Beaconsfield was once upbraided for using the memorial address of another, which, having read, he retained in his memory without effort, and later reproduced it, oblivious of its having been first pronounced by some one else. The story of Walter Scott's recalling to the Ettrick Shepherd a poem read only once, and many years before, is a familiar case of this word-memory. There are persons who, hearing read but once a written or a printed page, retain and can later recite it word for word. Indeed, many pages are sometimes so retained and recited. It is not inconceivable, therefore, that the story-tellers, the Saga-men, set apart for this purpose, became highly accomplished. The astonishing feature is the accuracy to which they attained. For this they were consecrated. I noticed that the old Zuñi priest to whom I listened, spent much of his time in prayer. While he and his companions were last year sharing the bounty of Mrs. Hemenway, at Manchester-by-the-Sea, that Mr. Cushing might take down and preserve the literature which they possessed, three times every day these devout men went to the sea-shore to pray.

The successive priests are the heirs, word for word, to the acquisitions and relations of their predecessors.

Such men held the literature of Scandinavia, — the family histories, the romances, the songs, the annals, the

voyages of discovery, the wars, the conquests; and as Mr. Cushing took down the relations of the Zuñi priests, so the early bishops and governors took down in Icelandic the relations of the Skalds and the Saga-men of Iceland.

The relations of these men were in the vernacular; and you may see that, pronounced in the presence of the kings and the people, had they been otherwise than true they would have been fulsome and offensive, — "mockery, and not praise," as Snorro Sturleson says.

Such writing, like the writing of scientific or literary men of to-day, may carry internal evidence of its trustworthiness.

We are accustomed to refer to the internal evidence of the truthfulness of certain precious books familiar to us all. Mr. Henry Mitchell, of the Coast Survey, says in a manuscript, which I have been permitted to read and to cite: "In overhauling these Icelandic narratives, I am impressed with their simple, matter-of-fact style, which indicates that all the merit of the composition was expected to lie in the truth of the statements. They do not sound like sailors' yarns, but often like extracts from a ship's log."

These Sagas gave the story which has brought us together to-day.

The essential thing for which our Scandinavian kinsmen, the citizens of the West, as well as of New England, have given their effort, and for which Miss Whitney's beautiful statue has been conceived and wrought and set up, is to commemorate the discovery of the continent of America by the Northmen, in the year 1000.

The question may be asked if this be a reality. It rests in part on the trustworthiness of the Sagas, and in part on other evidence which will be presented to you.

Let me give, in a few words, what has been said by men whose names are familiar to us all.

Baron Nordenskjöld, of Stockholm, a man still in active life, who sailed, as we all remember, from the North Cape through the Arctic Ocean and Behring's Straits into the Northern Pacific, says, in a recent letter: "Of so much are we fully assured, — that the principal facts stated in the simple narrative of the Sagas can be entirely relied upon. The Northmen made numerous long voyages out from Greenland for centuries [the historical records give a period of over three hundred years], and established colonies on the American continent."

The late Mr. Henry Wheaton, the writer on International Law, for twelve years our chargé d'affaires at the Court of Denmark, where his time was largely devoted to the study of Icelandic literature and the society of the learned men of the Danish capital, and where he wrote "The History of the Northmen," accepted the accounts of the discovery of the American continent and its colonization by Scandinavians, as established history.

Mr. Wheaton was afterwards for eleven years our Minister at Berlin, the companion and friend of Humboldt. This great critic of geographical history, Alexander von Humboldt, accepted the conclusion that the Northmen discovered and colonized portions of the American continent southwest of Greenland. He defined Vinland as the region between Boston and New York.

The native Icelander MAGNUSSEN, Professor of Icelandic literature in Cambridge, England, says, in a recent letter which I am permitted to quote: "There is no learned body in Europe that even breathes a doubt about the question of the settlement of Vinland by Northmen."

I have been reminded by one more familiar than I am with the literature of this subject, and to whom the language is a second nature, — I do not need in this presence to mention the name of the lady whose efforts underlie the great features of this occasion, — I have, I say, been reminded that I might quote upon this point among great living authorities, the Icelandic Professor VIGFUSSON, at Oxford, and KONRAD MAURER, of Germany, and PAUL RIANT, of France. I have not read these authors, but I have had opportunity to see some of their works, and I know something of their repute. I have read enough of what they have said on this subject, however, to find the history of Vinland accepted by them as that of any other country settled nine centuries ago. They do not regard the theme as calling for discussion.

Two names more I will give you. Our own J. ELLIOT CABOT says, in substance, that no scholar qualified to give a critical judgment on the historical value of the Icelandic Sagas has placed himself on record as doubting their trustworthiness; and of this conviction was EDWARD EVERETT.

III.

Now, what is the great fact that is sustained by such an array of authority? It is this: that somewhere to the southwest of Greenland, distant at least a fortnight's sail, there were, for three hundred years after the beginning of the eleventh century, Norse colonies on the coast of the continent of America, with which colonies the home country maintained commercial intercourse. The country to which the merchant vessels sailed was called Vinland. This is the fact of first rank.

The fact next in importance is that the first of the Northmen to set foot on the shores of Vinland was Leif Eriksen. The story is a very simple one.

Let me outline the relation of the Sagas. Leif Eriksen, guided by the story of a merchantman, who many years before had been blown off his course in a storm and seen land, sailed southwestward from Greenland in the year 1000. He touched at two points which he had expected to find, and gave them names; and after some three weeks or more came to a prominent cape, as he had been told he would. Somewhere to the northwest of this point, and not far, he built houses and passed a winter, and called the region VINLAND. He did not go beyond the cape. He was succeeded by Thorwald, Leif's brother. He came in Leif's ships in 1002 to Leif's headquarters, and passed the winter. The summer following was passed in explorations. In the second spring Thorwald manned his ship and sailed eastward from Leif's house; and un-

luckily blown against a neck of land, broke the stem of the ship. He grounded his ship in high water at a place where the tide receded with the ebb to a great distance, and permitted the men to careen her, and in the intervals of the tides to repair her. When he was ready to sail again, the old stem, or nose, of the ship, with a part of the keel, was set up in the sand. Thorwald's party remained three years in the neighboring region, examining sandy shores and islands to the north of the point on or near which he had set up his ship's nose. In a battle with the Indians he was wounded and died, and was buried in Vinland, and in the spring following his crew returned to Greenland.

A few years later, Thorfinn, and his wife Gudrid, after their wedding at Leif's paternal mansion, Brattahlid, set out with a fleet of three ships and one hundred and sixty persons, of whom seven were women, to go to Vinland. They sailed with a northeast wind past Helluland and Markland, already observed and named by Leif, and two days' sail beyond, when they came to the ship's nose set up on the shore. Keeping that on the starboard, they sailed along sandy shores, which, for a reason intelligible through the researches of Professor Mitchell, they called "Wunderstrand" and also "Furdustrand."[1] About the southern extremity they encountered strong currents, so violent that they gave to the Sound in which they occurred the name of "Straum-Fiord" (sound of violent currents). Thorhall, one of Thorfinn's captains, ill of the hard fare, disappointed and dissatisfied, turned

[1] It seems possible that this part of the Saga refers to a later exploration.

his vessel to the north to explore Vinland, and was blown off at Kjalarnes. Thorfinn sailed to find him, but without success. After establishing himself at Leif's houses, he passed repeatedly around the keel cape and along the shore to Straumfjord and back, and at the end of three years returned, with his wife Gudrid, to Greenland, and thence to Norway and Iceland.

I may not fail to mention that this Gudrid was the lady who, after the death of her husband, made a pious pilgrimage to Rome, where she was received with much distinction, and where she told the Pope of the beautiful new country in the far West, of "Vinland the Good," and about the Christian settlements made there by Scandinavians.

Nor may I forget to mention that her son Snorri, born in America, at the site of Leif's houses, — and perhaps it may some day be possible to indicate the neighborhood of his birthplace with greater precision, — has been claimed to be the ancestor of Thorwaldsen, the Danish sculptor.

IV.

I had the pleasure, in the summer of 1880, of an interview with Dr. Worsaae, Professor of Northern Archæology in the University, and Director of the Museum of Northern Antiquities at Copenhagen, — the author of the terms, with which science is familiar, the Stone Age, the Bronze Age, and the Iron Age.

I had just come from examining a Viking ship of the tenth or eleventh century, I think, or earlier perhaps, but

recently exhumed from a mound at Gokstad in southern Norway, — a vessel at least sixty feet long, and more than twelve feet wide, a lapstreak of split oak, — not sawn or hewn, but in long strips like basket strips, perhaps an inch in thickness, — with a keel a foot wide, and a huge step for the mast, near the middle from end to end. Professor Rygh, the custodian of the Museum of the University at Christiania, assured me that such a step could not now be found in all the forests of Norway, not even in those of the Varanger Fiord, still famed for its splendid trees. It was fashioned from a section of the trunk of an oak some five feet in diameter, and served also, Professor Rygh remarked, the purpose of ballast. There were two sets of ribs — a false and a true set — of most ingenious contrivance, which gave a measure of flexibility to the walls of the hull. All the wood was of a dull, deep brown. Professor Rygh gave me a piece of the oakum with which the vessel had been caulked. It still exhaled the odor of tar. I felt, as I gazed upon this Viking's pride, that I might be in the presence of a ship that had exchanged signals with the vessel in which Leif rounded the sandspit of Cape Cod into the harbor of Provincetown, almost nine centuries before. Our conversation naturally turned on Vinland, and I mentioned one or two facts in regard to names of the Massachusetts coast, which had not before claimed his attention, and the significance of which he recognized. "But," said he, "what need have you of more? There was Adam of Bremen. The King told him he had subjects in Vinland."

This is what Adam, from Bremen, who, in 1073, almost half a century before Bishop Upsi, wrote a work on the propagation of the Christian religion in the north of Europe, said in a brief passage at the end of his book: "Besides these, he (King Svend) mentioned another region which had been visited by many, lying in that ocean, which is called Winland, because vines grew there spontaneously, producing very good wine; grain likewise springs up there without sowing. This we learn, not from fabulous reports, but from the accurate accounts of the Danes."

This, you see, was on information from the Bureau of Navigation furnished to the King. I had not appreciated its importance before my interview with Dr. Worsaae. Such testimony is to most minds beyond the reach of distrust.

V.

To the story of the Sagas there have in recent times been added others, which have nothing to do with the ancient relations, — the story of the Dighton Rock, and the story of the Stone Tower. They were the joint fruit of our own early historians and the writers of the Northern Society of Antiquaries of Copenhagen. Do not let us be too zealous in pronouncing judgment against those who related and believed them. These writers, for the most part, have long since acknowledged the misinterpretation of facts into which they had been led.

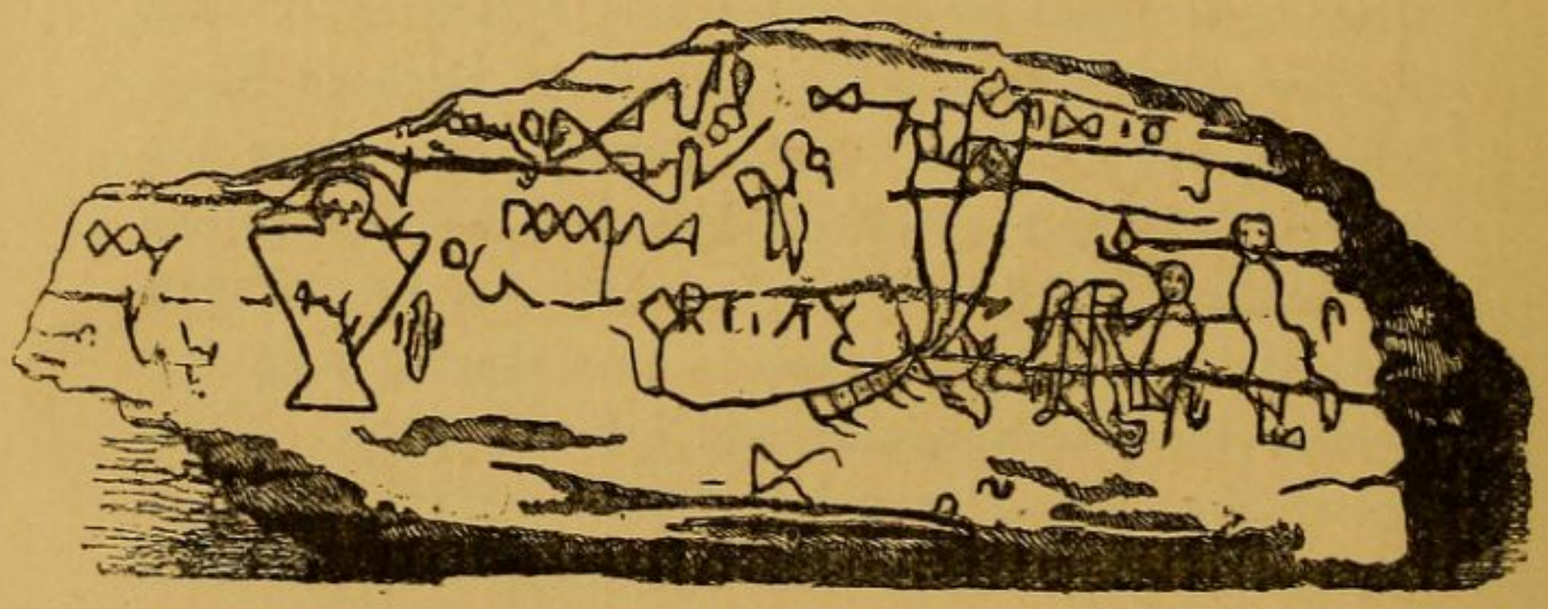
The fascinated antiquary, who is the first to enter a new field of research, is in danger of attaching unmerited significance to lesser points. His horizon has temporarily been narrowed, of course; else he had not been the first to get a glimpse of before unseen truths. This very consideration is sometimes the occasion of leading others into too ready belief. But time, in the main, restores things to their relative importance.

It is pleasant to add here that Torfæus, the Icelandic writer, whose work published in 1705 first drew attention to the story of Vinland, is to this day the highest authority upon these Sagas; and he expressed no doubt as to their trustworthiness.

I may say a word of the two unhappy claims; there are others of less moment, but I will not dwell on them.

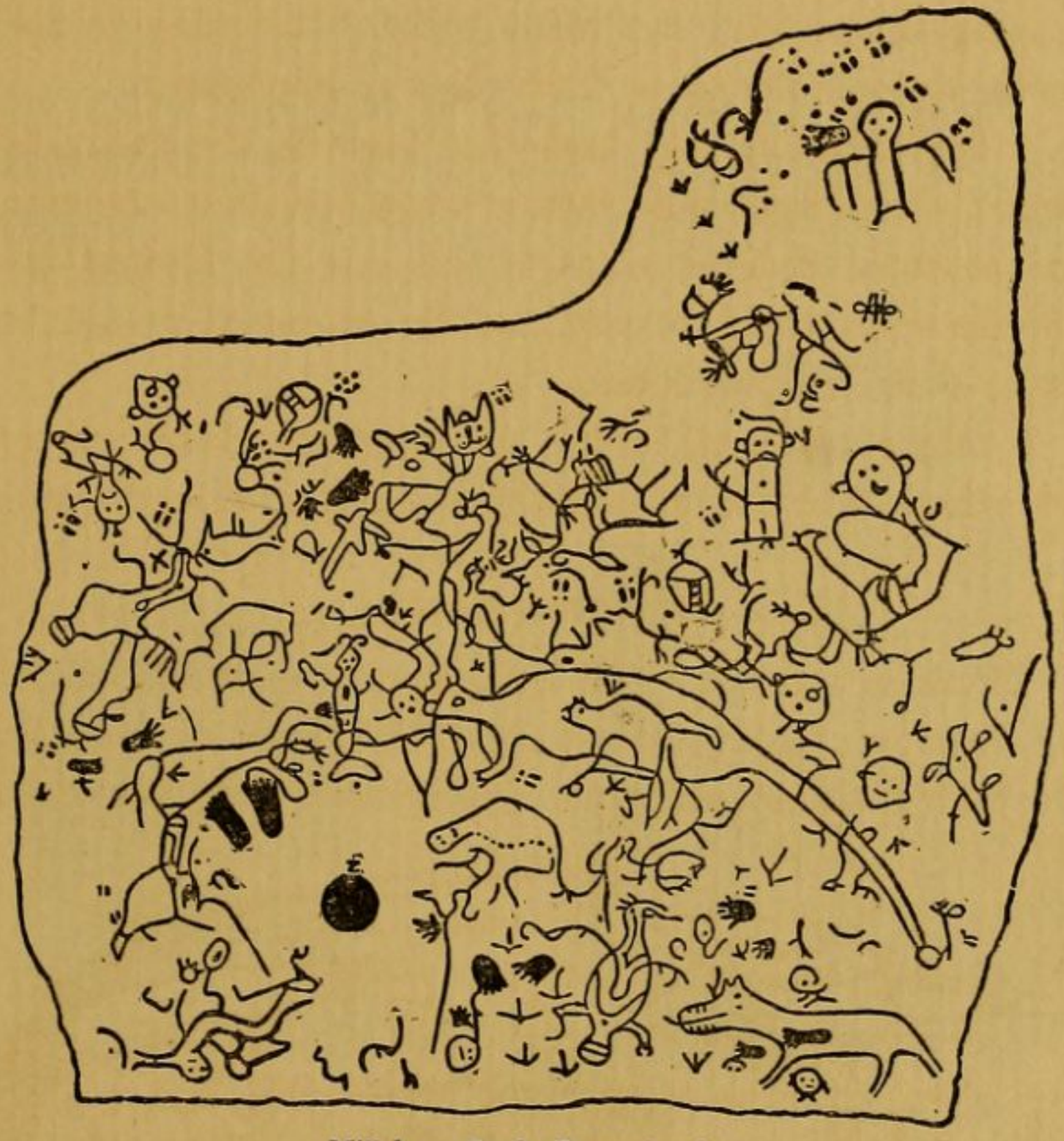
DIGHTON ROCK.

There is a boulder — I have seen it — on the shore of Taunton River, against the little village of Dighton, on which is an elaborate inscription that has been



Dighton Rock, Massachusetts.

repeatedly copied, and which was thought by the early antiquaries to resemble inscriptions of a Norse character. It has also been claimed to be of other and still more ancient origin. The discovery of numerous other similar inscriptions of palpable Indian origin — some of



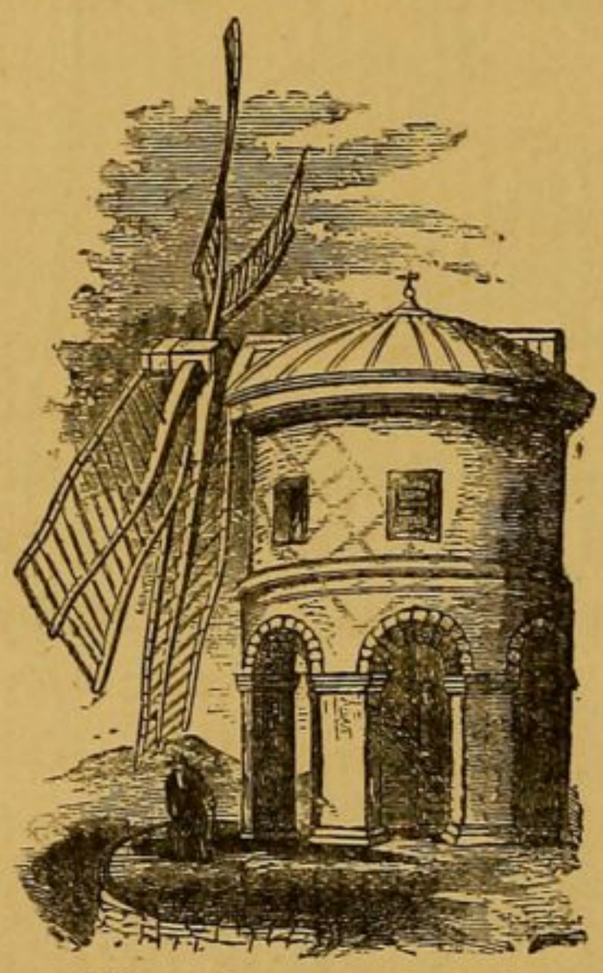
Millsboro Rock, Pennsylvania.

which I have seen in Arizona, and many more which have been collected and published by the late Mr. Schoolcraft, and more recently, at great length, by Major Powell, the head of the Ethnological Bureau — has led to the re-

jection of the view first entertained. On comparing the inscription with one from Major Powell's recent volume, one sees at a glance why the markings on the Dighton rock have come to be regarded as the work of Indians.

THE NEWPORT TOWER.

There is the Stone Tower of Newport, which was thought to be of Norse construction. It had the stone columns and circular arches conceived to be character-



Mill at Chesterton, England.

Tower at Newport.

istic of Norse architecture, and recalling certain stone windmills of England, as Dr. Palfrey has pointed out. It recalls also the massive shafts and arches of the Norman Chapel in the White Tower, of London, and the columns in the grand old Norwegian churches at

Stavanger and at Trondheim. Mention of it, however, has been found in the will of Mr. Arnold, a well-known early resident of Newport, who owned the lands about the Tower, and who speaks of it as "my stone-built windmill." The date of its construction was preserved in the diary of a contemporary citizen. An earlier, and the first one, built in 1663, was blown down. It was rebuilt, and of stone, in 1675. Nothing can be more conclusive than Dr. Palfrey's argument. The mill at Chesterton was visited by him and this cut procured. Its resemblance to the old Stone Tower is too striking to call for comment.

THE LATITUDE.

Exception has been taken to the assumed latitude of Vinland. It is mentioned in the Sagas' account of Leif, whose observations were continued for a single winter only, that the shortest day of the year in Vinland was of a length which would help to fix the latitude of the place of observation. It may have been between 41° and 43°, — about the latitude of Massachusetts Bay. This was the latitude answering to one mode of computation. According to another, the point of observation may have been about 49°, or in the region of the mouth of the St. Lawrence. There are other estimates, resting on other reasonings, which greatly increase the contrast.[1] It is impossible here and now to adequately present the various views that have been entertained.

[1] See Appendix.

VI.

I might dwell at some length, if time would permit, upon other interesting features of the relations of the Sagas.

1. For example, one of very great significance is that of the extraordinary height of the tide at high water, and the great area of gently-sloping surface laid bare at ebb tide, which enabled Thorwald to renew his broken keel. There are few places, Professor Mitchell says, where it is possible to careen and repair between the tides a ship drawing ten feet of water, as vessels of the kind able to cross the Atlantic probably did. In the bottom of Massachusetts Bay, as you know, the tides rise from ten to twelve feet, while south of Cape Cod peninsula they rise but from three to five feet.

2. There are extraordinary currents found only against Nantucket, to which the Norsemen referred, and which it has been Mr. Mitchell's duty, as an officer of the Coast Survey, to study, and his privilege to identify. He says: "The two great tidal oscillations of the Atlantic form their node at or very near 70° W. L., which intersects the shore of Nantucket Island. There the oscillation ceases to be vertical, and the movement becomes almost horizontal, precisely as at the node of a musical string. The party [of Leif] were not at the southward of Cape Cod Bay. By similar reasoning upon the tidal node it may be shown that they [Leif's] men were nowhere to the northeastward of Cape Sable." Mr. Mitchell is the first

man of scientific habit to recognize the great significance of the notes in the Sagas upon the tides and currents.

3. There is the long, slightly-curved outline of Cape Cod between the Race, or north end, and the southern extremity of Nauset Beach, to which the Northmen, as already mentioned, applied the terms "Wunderstrand" and "Furdustrand."

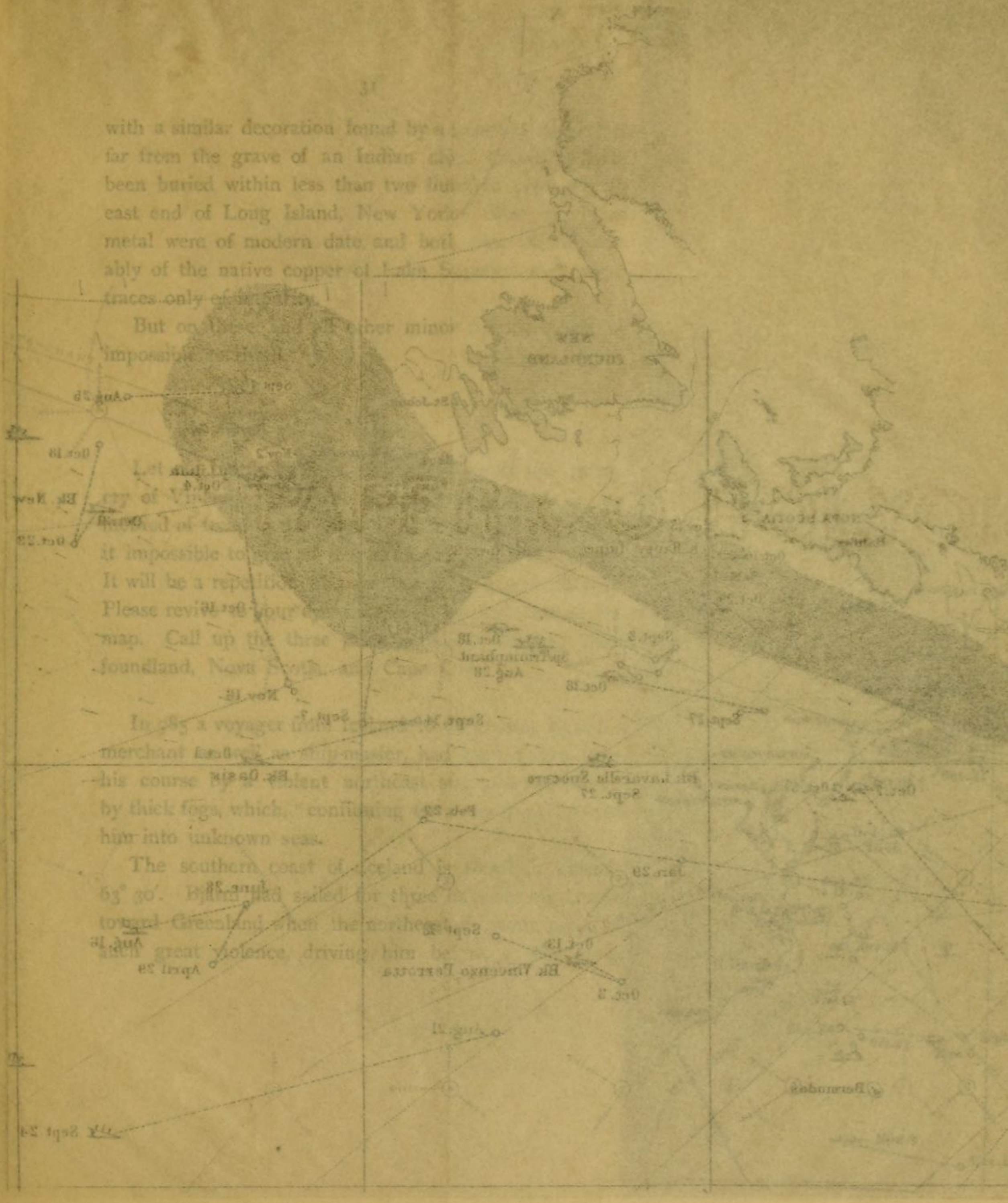
Mr. Mitchell says: "The sandy shore along which they passed they called 'Wunderstrand,' because, as the Saga says, it was 'so long getting round it.' The explanation of this is very simple. The coast was a great curve, the line of sight was tangent to that curve, and there seemed to be a point a short distance ahead, which receded as they advanced. This chasing after a vanishing point is quite a common experience along sandy shores when a vessel is seeking a shelter. There are several places on our coast called 'Point-no-Point,' which are simply great sweeps of the shore, — trying to the patience, as I know from experience. In the Passaic River below Newark there are four places known as 'Point Look-out,' 'Point-no-Point,' 'Point Look-in,' and 'Point Agin.' The illusion at Cape Cod is perfect, and it is really a 'Wonder Strand.'"

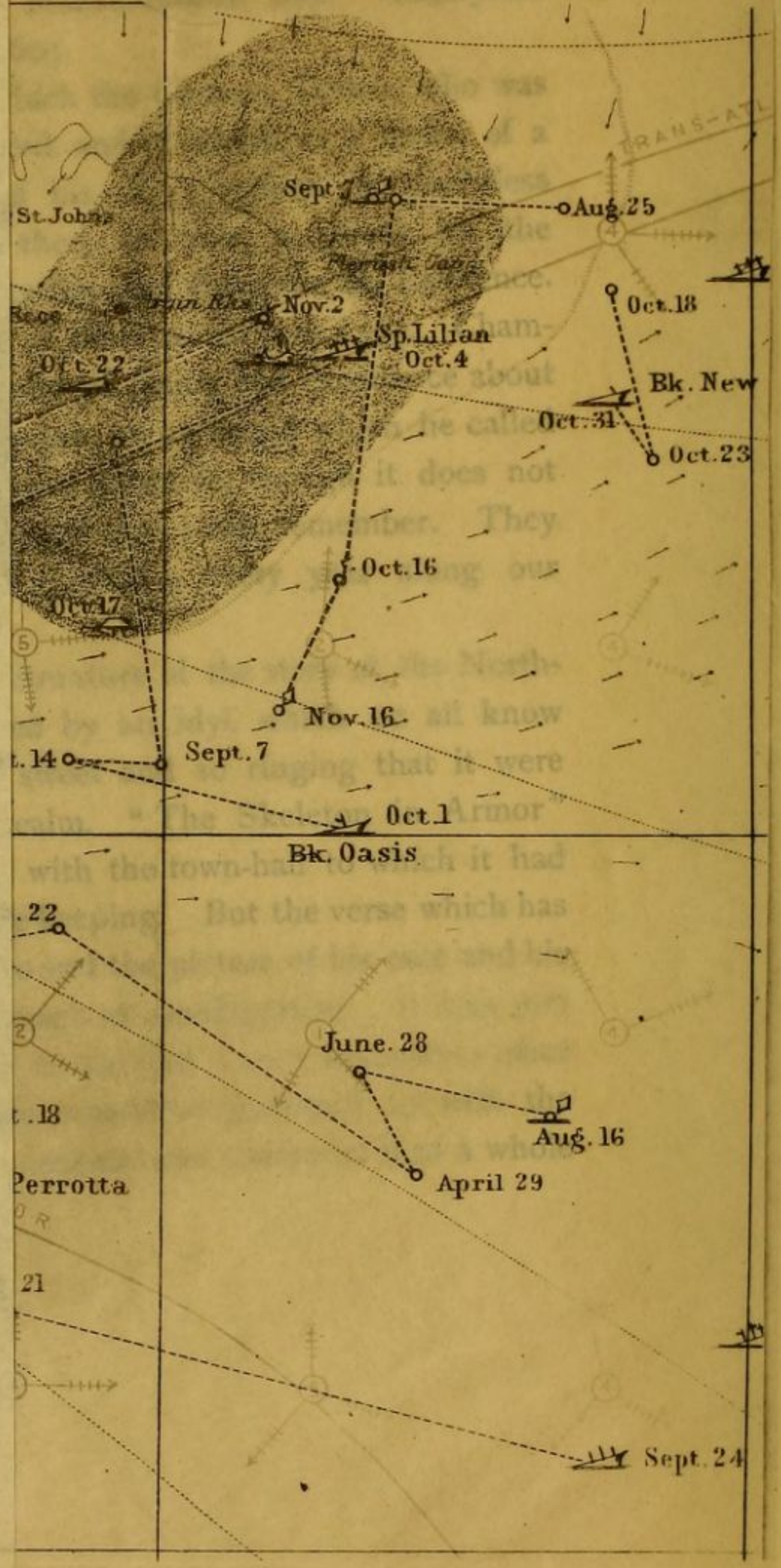
4. It is recorded that the Skraelings — the Indians encountered by Thorwald and Thorfinn — had canoes made of skins; and it is said that while such boats are to be found in the possession of the Eskimos at this day, they are not found as far south as Cape Cod. To this it has been replied that the Eskimos may have come to Massachusetts Bay in their wars, as the Iroquois did at a

later period, as remarked by Champlain, and that they might have brought their boats of skin with them. It is further said that the Icelandic word for "skin" may apply to the bark of trees, as well as to the integuments of animals, and that birch-bark canoes may well have been encountered in Massachusetts Bay. Champlain found them here in 1605.

5. Of the grapes which the German Tyrker, who was of Leif's crew, discovered, and of which, as a native of a wine country, weary of his ship's rations, he doubtless over-ate, there were then, as now, a plenty on the shores of Massachusetts Bay and along the St. Lawrence. Jacques Cartier speaks of them as early as 1535. Champlain found them in great profusion and excellence about the mouth of the Chouacoit, on an island which he called "Bacchus Island" in his narrative, though it does not appear on any of his maps that I can remember. They are now gathered in quantities every year along our own coast.

6. The incidental literature of the story of the Northmen has been enriched by an idyl, which we all know so well, — an idyl so sweet and so ringing that it were a pity to invade its realm. "The Skeleton in Armor" was unhappily burned with the town-hall to which it had been consigned for safe keeping. But the verse which has given us the ideal hero and the picture of his race and his times is beyond the reach of conflagration. It may perhaps be permitted me to say that I once analyzed a piece of one of the metallic ornaments gathered up with the figure it had served to encase, and compared it as a whole




Sept. 7
Aug. 25
St. John's
Nov. 2
Sp. Lilian
Oct. 4
Oct. 18
Oct. 22
Bk. New
Oct. 31
Oct. 23
Oct. 16
Oct. 17
Nov. 16
Sept. 7
Oct. 1
Bk. Oasis
June. 28
Aug. 16
April 29
Sept. 24

with a similar decoration found by a personal friend, not far from the grave of an Indian chief known to have been buried within less than two hundred years, at the east end of Long Island, New York. Both pieces of metal were of modern date, and both were not improbably of the native copper of Lake Superior, with slight traces only of impurity.

But on these, and all other minor details, it will be impossible to dwell.

VII.

Let me briefly present anew the story of the discovery of Vinland. It is the imperfection perhaps of my method of treating the relations of the Sagas that makes it impossible to give all the incidents in strict sequence. It will be a repetition in part, but with a new purpose. Please revive to your eye the outline of our coast on the map. Call up the three projections into the sea: Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Cape Cod.

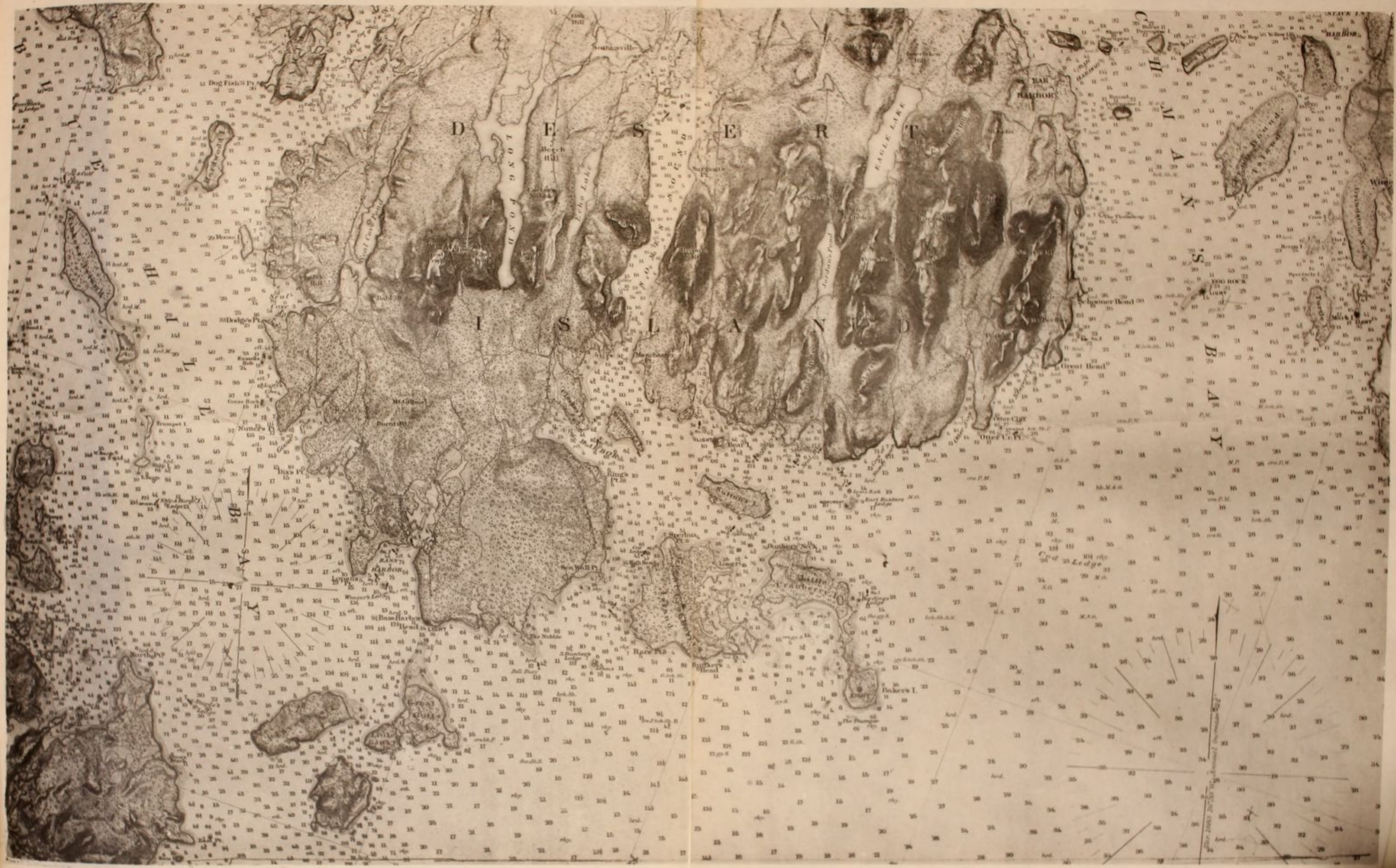
In 985 a voyager from Iceland to Greenland, Bjarni, a merchant as well as ship-master, had been driven from his course by a violent northeast storm, accompanied by thick fogs, which, "continuing for many days," carried him into unknown seas.

The southern coast of Iceland is about in latitude 63° 30′. Bjarni had sailed for three days on his course toward Greenland when the northeasterly storm arose, of such great violence, driving him before it "for *many*

NEW FOUNDLAND
St. John's
NOVA SCOTIA
Halifax
Portland
BOSTON
NEW YORK
PHILADELPHIA
BALTIMORE
WASHINGTON
Norfolk
C. Hatteras
C. Sable
Georges Shoal
Bermudas
Nov. 13
Sch. Happy Home
Oct. 10
Sable I.
Oct. 29
Oct. 22
Nov. 23
Oct. 17
Sept. 3
Oct. 18
Sp. Triumphant
Aug. 28
Oct. 18
Sept. 27
Sept. 14
Sept. 7
Oct. 1
Bk. Oasis
Nov. 16
Oct. 16
Sept.
Aug. 25
Nov. 2
Sp. Lilian
Oct. 4
Oct. 18
Bk. New
Oct. 31
Oct. 23
Oct. 21
Oct. 10
Oct. 7
Oct. 5
Bk. Lavarello Suocero
Sept. 27
Feb. 22
Jan. 29
Dec. 28
1886
Nov. 15
Aug. 23
Nov. 13
Nov. 18
Oct. 24
Oct. 22
Nov. 8
Sept. 15
Nov. 8
Oct. 11
Oct. 13
Sept. 18
Bk. Vincenzo Perrotta
Oct. 3
Aug. 21
June. 28
Aug. 16
April 29
Sept. 24
100 fathom curve
GREAT CIRCLE ROUTE
TRANS-ATL

days." Precisely how many days the storm lasted we are left to conjecture; but we are not left wholly in doubt as to the minimum of time, or how far he may have been driven. Captain John Rut, an English navigator and discoverer, commanding the "Mary of Guilford," in 1527, was driven in a frightful northeast storm from the latitude of 53° for some twenty days. In his letter to Henry VIII. (Purchas, vol. iii., p. 809) he refers to the violence of the storm, which carried down a companion ship, the "Sampson," and brought him at length to the neighborhood of Cape de Bas (Low Cape) and enabled him to find shelter in the Cape de Bas harbor, — easily identified as Bass Harbor Head and Bass Harbor, on the southeast coast of Mt. Desert. He had been swept through nearly ten degrees of latitude, and possibly more in longitude. His letter was written from St. John's (See Lok's map, 1582), the modern Gloucester Harbor, twenty-five leagues south of Cape de Bas Harbor, then, as now, the resort of fleets of fishing-vessels. The accompanying sketch, which gives the region of the great fog-belt, is from the Hydrographical Bureau at Washington, for which I am indebted to Capt. John R. Bartlett, and will illustrate the field in which both Bjarni and John Rut were swept beyond their control.

When the sun at last appeared, Bjarni found himself off a low, wooded shore destitute of mountains, but having rising ground in many parts, — the first European to see the land at the southwest of Greenland. This description applies to a long stretch of coast on the outside of the peninsula on the south and east of Massachusetts Bay.


DESERT
ISLAND
MOUNT DESERT
BAR HARBOR
Somesville
Echo Lake
Eagle Lake
Seal Cove Pond
Beech Hill
Dog Fish Pt
Hardwood I
Dodge Pt
Marshall's
Mt Gilead
Burnt Hill
Dix's Pt
Trumpet I
Numbs I
Bass Harbor
Bass Harbor Head LIGHT
Northeast
Greening I
Gilley I
Kings Pt
Sea Wall Pt
Sutton's I
Bunker Nob
Race Pt
Baker's I
Schooner Head
Great Head
Otter Cliff
Otter Cliff
Great Ledge
Bald Pt
Bald Pt
Bald Pt

The coast did not resemble the coast of Greenland, which was mountainous, and white with glaciers. He did not land. Deciding that the country he sought was to the north, and turning his prow from the shore, he sailed, with a favoring wind, for two days, when he found himself again near a land low, level, and overgrown with wood. It did not look like Greenland. He turned away a second time and sailed for three days more, still with a favoring wind, when he found himself opposite a high, bold shore, rocky and covered with snow. He proceeded, with the land always in sight, till he recognized that he was coasting an island. He turned again away, and after four days of wind from the south, so violent that he was obliged to shorten sail, he found himself at the southern extremity of Greenland. He had not touched shore since he left Iceland. He had been not less than fourteen days sailing to the northward. He told his story, and was upbraided that he had not landed.

A few years (fourteen) later Bjarni sold his ship to Leif Eriksen, to whom the adventure had been related, and who gathered a crew, not improbably, it has been suggested, including some who had already sailed the ship under Bjarni. With this ship Leif reversed Bjarni's course, virtually with the ship's log, to find the most distant land Bjarni had seen. He sailed with a northerly wind, past the snow-covered mountains, which he called "Helluland" (slate-rock land, — land of stratified rocks),[1] came upon the low wooded land of white sandy shore, which he called "Markland" (a land suitable for

[1] These are the phrases of a well educated Norwegian sailor.

settlement and farming), and then, still without stopping, and with the same favoring wind for two days, arrived at another promontory, — a region of low sandhills, near which he came to anchor. He did not pass this point. He thought it an island, as Gosnold did in 1602 and De Monts (Champlain) in 1605. This island was the "In. Baccalauras" of the Portuguese on Ruysch's map, 1507. Leif turned to the right, and sought a place where he set up dwelling-houses. He passed the winter, and returned in the spring to Greenland.

This is the story of the landfall of Leif. He had been some fortnight's sail, at least, distant to the south-west. He came, so we conceive, upon the northern extremity of Cape Cod, and set up his dwellings somewhere on an indentation of the shore of Massachusetts Bay, the site of which may yet be indicated.

It was his brother Thorwald, who, following him two years later, stopped at Leif's houses and passed the winter. The next summer was passed in expeditions along the neighboring coast.

Sailing eastward in the spring, after his second winter, he was driven on a neck of land in bad weather, broke the keel of his ship, grounded his vessel at high water, careened her, and stopped a long time to renew the keel on a shore where the water retreated a great way seaward at ebb tide, giving him time to work when the tide was out. When he had repaired his ship he set up the old part, which had been removed, in the sand, and said: "We will set up the old keel on the naes, and call it

Kjalarnaes," which he did. He passed two winters in Leif's houses, was wounded in a fight with Indians, and dying of his wounds, was buried in Vinland. After another winter his crew returned to Greenland.

The route was now blazoned throughout.

Thorfinn, succeeding Thorwald a few years later, running past Helluland and Markland; and from the first of the low, wooded promontories or the islands near it, as Leif did, and as Bjarni before him had done in the opposite direction, in two days came upon a cape and the ship's keel which Thorwald had set up, and called the cape "Kjalarnaes." Is there a link wanting? Let us see.

Bjarni had made a forced reconnaissance, ending in Greenland; had caught glimpses of a succession of headlands along a northeasterly course, had observed their more characteristic appearances, and noted their relative distances apart; had told his story to Leif, and sold him his ship. Leif made a leisurely reconnaissance in verification, and picketed the route with descriptive names. Thorwald found the course so familiar to his crew that he proceeded directly to his brother's house, and later set up a monument at the southern limit of his voyage. Thorfinn found the monument (the old keel) set up by Thorwald, as he expected to, and turned soon after to take possession of Leif's houses.[1]

Or the summary may be stated in another way: Bjarni's voyage was reversed by Leif with the aid of Bjarni's log. The time of sailing through the southern section from Cape Sable to Cape Cod was two days by

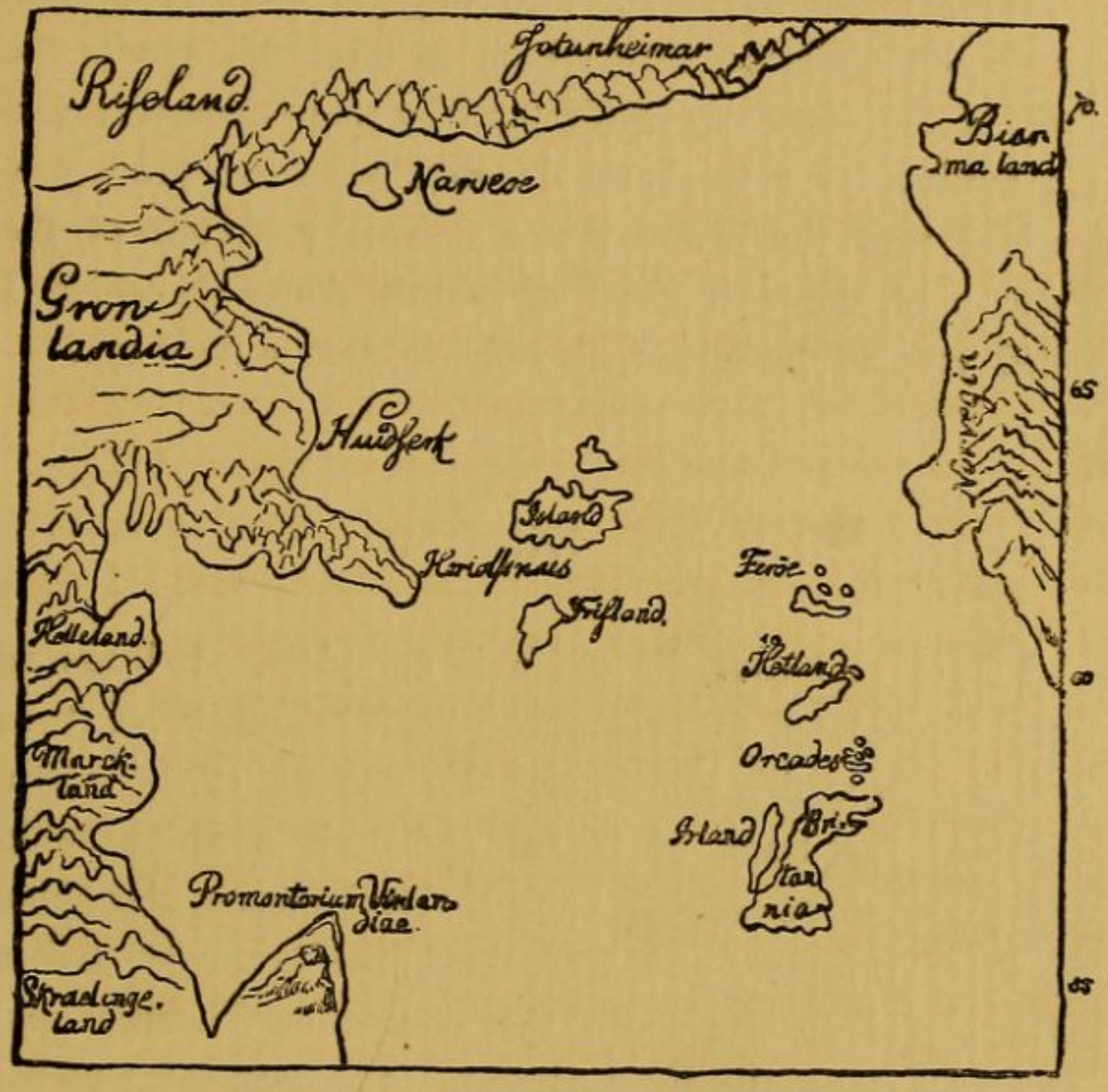
[1] The Sagas vary; compare J. Eliot Cabot with Beamish.

Bjarni; two days by Leif; and two days by Thorfinn. Leif was succeeded in the occupation of his houses by Thorwald and Thorfinn. Thorwald and Thorfinn were both at the old keel, and the keel-shaped cape. The chain is complete.

VIII.

I now present to you a map preserved by Torfaeus, in which Greenland and the three projections into the sea to which I called your attention are given. On it are Herjulfsnaes, the cape on or near which Bjarni's father lived, the modern Cape Farewell. To the east is Iceland, from which Bjarni's father and Leif's father, Erik the Red, emigrated to Greenland in the latter half of the tenth century. Southward lies the first projection, — the point where Leif went ashore and found the rocks stratified, and called the region "Helluland." We call it "Newfoundland." It was mountainous, uninviting. Next to the south is the second projection into the sea, — a low, wooded country with gently rising land of white sandy shore, inviting to settlement. Leif had called it "Markland." We call it "Nova Scotia." This was the "Ahkada" (*land there*) of the Indians, and later the home of the ill-fated Acadians (Ahkadians) and the gentle Evangeline. And next was the third projection into the sea, — sandy, with low hills but no mountains, with a gulf on the west. It is called "Promontorium Vinlandiae," the most salient point of Vinland. We call it "Cape Cod."

This map, as its title tells us, was the work of Sigurd Stephanius in 1570. Now, who was he? Dr. Kohl, the geographer, tells us.[1] He quotes Torlaceus, from whom Torfaeus derives his information. He was a "learned



The North-Atlantic, by the Icelander Sigurd Stephanius in the year 1570

man, once the most worthy rector of the school in Skalholt, a well known place in Iceland, where the great collections of Icelandic literature were kept. He had

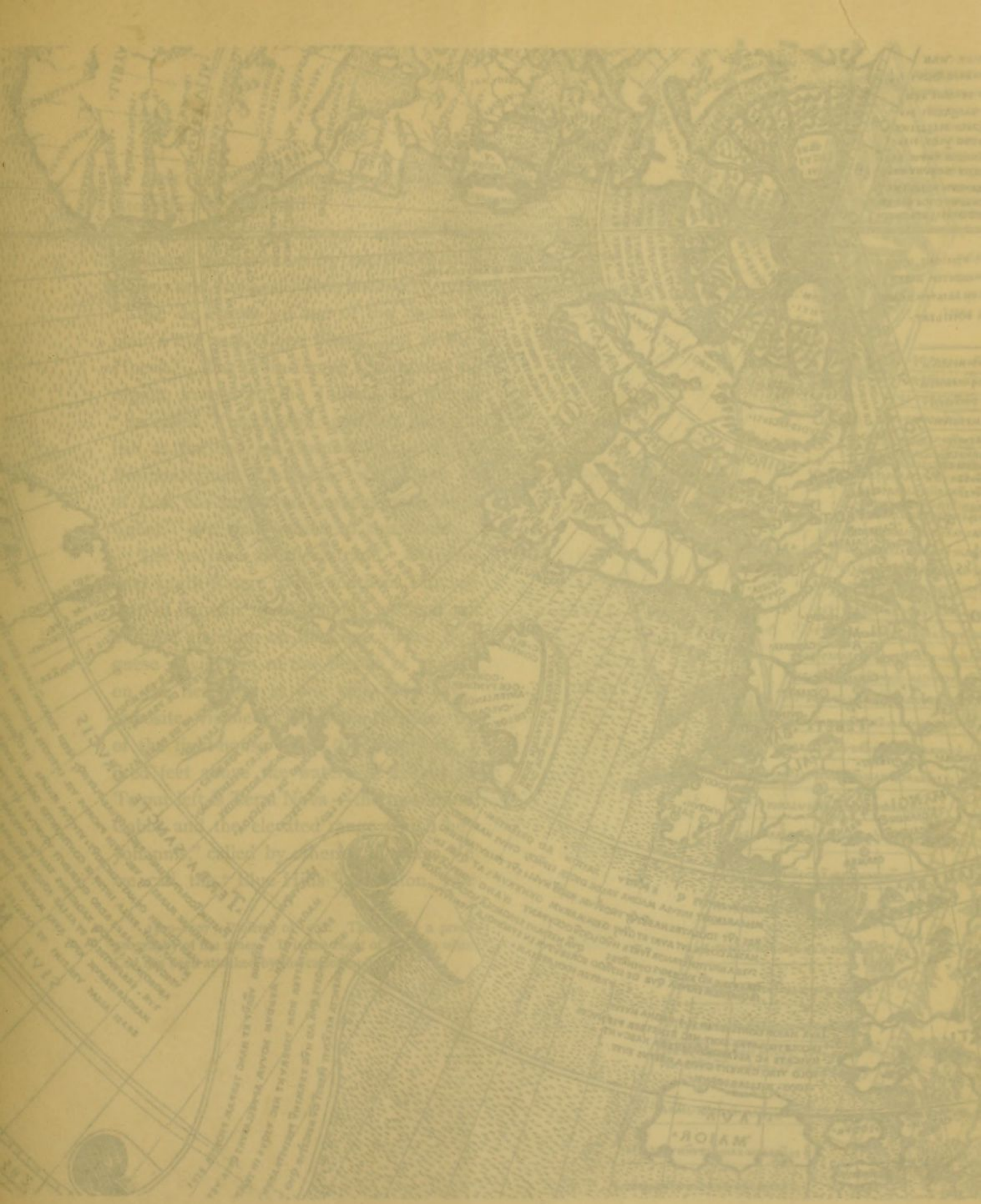
[1] Maine Hist. Soc. Col. 2d Series, vol. i., p. 107.

published also a description of Iceland. He appears," says Torfaeus, "to have taken his picture from the Icelandic Antiquities." "Perhaps," says Dr. Kohl, "these Icelandic Antiquities were . . . draughts and charts."

What could be finer? — an original map by an Icelandic schoolmaster, with which to teach his pupils the story of the discovery of Vinland by their ancestors, and the outline for a freehand drawing, with the three projections into the sea, — a not unworthy sketch of the features of the east coast of North America, which I asked you, at the outset, to hold in your mind's eye.

IX.

I have said that the chain is complete. It leads us from Greenland to Promontorium Vinlandiae. Let us look out from this eminence. We can see to the northeastward the track of Bjarni and Leif and Thorwald and Thorfinn, stretching away to Herjulfsnaes, the home of Bjarni's father, and Eriksfjord, the house of Erik's father; and to the south the course of Thorfinn and Thorwall along the Furdustrand. The map gives us the land of the Skraelings, whom the Norsemen encountered, as north or west of the promontory, but no part of Vinland as lying south of Massachusetts Bay. The chain of evidence is complete; let us, however, turn our eyes downwards to the spot on which we stand. We find that what we thought the last link has resolved itself into a cable of many strands, and of augmented strength



TERRA SANCTE CRVCIS
GOLFO DE PARE AS.
GOLFO DE LAHENO
CAPO FOKMOSO
MONS NOTVNDVS
GOLFO DE VERICIDA
TERRA SECA
LIX LEO
PASSIO DOMINI
HVCVSQVE NAVTE HISPANI VERVNT ET HANC TERRAM PROPTER EIVS
MAGNITVDINEM MVNDVM NOVVM APPELLARVNT QVIA VEL
EAM TOTALITER NON VIDERVNT NEC VSQVE IN TEMP
HOC LONGIVS QVA AD HVC TERMINV PERLVSTRARVN
NIC PERFECTA RELIQVIT PSENTI QV NESCITVR QVO
SIVE
ASIA
AFRICA
EVROPA
LIBYA
GAETVLIA
HISPANIA
GALLIA
ITALIA
GRAECIA
ARABIA
MAGNVS MONS
ATLAS MAIOR MONS
MONS CAVCASVS
MARE CASPIVM
MARE ADRIATICVM
MARE MEDITERRANEVM
MARE ATLANTICVM
MARE ROSEVM
MARE MAGNVM
MARE INDICVM
MARE RVBRVM
MARE ARABICVM
MARE CASPIVM
MARE ADRIATICVM
MARE MEDITERRANEVM
MARE ATLANTICVM
MARE ROSEVM
MARE MAGNVM
MARE INDICVM
MARE RVBRVM
MARE ARABICVM

in their mutual support, so manifestly incidental and altogether unpurposed.

First of all, "Kjalarnaes" left its heir in "Carenas," a natural abbreviation by the mixed race of the Norse Colony and Indians. This became "C. Arenas" and then "Cape de Arena" (Cape of the Sand), which to Champlain's eye was "Cape Blanc," and to the Dutch, "Witte Hoeck." The profusion of a particular edible fish in this region, known to the Indians by the descriptive term "bacca-loo" (bacca, *bay;* and loo, *food*), and to the English as the cod, led Gosnold to call it "Cape Cod." So Promontorium Vinlandiae was Cape Cod. The map of Lok has preserved Carenas near the landfall of John Cabot. We shall return to this theme.

Let us take another strand. Standing on the Highland Light Range to the south of Provincetown, with the map of Ruysch[1] in our hands, we look down on Carenas. We are standing on the cape visited by the early Portuguese navigators of the period of 1500–1507.[1] We are on the headland at one side of a bay. The headland opposite, visible in favorable weather from the summit of the light-house tower (the Highland Light, two hundred feet above the water), is distant some forty miles. To our left is Terra Nova — the new-found-land — of John Cabot, and the elevated range which he called "Montes Johannis," called by others "Montana Verde," and which we call the "Blue Hills" of Milton, from the midst of

[1] 1500–1507; Ptolemy of 1508. The map is a precious revelation of the geography of the times. It is the coast of Asia, to which the region of Cape Cod has been attached by the cartographers.

COGNITI
OBSERVA

VERSALIOR

TIBVS CONFECTA

VNI

EX RECEN

LIBRE PRINCIPIVM POSSIDEAT.

SOLIS SVPRA HORIZONTEM HABENT

SUB CAROLINE RESIDENT MORAM

AS INGRESSV EIVS IN ARIETEM DONEC

SUB EQUATORE DIES ET NOCTES
PER TOTV ANV SIMILITER ET NOCTES.

INSVLA HEC IN ANO DNI 1446
FVIT TOTALITER CŌBVSTA

TERRA SANCTE CRVCIS

TERRA SECA

GOLFO DE VERICIDA

GOLFO DE PARIAS

CAPO FORMOSO

GOLFO DELINFERNO

R. DE LAHENO

R. DE FOGO

R. DE LES ARES CECHO

R. DE EL AGRAZA

R. FORMOSO

C. BLANCO

C. VIRGE

C. DE VERDE

INSVLE DE CAPO VERDE

INSVLA DE VOLCANES

INSVLA DE PORCO

INSVLA DE MADERA

INSVLA DE CANARIA

CATALAXIS MAGNVS

GAETVLIA

LIBYA

GRANDE

ANTILIA

TERRA

INSVLA

INSVLA DE VOLCANES

INSVLA DE PORCO

INSVLA DE MADERA

INSVLA DE CANARIA

INSVLA DE CAPO VERDE

INSVLE DE CAPO VERDE

which flows the "Rio Grande" of Ruysch, the name borne for a century by the Charles. We are on the In. Baccalauras, the earliest suggestion of the name subsequently given, as we have seen, to the cape on which we stand, which was mistaken by the Portuguese navigators, as by Leif and by Gosnold, for an island. They thought the headland, as did De Monts, at Eastham.[1] Across the bay is the "Baia de Rockas," the herald of "Lamuetto"[2] of Verrazano, of "Brisa"[3] and "Briso" of Gastaldi and Ruscelli and Mercator.

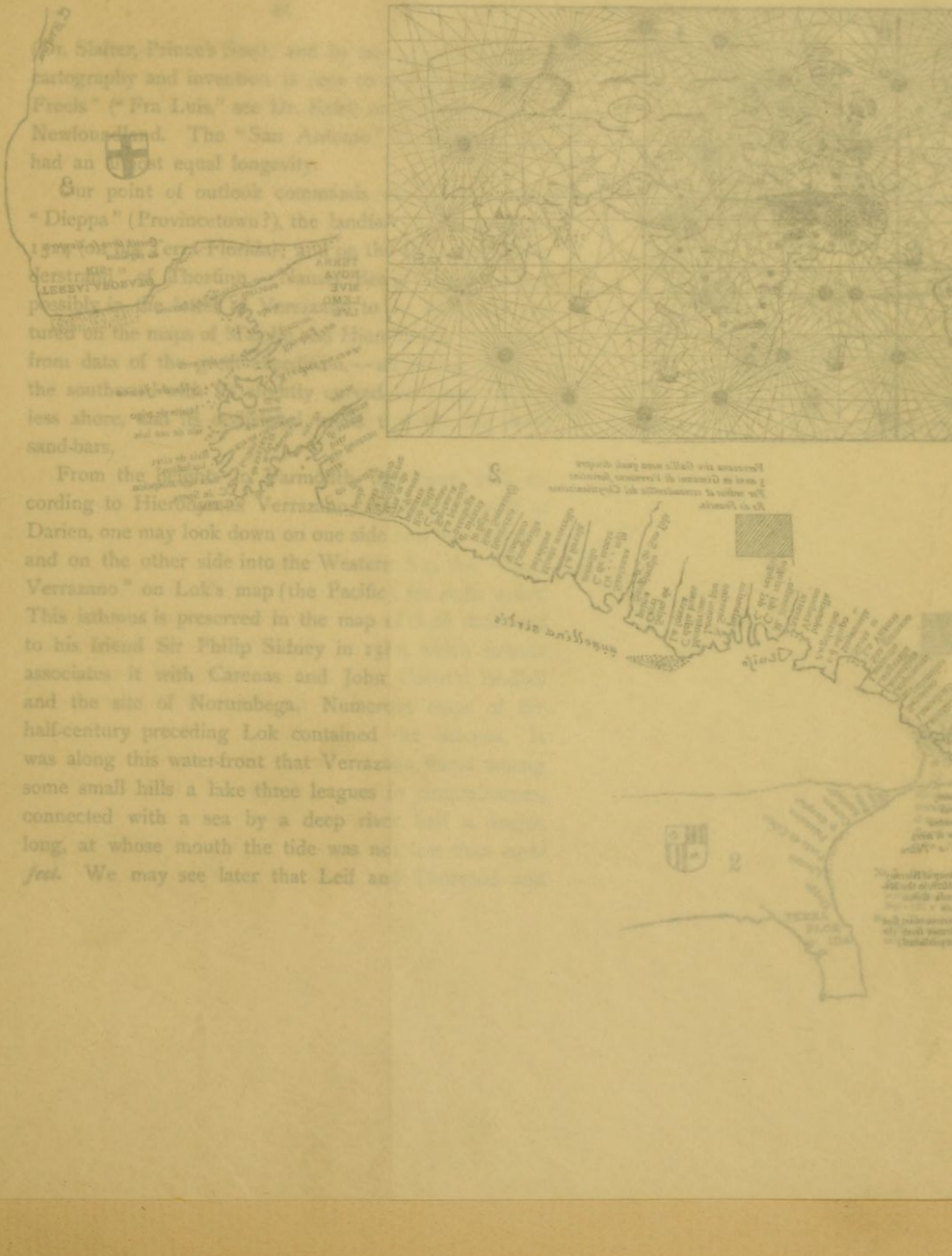
An earlier chart (Cosa's of 1500) displays at this point, possibly, the flag of Venetian and British sovereignty set up by John Cabot on one of the two islands, observed to the right of his landfall. This sketch, doubtless furnished by a sailor who had been with Cabot and afterward shipped with Cosa, crudely presents the prevailing idea of the time, that the whole western world was a vast archipelago, along the skirt of which for three hundred leagues Cabot sailed on his return voyage (Stevens's Geographical Notes).

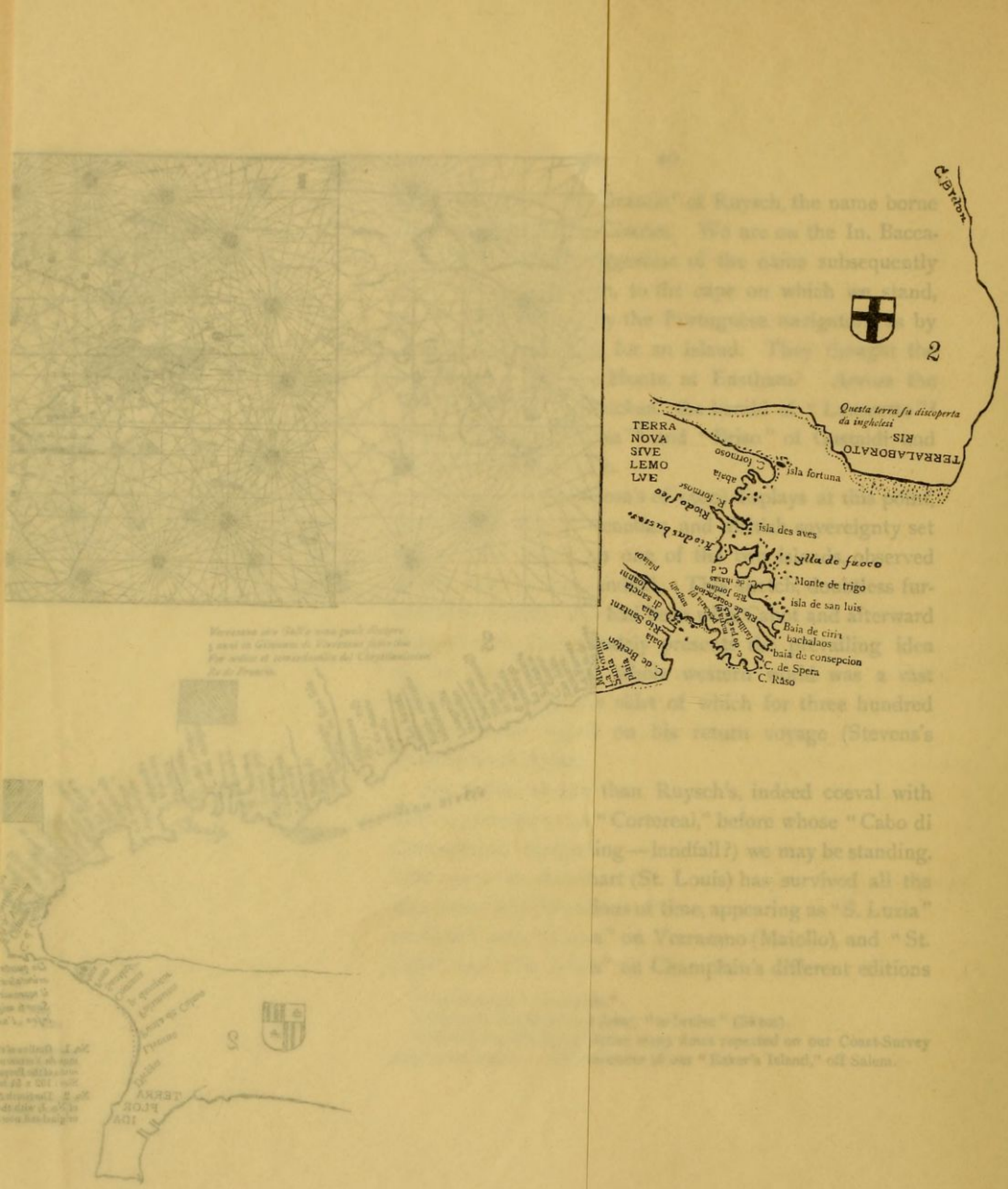
An earlier sketch than Ruysch's, indeed coeval with Cosa's, presents to us "Cortereal," before whose "Cabo di Concepicion" (beginning—landfall?) we may be standing. One name on the chart (St. Louis) has survived all the abrasions and dislocations of time, appearing as "S. Luzia" on Cosa's map, "Luisa" on Verrazano (Maiollo), and "St. Loys" and "St. Louis" on Champlain's different editions

[1] See Slafter's "Champlain."

[2] From the Icelandic root *lama*, "to bruise" (Skeat).

[3] French for *Breakers*, a name many times repeated on our Coast-Survey maps of the region, — the forerunner of our "Baker's Island," off Salem.

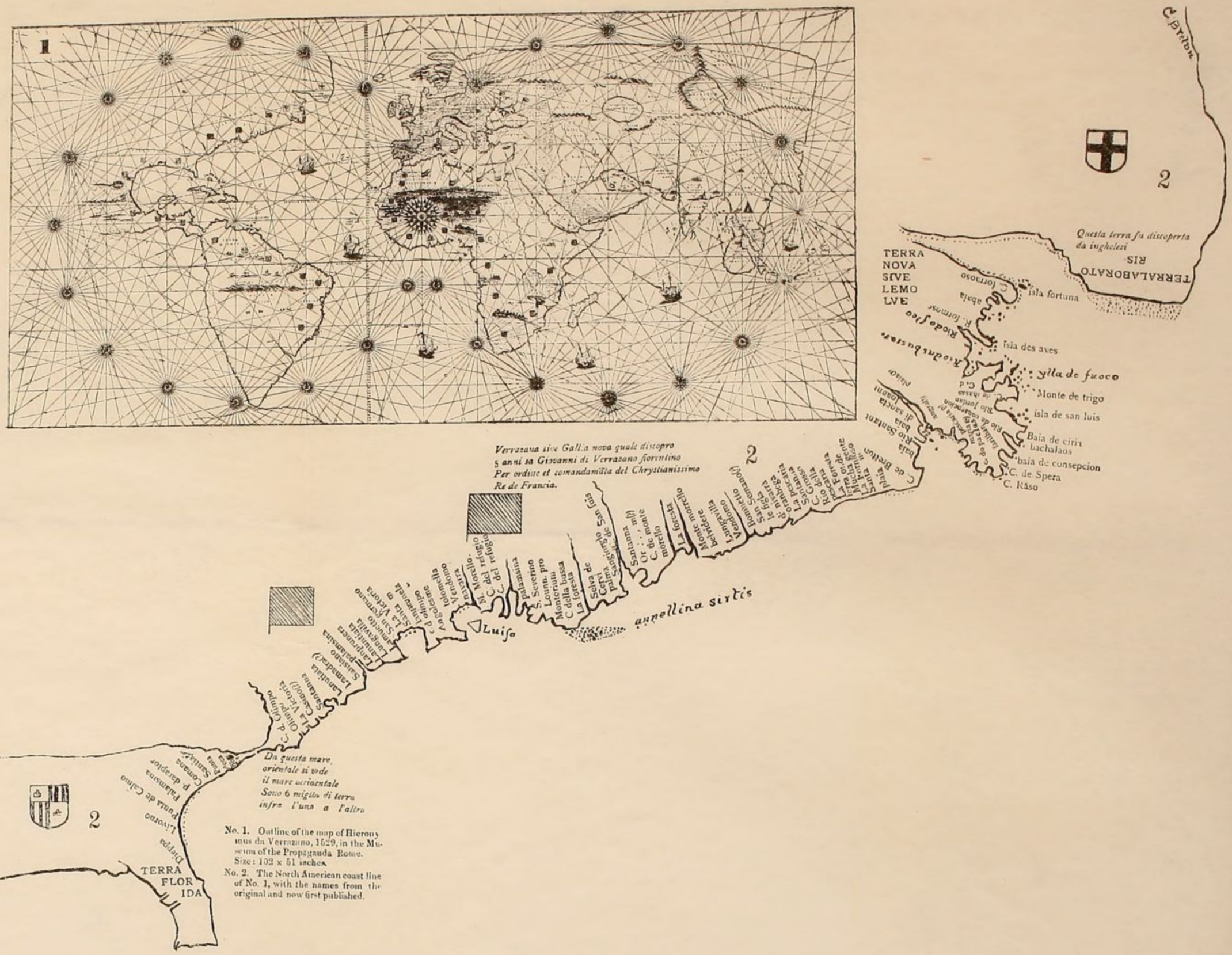



TERRA
NOVA
SIVE
LEMO
LVE
TERRALABORATO
RIS
Questa terra fu discoperta
da inghelesi
C. fortunoso
isla fortuna
abaia
R. formoso
Rio dos bacalaos
isla des aves
Ylla de fuoco
Monte de trigo
isla de san luis
Baia de ciriti
bachalaos
baia de consepcion
C. de Spera
C. Raso
C. de Bretton
baia
Rio Santa
di santa
Maria
Santa
Croce
Rio de consepcion
Rio jordan
C. de ihasas
C. d
Plaia
2

(Dr. Slafter, Prince's Soc.); and by an eccentric freak of cartography and invention is seen to this day in "Cape Freels" ("Fra Luis," see Dr. Kohl) on the east coast of Newfoundland. The "San Antonio" of Cortereal has had an almost equal longevity.

Our point of outlook commands on the one hand "Dieppa" (Provincetown?), the landfall of Verrazano in 1524 (on his Terra Florida); and on the other the "Wunderstrand" of Thorfinn — Nauset Beach — as described possibly in the letter of Verrazano to the King, and pictured on the maps of Maiollo and Hieronymus Verrazano from data of the great expedition, — stretching away to the southward with its slightly curved, bold, and harborless shore, and its occasional inlets through the outer sand-bars.

From the heights in Yarmouth, the Town Hill, according to Hieronymus Verrazano, fancying himself at Darien, one may look down on one side into the Atlantic, and on the other side into the Western Sea, the "Mare Verrazano" on Lok's map (the Pacific), *six miles apart*. This isthmus is preserved in the map of Lok dedicated to his friend Sir Philip Sidney in 1582, which forever associates it with Carenas and John Cabot's landfall and the site of Norumbega. Numerous maps of the half-century preceding Lok contained the isthmus. It was along this water-front that Verrazano found among some small hills a lake three leagues in circumference, connected with a sea by a deep river half a league long, at whose mouth the tide was not less than *eight feet*. We may see later that Leif and Thorwald and



No. 1. Outline of the map of Hieronymus da Verrazano, 1529, in the Museum of the Propaganda Rome. Size: 102 x 51 inches.

No. 2. The North American coast line of No. 1, with the names from the original and now first published.

Thorfinn were familiar with this lake. The mistaken impression of Hieronymus Verrazano led him to place the alternative name of "Yucatan" (see Verrazano's Map, Murphy's "Verrazano") to the north, covering the land immediately to the west, with its water-front stretching from Cape Ann to Cape Cod.

Besides the name "Yucatan" it was also called "Norumbega," "the Land of the Bretons," "Verrazana," "Gallia," "New France," and "the Land of Gomez," — being the theatre of exploration of this last-named navigator, under instruction from the king, in the year following Verrazano's voyage. Such are the names with which Vinland was endowed before she became the Massachusetts of the Puritans.

Later still we see Allefonsce, in 1542–1543, learning from the race on the shore that the tongue of land we are considering was described by the Indian name of "Norom-begue" (Norumbega, — divider of a bay). Allefonsce says, as if he had before him the chart of John Cabot and the map of Ruysch and that of Maiollo: "These landes lye over against Tartarie, and I doubt not but that they stretch toward Asia, according to the roundnesse of the world. And therefore it were good to have a small shippe of seventy tunnes to discover the coast of New France [on the back side of Florida[1]], for I have been at a bay [Barnstable] as farre as 42° betweene Norumbega and Florida, and I have not

[1] "On the back side of Florida" seems to have been a conviction which Hakluyt thoughtlessly inserted. The original French reads "to discover the coast of Florida," — *pour descouvrir la coste de la Floride.*

searched the ende, and I know not whether it pass through."[1]

Our eye follows him down to the entrance to Barnstable Bay, which he conjectured might lead through to the ocean of the "Spice Islands" (the Pacific); and in his coursing along the Cohasset Rocks and the Glades and the Brewsters into our harbor, he learned of the trading-post on the river, which he gathered bore the same name as Cape Cod did, the name "Norom-begue" (our Charles), or "Norombega," as John Cabot heard it at Salem Neck.[2]

It was in the record of this voyage that Allefonsce revealed the mystery of the two Cape Bretons, two Labradors, two Floridas, three Terra-Novas, several St. Johns, and many Norumbegas, which have so long perplexed the study of the cartography of our coast.

But we are still considering the eminence behind Provincetown, whose harbor I looked down upon the other day, glittering with its countless craft from the Banks, and its mackerel fleet altogether of seven hundred sail. What a contrast with the scene as it appeared to Allefonsce in the middle of the sixteenth century, when this point of land was animated only by a handful of Indians, and others of mixed descent!

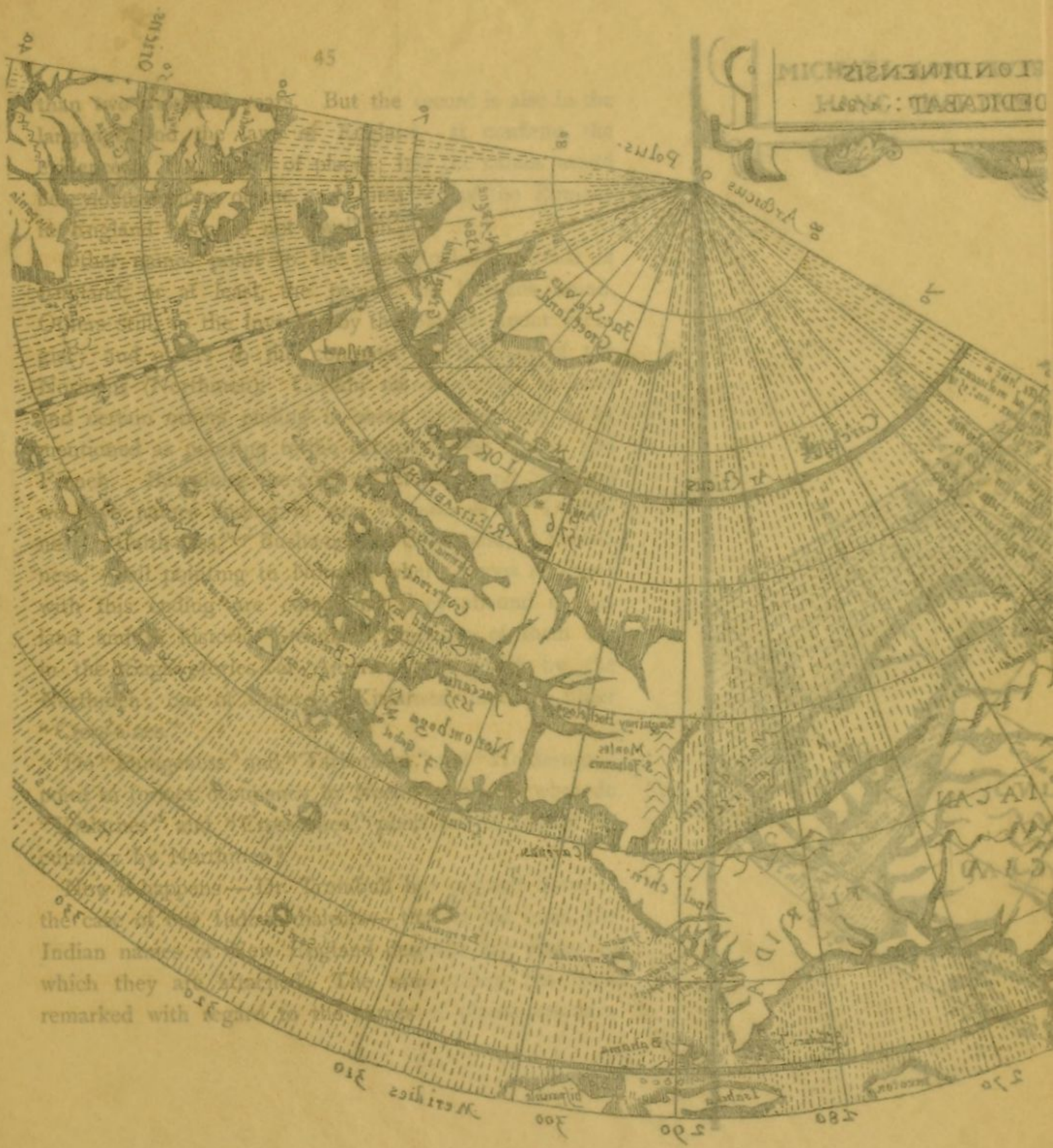
[1] Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 239, ed. 1600.

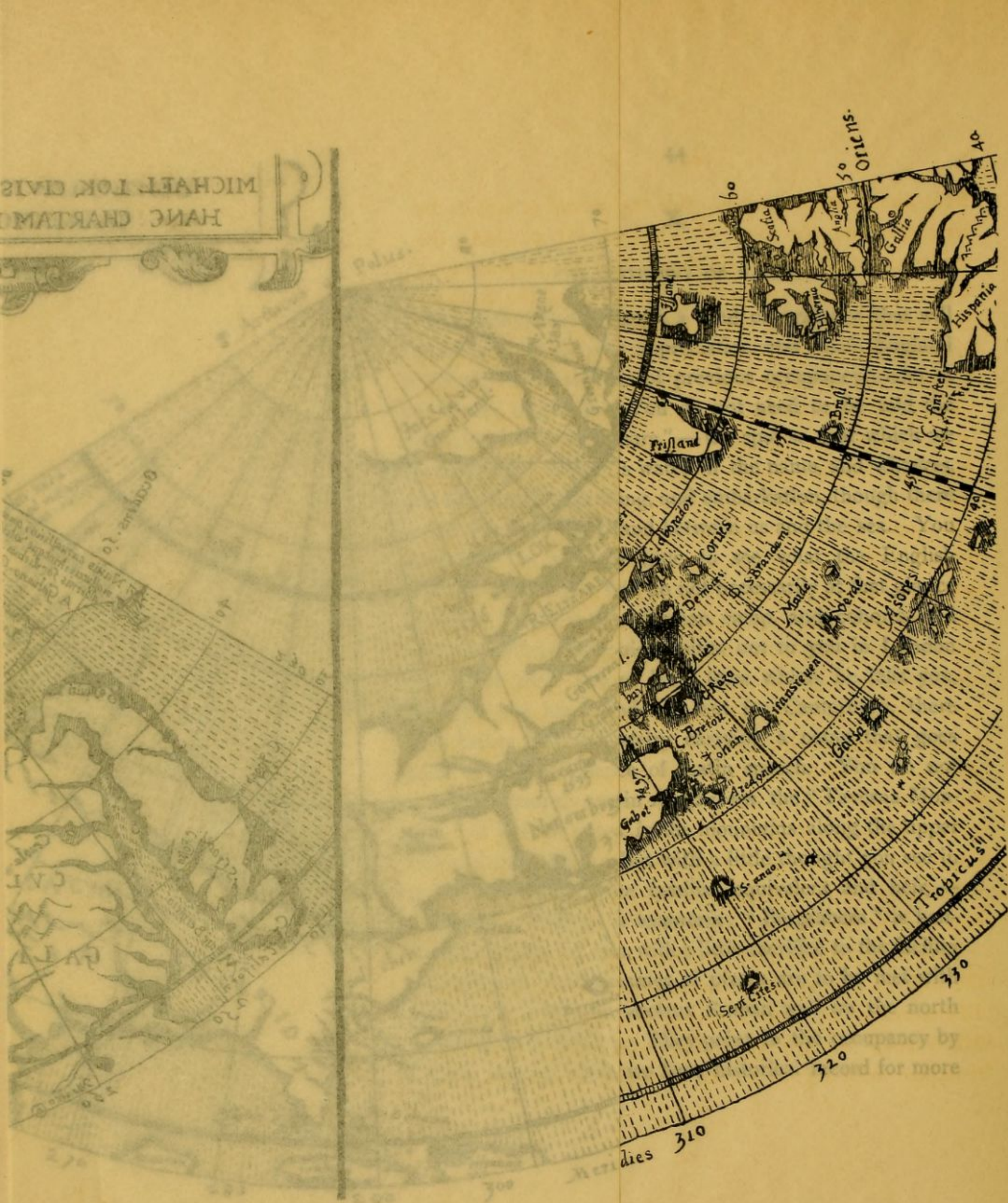
[2] "Norumbega," — Algonquin: *divider of a bay; divider of water; shallows between still waters on a river; tongue; headland; cape.*

X.

THE TESTIMONY OF NAMES.

The last strand presents a kind of evidence that will commend itself to your appreciation, and which England is full of, — the evidence of previous occupancy found in the names of places. You do not need to be told the meaning of "Dock Square," — the spot so near which we are standing. There is water in the name, and wharves, and shipping, and landing, and embarkation, though there is half a mile of solid land between us and the sea. You may have to think a little to see what the English "Chester" means. You do not necessarily at first glance recognize *castra*, and a Roman camp, and cohorts, and legions. When the guide points out to you in London the site of the "Tabard Inn," from which, he tells you, Chaucer and his friends set out for Canterbury, there rises before you a hostelry carrying a name that goes back to the prevalence of Latin speech. You do not quite so promptly see in *Bergsabern*, the "Taverna Montana" of Roman times, in the mountains along the upper valley of the Rhine. But with a little thought you see in it, as in "Tabard," the familiar equivalent and heir, — our *tavern*. "Berg" is *mountain;* "Bergsabern" is half-German and half-Latin, with a little sacrifice to the facility of utterance. Latin names of places are to be met with in England from the ancient Roman wall on the north to the cliffs of Albion. They point to the occupancy by a Latin race, of which we have historical record for more




60
Scotia
Anglia
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Orients.
40
Gallia
Hispania
Friſland
Brad
Laborador
Corues
Demonij
S. Brandam
Maide
Verde
Asores
Aues
Reto
C. Breton
S. Johan.
Gabot 1497
Tropicus
330
320
310
dies

than two thousand years. But the record is also in the language and the laws of England. It confirms the evidence of the names of places; but the names would be evidence alone of the early presence of the Romans in England. I need not dwell on it.

Other names point to the aboriginal inhabitants of England, or at least, the people the Romans found. Others still, to the invasion by the Saxons under Hengist; and others to the conquest by William of the Normans (Northmen). Certain names ending in *wold* and certain others ending in *mont* do not need to be mentioned as pointing to the occupancy by Saxon and French. But along the coast of England and Scotland we have names ending in *ness* or *naes*, — as "Dungeness," "Caith-ness," "Busha-ness," "Clyth-ness," "Tarbetness," — all pointing to Norway, where names of capes with this ending are common. They abound in Iceland and in historic Greenland, and two of them are in the Saga stories of America discovered by the Northmen; one of these is "Kjalarnes," and the other "Cross-a-nes."

Do "Dungeness" and "Tarbetness" and "Holderness" point to former occupancy by Northmen? To what do "Kjalarnes" and "Cross-a-nes" point but to former occupancy by Northmen?

Now it happens — Dr. Trumbull has pointed it out in the case of our Indian dialects — that in the main the Indian names of New England describe the places to which they are attached. The same thing has been remarked with regard to the names of places, streams,

MICHAEL LOK CIVIS LONDINENSIS
HANC CHARTAM DEDICABAT :· 1582.

Polus. 90 80 70 60 50 40 Oriens.
Arcticus
Occidens.
Meridies
Circulus Arcticus
Tropicus
Nauis carmelitana, quæ rapta, huc a Moluccis, hinc a Celebris so-cietibus ad Moluccas A. Galuano. G. Frisius. an. 1548
Nauigationes Lusitanorum. 1520.
Hispanorum. 1540.
Anglorum. 1580.
Nauis
Nouæ Neuadæ
Mare del Zur
Mare de Verrazana 1524
Saguinay
Hochelaga
Monts S. Johannis
Terra incognita
Groenlandia
Fac: Scelvs Groenlandi.
Islandia
Friesland
Gronlandia
Scotia
Anglia
Gallia
Hispania
Brasil
Canada
Norombega
Claudia
Carenas
Bermuda
Sept Cites
Bahama
Isabella
Hispaniole
Mexico
Tortues Ins.
Apalchen.
Jordan
Emperoda
Anno 1576
R. ELIZABETH
LOK
Frobisher
Ydondor
Corus
Demon.
S. Brandani
Maide
Meride
Asores
Gemma bona
Conversal.
Grand Bay
C. Breton
Rego
Jacartus 1535
S. Johan
Tiedonda
Gabot 1497
S. Anno
Gaspa
CVLIACAN
GALAGIA
FLORIDA
Cenola
C. Rosso
S. Crux
C. Californ
Mare Bermeio
Anno 1380

mountains, bays, etc., topographical or geographical, of other parts of our country and of Old England as well. Like observations have been made in other lands. This habit of applying descriptive names to places appears to have been universal among aboriginal people. In some cases among our Indians, as Dr. Trumbull and also the Rev. Mr. Rand, of Nova Scotia, the author of the "Mic Mac Dictionary," have remarked, the names are reminiscences. Sometimes a name is both descriptive and a reminiscence. "Kjalarnes" is of this character. It is Norse for *keel nose*, as we have seen, and also describes Cape Cod, the end of the curve being the sandspit across the harbor from Provincetown.

On the early map of Lok, 1582, in part a sketch from the chart of John Cabot, 1497, as I conceive, "Carenas" is found at our Cape Cod. That Carenas is Cape Cod may be said to have been uniformly accepted by writers upon the cartography of the New England coast. The question arises, Is this Carenas a memory, preserved by the offspring of the early Norsemen who intermarried with the natives? In other words, Is Carenas on Lok's map — the Cape Cod of to-day — other than the corrupted "Kjalarnes" of Thorwald and Thorfinn? An intelligent Norwegian sailor has told me that the merging of the *l* and *r* into one is not unusual, and that among the common people of Norway one syllable, as we pronounce the word, would be almost dropped. It would become nearly Kōlr-a-nes, with a broad sound of *a*, more like that of long *o*, and a vanishing sound of the *j*.[1] On

[1] Rafn says "'Kjâlarnes,' from 'kjölr' — *keel*, and 'naes' — *nose*."

Americæ

(quæ merito Novus Orbis) detectio

Christophorus Columbus, celeberrimis, quæ prope Ame:
ricam, insulis Aº 1492 Regis Castellæ nõie inventis, ulteriora per
indagandi primus ansam præbuit: Eõq; Americus Vesputius Flore
quinto pòst anno in continentem ipsam delatus, alterum penè Orb
meritò ipsi nomen debet) veteri huic nostro adjecit; In quo C
Cortercalis poltèa, transitum à Boreali eius parte ad Moluccas q
totum illum à R Nevades ad C. de Razo tractum anno 1500 inlust
rem reddidit: Ac paucis tunc annis interiectis Joh. veraßa
omnes novæ Francie. à 34° latitudinis gradu ad C. de
Breton, maritimas oras Anno 1524
clariùs patefecit.

AMERICA SEP
ONA
LIS
Nievada
Chichuco
Chuco
Axa
Cevola
Totonteac
Granada
NOVA
GRANADA
Cavola
Mare Vermejo
Cazones
Los Diamantes
Sinis
California
La Rocca partida
Anublada
Purificatus

AMERICA SEPTENTRIONALIS

Americe
(que merito Novus Orbis) detectio

Christophorus Columbus, celeberrimis, que prope Americam, insulis Aº 1492 Regis Castelle nõie inventis, ulteriora porrò indagandi primus ansam prebuit: Eóq; Americus Vesputius Floretinus quinto pòst anno in continentem ipsam delatus, alterum penè Orbem (qui meritò ipsi nomen debet) veteri huic nostro adjecit; In quo Caspar Cortereallis postèa, transitum à Boreali eius parte ad Molluccas queritãs, totum illum à R Nevades ad C. de Raze tractum anno 1500 inlustrio: rem reddidit: Ac paucis tunc annis interiectis Joh. verasean. omnes nove Francie, à 34º latitudinis gradu ad C. de Breton, maritimas oras Anno 1524 clariùs patefecit.

VLTERIUS SEPTENTRIONEM VERSUS ADHUC INCOGNITUS EST

Dum anno 1577 Martinus quidam Forbischer Anglus, fretum hoc Arcticum ingressus, ad regnum Cathay transire molitur varijs obstaculis impeditus, freto ipsi idem cognomini reverti coactus est.

Johannes autem Davis, annis 1585, 86. et 87. eadem mente hunc traictum lustrans, Boreales Americe, à 53º parallelo et Groenlandiae ad 73 tum gradum porro accuratius invesit. Sed omnium, pecuniæ ipsu à frustraneo instituto revocavit

Circulus Arcticus

Ingens incolarum LABRADOR et CORTEREALIS, pellibus ferarum tectorum, ac pisibus victitantium, fortitudo est ac robur.

Variæ, crudelibus ac incognitis moribus, nationes hos montes perpetuo inter se odio invicem infestantes incolunt. Avanares. Alberdi, Caliciuates, Tapiles, Apalcheni, Mocosæ, Capaschi, Chilage, &c. Aranciis, formicis, viperis, lacertis, aliis q infectis ac insectis (ut etiam Floridani) pro cibo utentes.

Populi qui sine varijs gentibus Floridam et terram de Bacalaos interiacent, omnes communi nomine Canadenses dicti sunt

Avanares
Albardos
Capaschi
Auacal
Calicuas
Apalchen
Totuna gay
Chilaga
Nevada
Chichuco
Chuco
Cevola
Toton teac
Granada
NOVA GRANADA
LA FLORIDA
Terchichimechi
Culiacan
Sinus Mexicanus
NOVA FRANCIA
Terra Nova
Labrador
Terra dos Cortereales
Monte de Bacalaos
Baccalaos
Hoc Sandersons
London Coast
Base barre
Freum Davis
Sandersons tour
Mont Raleigh
Dyers Cast
Warwicks land
Lakes land
Desolation
Lesser Peine
Rouse Ebbs
Angra de Jean Alvo
Belle Isle
Banco
Fagunda
S. Brandan
S. Cruz
Mo cosa
Trinitie harber
Materasse
Paquinoe
Croaten
Wocoben
C. de S. Roman
La Barmoude
Sept cittes
MAR DEL NORT
Cazones
Idlos Cedros
Los Diamantes
Mare Vermeio
Ancon grande
Terra de Fuegos
C. de Ilhas
C. de Balbeta
C. de California
Californiæ
Compostella
La Rocca partida
Anublada
Parisitare
Colimia
Sevanola
Chiametla
Catalutla
Acapulco
Tequitepeque
Guatimala
Fondura
Guatimala
Nicaragua
Truxillo
Nicaragua
Veragua
Carthago
Nicoya
Cuscatlan
Honduras
Caxaca
Tlaxcala
Mexico
Mechoacan
Panuco
Almeria
Terra Blanca
Villa Rica
Xaques
Tlalaia
Luca
Campeche
Tabasco
Caymans
Cuba
Jamaica
Serra milla
Bira
Nicaragua
Nicoya
Veragua
Carthago
Truxillo
Honduras
Guatimala
Fondura
Guatimala

M. Meriam's map, of about the end of the 16th century, occurs, near Cape Cod, "P. Coaranes,"— evidently a name from the natives, and almost coincident with "Kōlr-a-nes." From "Coaranes" to "Carenas" is not far. "Carenas," by careless copying, as already intimated, became "C arenas," with a hiatus after the C, and then "C. Arenas," with a capital A, and then "Cape de Arenas," and then "C. de Arena;" and so from being the "cape of the keel," it became "Sand Cape."

Again, what are "East Chop" and "West Chop," the names still borne by the headlands on either side of the entrance to Holmes Hole, the principal harbor of Martha's (Martin's) Vineyard, but the memories of "Ost Kop" and "Vest Kop" of the Northmen? As the Englishmen spelled the Scotch "kirk" with *ch*, displacing the *k*, so the emigrant Englishmen would naturally, in writing, displace the *k* of "Kop" with *ch*, making "Chop." There is another West Chop, near Chatham.

Is "No Man's Land," the name of a small island southwest of Martha's Vineyard, a memory of "No'thman's Land"?

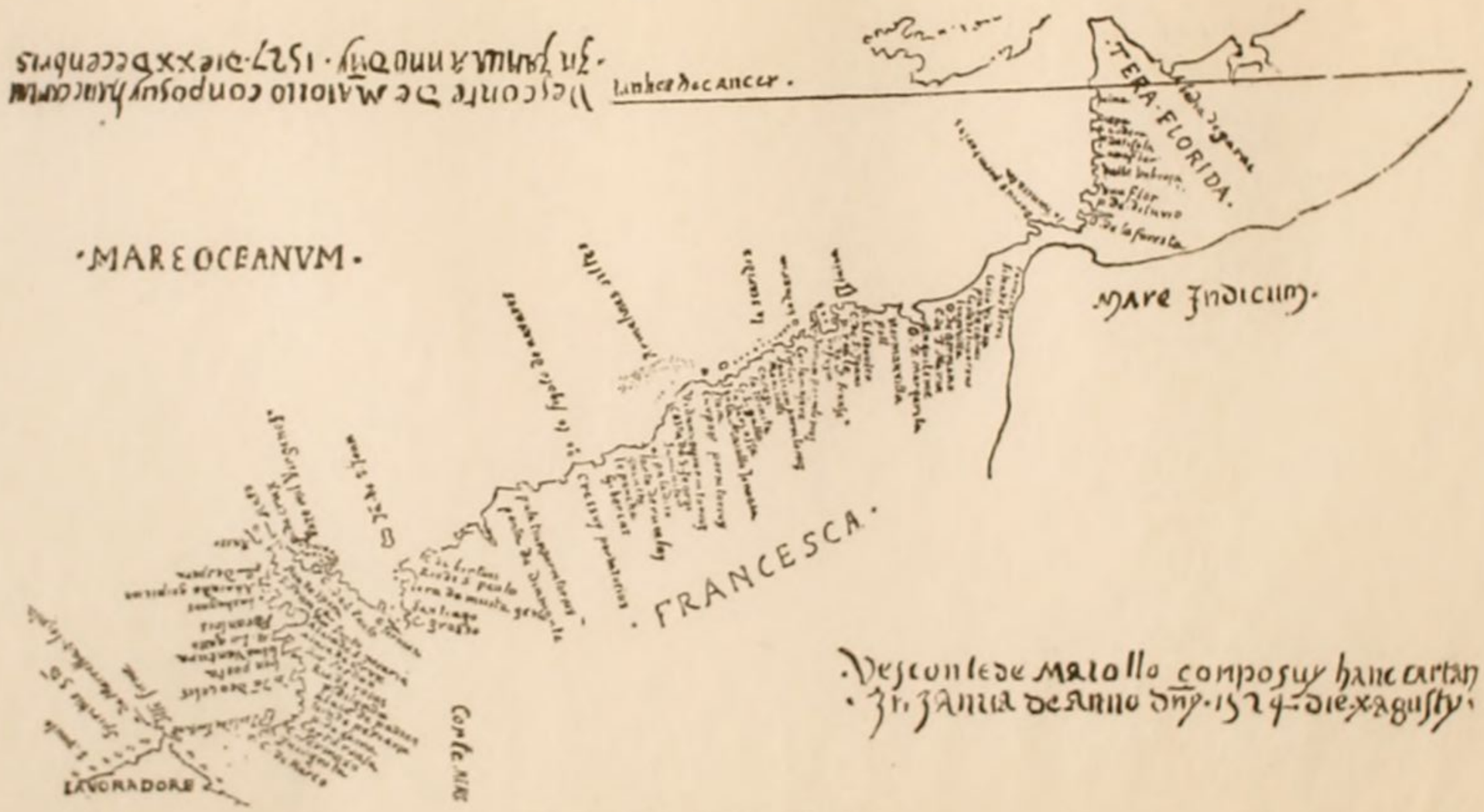
These are not English names. They are not Indian names. What remains but that they are inheritances of the time when Norse colonies were in the territory of Massachusetts,—preserved, as before intimated, by men who might boast of Norse blood in their veins? There are, to the careful student, unmistakable evidences that the navigators recorded names of places given them by natives, as understood or as translated into their own languages.

Here is another striking coincidence, — this time nearer Faneuil Hall. North of Cape Cod there has been preserved to us the name "Norman's Woe," or "Norman's Oe." It is a small, rocky island on the west side of the entrance to Gloucester Harbor. If we go back to the maps of the centuries following the time of these Norse navigators, we find kindred names in the same region. On Maiollo's (Verrazano's) map of 1524–7 there is given, at a point in the neighborhood of Boston Harbor, "Norman Villa," that is, Northman's House. It is also given on the globe of Ulpius of a few years later, now in the possession of the New York Historical Society. Of this map of Maiollo, preserved in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, I have photographic negatives, through the kindness of Rev. Dr. De Costa. It seems to have been produced from memoranda of the same date as those of the map of Hieronymus Verrazano, but collected by a different hand, and so virtually an independent authority.

On these authorities we have "longa villa," and "lunga villa" on one map and a globe, and "lunga villa" twice on a second map, which, if it were a part of an Indian record, we should recognize as indicating the Indian "long house" of the Iroquois, with which we are familiar; and we know they were in this region about that time (Slafter's "Champlain"). "Villa" is also a *collection* of houses.

To what else than the occupancy by Northmen does the name of "Norman Villa" on the map of Maiollo (Verrazano) and the globe of Ulpius point?

FRANCESCA.
MARE OCEANVM.
ET.
IN IANUA ANNO DNI · 1527 · DIE XX DECEMBRIS



MAIOLLO, OR MAGGIOLO, 1527.[1]

TERRA FIRMA
MARE OCEANVM.
MARE INDICVM.
FLORIDA

Once more. There are on the maps of this region names of the church, such as "St. Christopher," and "Santanna," and "Lanunciata," and "St. Peter," and "St. Paul," and the "Bay of St. John the Baptist," "Clauda" (Acts xxvii. 16), and "Santa Maria," and the "Rio Buena Madre." The last two are names of our own harbor and river. Can these point to Bishop Upsi, or some of his successors, as their source?

Take into the same association the spot where Thorwald, the recent Christian convert, desired to be buried, — "Cross-a-nes," — and also "Refugio" and "Paradiso" in Massachusetts Bay, and the still preserved "Paradise" and "Purgatory," of the neighborhood of Newport.

All these except the last two are on the coast between Cape Cod and Cape Ann, and all are in ancient Vinland.

What do all these names mean? They certainly are not Algonquin or Iroquois names. They are not names bestowed by the Plymouth or Massachusetts Bay Colonies.

Of most of them is there any other conceivable source than the memories lingering among a people whose ancestors were familiar with them? Are they not, for the most part, relics of names imposed by Northmen once residing here?

But there is one other, and the chief name which we have — I had almost said unconsciously — preserved. It is "Vinland."

On the map of Stephanius, the Icelandic schoolmaster, we have the cape called "Promontorium Vinlandiae," —

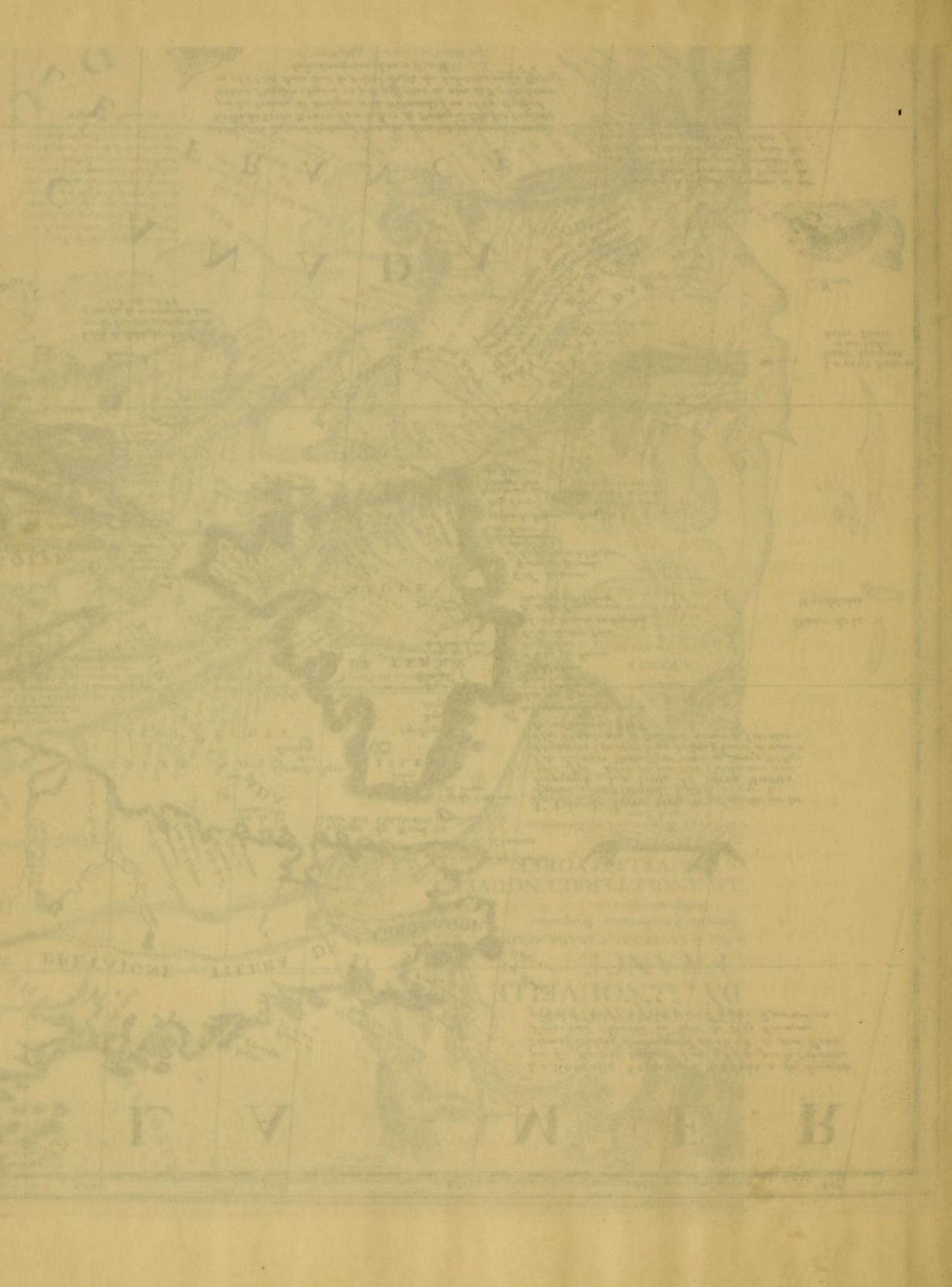
the Promontory or Headland of Vinland. It is the most southern of the three projections into the sea displayed on his map, — the three projections of which, you will remember, I asked you to take note. Here is the name bestowed by Leif, masked in Latin, as it continued to be masked, more or less, in the translations into the languages of the navigators visiting our shores, or of the authors of the maps on which the name occurs; and this has been continued, as we shall see, down to our day.

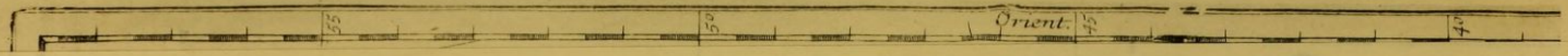
The region to the south is not given, and the bay to the north, reaching to Markland, our Nova Scotia, corresponds to the great bay which Dr. Kohl proposed to call the "Gulf of Maine."

Stephanius's map bears date of 1570. De Laet, a director of the great Dutch West India Company, published a work in 1625 entitled the "Niewe Wereld," in which was a map of the New England coast. On this map, a little to the north of Cape Cod, in the neighborhood of Normans' Oe, and Norman Villa and Boston, he has given, quite *within* the main land,— not at all, properly speaking, on the coast, —

I. DE BACCHUS.

It is the island of the wine god, where the choice fruit-yielding vine grows naturally. The name looks as if it had come down from the time when all the New World was supposed to be made up of islands, as they were figured on Cosa's map, and as Columbus believed, and as did Allefonsce, and as Ramusio wrote, down to 1556. De Laet wrote in the light of a vast collection of original




55
50
Orient.
45
40

manuscripts, and though he does not mention it he probably owes the name to Champlain. We shall presently see that "Isle of Bacchus" is the equivalent of "Vinland."

In 1671, on Montanus's map of the New England coast, "I. de Bacchus" was applied to an island off the coast, at a point where Champlain says he gave that name to an island, since recognized perhaps (Rev. Dr. Slafter, Prince Society) as Richmond Island, but which he did not place on any of his maps that I have seen. But on this map occurs another name that points to Vinland more immediately, or a memory of it among the aborigines, of whom the navigators made inquiry. We have "Wyngaerts Hoek," and "Wyngaerts Island;" a cape of vine gardens, and an island of vineyards. *Yard* and *gaerd* are equivalents; *a* and *t* are interchangeable. Is this a vineland — Vinland?[1]

Later still, 1689, fifty years after Harvard College had been founded, we have on a map dedicated by L. Nolin to the Abbé Baudrand, "Isles de Bacchus ou Wyngaerden Eylandt." This map was enriched, as the compiler tells us, from the personal investigation of charts in the archives of Venice. The name is below the mouth of the Kennebec. The outline of shore gives Boston Harbor,

[1] It will not escape the reader whose eye may have rested on a brochure entitled "The Landfall of Cabot and the Site of Norumbega," that against "Wyngaert's Hoeck," against "Salem" = Naumkeag = the ancient Norumbega, we find "Bristow," the name of Cabot's port of embarkation in 1497, recognized in his Landfall (as I conceive) by Prince Charles, in the name arbitrarily given by him at the suggestion of Captain John Smith. The name of "Bristonum" appears also on the site of Salem on the map of Creuxius, 1660. Winsor's "America," vol. iv. p. 389.

L A M E R

RTIE ORIENTALE DA ou de la NOUVELLE FRANCE.

ou Pays de SAGUENAY, CANADA, ACADIE etc.
Nations des Etechemins, Iroquois,
Attiquameches etc.
LE ANGLETERRE, la NOUVELLE, la NOUVELLE YORCK, et la VIRGINIE.
de Terre Neuve, de Cap Breton etc.
le Grand Banc etc.
Dressées sur les Memoires les plus Nouveaux
rénelli Cosmographe de la Serenissime Roy de VENISE.
Corrigées et augmentées Par Mr. Tillemon, et Dudon.
A Monsieur l'Abbé BAUDRAND

Par son très humble Serviteur
I.B.Nolin

A PARIS
Chez I.B. NOLIN sur le Quay de l'Horloge du Palais, proche le Pont Neuf à l'Enseigne de la Place des Victoires.
Avec Privilege du Roy
1680

Indien en habit de Chasse.

La Nouvelle France ou Canada a esté descouverte par des Bretons François l'an 1504. par le Capitaine Thomas Aubert de Dieppe l'an 1508. et par Jean Verazzan Florentin au nom du Roy François premier l'an 1523. et par Jacques Quartier en 1524 et 1534

L'Isle de Terre Neuve est appellée par les Anglois Newfound Land et par les Espagnols La Isola de Terra Nueua elle fut descouverte par Jean Cabota auec son Fils Sebastien Venitien par ordre de Henry VII Roy d'Angleterre l'an 1497 le 24 Juillet 5 heures du matin et d'icy donna le nom de Baccalaos a cause de l'abondance de ces Poissons Her

Banc de la Magdelaine

Le petit Banc Banc Jacquet et aux Anglois Falss Banks

Morue

ESTOTILANDE ou THE NEW BRETAIGNE et TIERRA DE LABBORADOR

SAGUENAY

Fleuve de Canada ou de S. Laurens

GOLFE DE S. LAURENS ou DE CANADA

SAINT LOUIS

ISLE DE TERRE NEUVE

Passage du Nord ou Golfe des Chasteaux

Belle Isle

Cap Charles des Chasteaux

Cap de Grat ou de Grace

Grande Baye aux Baleines

Isles de Monts Grande Ance

Baye de S. George Isle de S. George

Cap Rouge

Baye Blanche

Isle des Oyseaux

Isle des Pingouins ou Isle des Ours et Isle des Oyseaux

Farellon ou Forlay et Forland

C. et Isles de Frere Louis

C. de Bonne Veue

I. des Moines ou Baccalaos

B. de la Conception the Bay off Trinite

CAS. Francois Ensenada Grande de Espheranza de los Frayles

I. Galeotes I. Columbrina I. de Perros

Alna de Brigas ou Rade

Bleu Port Renommée ou Peresse Port

C de Ras

Cap Gamay

Banc Vert

Hochelaga par les Iaques Quartier que le descouvrit le premier en 1535

L'Anticoste ou l'Assomption et aux Habitans Natiscotee fut descouverte par Jacques Quartier l'an 1535

ANTICOSTI

Le Port Royal dans la Baye Françoise ou il y a aussi un Fort fut pris cy devant par les Anglois aux François aux quels il est rendu en 1667 par la Paix faite a Breda. Pierre de Gua Seigneur de Monts prit possession de la province de Cadie ou Acadie pour le Roy de France l'an 1604 lequel Roy de la Grande Bretagne donna cette presqu'isle au Chevalier Guillaume Alexandre l'an 1626 sous le nom de Nouvelle Escosse

L'Isle de Sable fut abandonnée par les François pour la ducte d'icelle, elle fut reconnue en l'an 1598 et 1598

Banquereau

Banc de L'Acadie

BANC NEUF

BANC SUDOEST

GRAND BANC

Banc Vert

Banc aux Balenes

LE GRAND BANC

MAINE BANCK ou y Pesche durant le mois d'Avril jusques la fin de Juillet les premiers vaus les Basques appellent Bacalaos et les François Molues ou Morues les poissons sont nommez Terre Neuviers ou Morues

La Variation de l'Aiguille Aymantée est sur le Grand Banc d'environ 22 Degrez du coste du Nord Ouest pour y remarquer le Nord Nord Est doit estre pris pour le Vray Nord et l'Ouest Nord Ouest y tient lieu du Veritable Ouest

Les Hollandois descouvrirent les Nouveaux Pays Bas l'an 1609 ils y Basterent la

Lan 1500 Gaspard Cortereal Portugais descouvrit plus particulierement L'Isle de Terre Neuve pour le Roy de Portugal. Elle fut frequentée par les François de Bretagne et de Normandie l'an 1504. Humfred Gilbert Chevalier Anglois en prit possession au nom du Roy d'Angleterre en 1583. et Jean Guic de Bristol dressa des habitations en la Baye de la Conception l'an 1608

DU CANADA OU LA FRANCE

ATTIQUAMEGUES

LE CHEMINS

NOUVELLE BISCAYE

NOUVELLE ANGLETERRE

NOUVELLE YORK

ISLE LONGUE LONG ISLAND

MALABARRE

Lac de Champlain ou des Iroquois

Iroquois

Socoquois

Monts de N. Dame

Baye de Chaleurs

Baye de Malabarre

Baye Dol

Cap Cod

Ville horck

Cap Lamo

Vlake horck

Port Fortune

Staten horck

Oiarsey

Banc de la Magdelaine

Le petit Banc Banc Jacquet et aux Anglois Falss Banks

Morue

and the Charles dividing at a lake into two branches, like the Charles and Stony Brook.[1]

There is an Italian map in "The Documentary History of New York" (O'Callaghan, vol. i.), apparently made by Lucini, and of about this period, having on it, against Cape Ann and the "Three Turks Heads" of John Smith, the name "C di Wingaert" (Cape of Vineyard, or Vineland), and farther north, "I. di Winter;" and under it, "Wingaert," a vineyard.

On a French map of 1558, near the entrance to Boston Harbor, we find "Les Jardines."[2]

There is another map — there may be many, of course, which I have not seen — to which I will allude. It carries

[1] One will not fail to observe on Nolin's map the name of Fort Norumbegue, alternative to Pentagoet. This confusion came from a misapprehension of Champlain, as I have elsewhere pointed out. It is the most unmistakable recognition of a Villa or Fort of Norumbega, such as Allefonsce and Thevet mentioned. There is some confusion of names and of relative topography, but the bay can only be Boston Bay, and the river the Charles, near which the memory of the Fort lingered down to the navigator whose charts lay before Nolin. On this map appear the familiar names of "Dorcester," "Newton," "Plymouth," "Boston," "Providence," etc.

[2] There are names like "Lan-prunera" and "Lan-prunella," that suggests the ripe beach-plum; and "Oliva" (green, or unripe plums), and "Palmas" (Indian corn-fields), and "Figla" (prickly pear fruit), and "Plagia Calami" (cat-tail flags?), — which sound like products of the soil, all of which are found on Cape Cod. See Map of Hieronymus Verrazano.

The Pilgrims found on Cape Cod that "corn had been planted three or four years ago." "They found" also "divers cornfields." (Davis, "Plymouth.") Thorfinn's Scotch servants, sent out at the east end of Cape Cod, brought him an ear of corn. Winthrop obtained in 1630, 100 pounds of corn from the south side of Cape Cod. "Gosnold went here ashore and found the ground full of pears [prickly pear? cactus] strawberries, hurtleberries, etc." Were the pears picked to furnish figs to be laid before the writers? The fruit of the prickly pear resembles the fig.

Hakluyt also refers to pears and figs as occurring still further north. Vol. iii. p. 239, ed. 1600.

the name " Vingaert's Eylan," near Cape Ann. It has some interest as being a heliotype copy of a very precious original autograph map in the collection of Mr. S. L. M. Barlow, to whom I am indebted for it.

Champlain attaches the name "Chouacoit" to two rivers, one against the Saco in his record, but not on his map, the other one against Boston Harbor and the Charles, not named in his record, but preserved on his map. The explanation is at hand, — " Choucaoit " is preserved to us in the descriptive term "Cohasset," the dialectic equivalent of " Quonno-hassun-et," *chain of rocks.* Rocks or reefs are at both places; and the Indian, if asked what he called the group, would have replied at either locality in the same expression, "Cohasset." At both places Champlain or some of the parties of De Mont's men observed, — but more abundantly than elsewhere, and with crowds of people, at the mouth of the Charles, — the vineyards, as well as plantings of corn and beans, squashes, cabbages, and tobacco. The Dutch have left us the name "Wyngaerden" or some modification of the name on their maps, and other nationalities have borrowed from them or brought down to us the name which the Northmen gave. All unite in testifying to the presence of the vine and the fruit, which suggested to Leif the name " Vinland."

It is interesting in this story of the masked Vinland to find that Gosnold, in 1602, called Noman's Land (No'th man's land?) Martha's Vineyard. What is *now* Mar*tha's* Vineyard was originally Mar*tin*'s Vineyard, so called by Captain Martin Prinne, who visited the region the year after Gosnold was there. It bore this name, according

MER CHRISTIANE

GOLFE DE

HUDSON

TERRE DE LABRADOR

OU DE CORTEREAL

OCEAN SEPTENTIONAL

SEPTENTRIONALE

Nations du Nord

NOUVELLE BRETAGNE

Eſquimaux

Saguenay

CANADA

OU

NOUVELLE FRANCE

Iroquois

Iroquois

Iroquois

NOUVELLE ANGLETERRE

ACCADIE

GOLFE DE St. LAURENS

RIVIERE St. LAURENS

ISLE DE TERRE NEUVE

MER DE CANADA

Baye d'Orange

Golfe et Port

La Croix blanche

Château

Brest

Passage du Nord sujet aux Glaces

Belle Isle

Cap du Raz ou Cap Race

Carbon

Baye Ogil

Cap St. Jean

Baye de la Marée

Baye Blanche

Baye de la Conception

Banquereaux

Baye Verte

Isle de Sable

Baye de la Delivrance

James Bay

Lac de Frontenac

Lac Erie

Lac de Conty

Albanie

York

Malle baye

Cancos

Saguenahanagich

Baye Française

Port Royal

Port la Tour

Port St. Croix

Port St. Jean

Port St. Charles

Port St. Louis

Port de Grace

Port de Mutines

Port de Plaisance

Port de Bacchus

Port de Bonne Espérance

Port de Bonne Vue

Port de Bonne Nouvelle

Port de Bonne Rencontre

Port de Bonne Fortune

Port de Bonne Aventure

Port de Bonne Intention

Port de Bonne Volonté

Port de Bonne Foi

Port de Bonne Espérance

Port de Bonne Vue

Port de Bonne Nouvelle

Port de Bonne Rencontre

Port de Bonne Fortune

Port de Bonne Aventure

Port de Bonne Intention

Port de Bonne Volonté

Port de Bonne Foi

to the Rev. Thomas Mayhew, down to 1650, when it was changed to "Martha's," and the name Gosnold gave to Noman's Land given up. Now what have we before us? Two navigators attach names to islands, as if they had heard that they were *parts of Vinland*, — one giving his own Christian name to distinguish it.

So the name in one form or another has lingered on our shores, and to-day Vinland is preserved in the two designations of "Vineyard Sound," and "Martha's Vineyard."

XI.

I have told you something of the evidence that Leif Eriksen was the first European to tread the great mainland southwest of Greenland. I have done as well as I could, in the time at my disposal, to present the evidence bearing upon the question whether or not he was the first European to place his feet on the shores of Massachusetts Bay.

If I go back a little way, it will be only in the fewest words to tell you how worthy a man Leif was.

His ancestry were of the early pilgrims, or puritans, who, to escape oppression,[1] emigrated, 50,000 of them in sixty years, from Norway to Iceland, as the early Pilgrims came to Plymouth. They were not of the Vikings, — the class that conducted predatory excursions over the then known seas.

They established and maintained a republican form of government, which exists to this day, with nominal

[1] Grotius, with Danish researches before him, says it was in 874.

sovereignty in the King of Denmark; and their flag, like our own, bears an eagle in its folds.

Towards the close of the tenth century a colony, of whom Leif's father, a Norwegian earl, and his family were members, went out from Iceland to Greenland. In about 999 Leif, a lad at the time of his father's emigration, went to Norway, and King Olaf, impressed with his grand elements of character, gave him a commission to carry the Christianity to which he had become a convert to Greenland. He set out at once, and with his soul on fire with the grandeur of his message, within a year accomplished the conversion and the baptism of the entire colony, including his father. His high soul was inspired with Bjarni's story of a land away to the southwest, to which in stress of weather fourteen years before he had been driven. He bought Bjarni's ship, virtually acquired his log, and set out. He had only to look for three prominent points. We have heard his story.

We think of him as a man of high qualities; the Sagas portray them. What enthusiasm, what self-control; what capacity to rule men, make them confide in him, trust and love him; what equipoise, what resources, what manly presence; what an eye, what singleness of purpose, what courage, what reserve force, what strength he must have had! We think of what he *did*.[1]

[1] "Leif was a man strong and of great stature, of dignified aspect, wise and moderate in all things." — *Smith*, p. 101.

"One of the men asked Leif as they were nearing Greenland, 'Why do you steer the ship to that quarter, directly in the teeth of the wind?' Leif answered, 'I guide the helm, and look out at the same time; tell me if you see anything.' All denied that they saw anything at all of particular importance. 'I am not sure,' said Leif, 'whether it is a ship or a rock which I see

Who were the people who gave him birth? If you would have a comprehensive grasp of the characteristics of the race, I commend to you "The Story of The Normans," by Sarah Orne Jewett. This ancient race, once supreme on all the seas they sailed, has made the world of all time its debtor in more ways than one.

You would scarcely forgive me if I failed in such presence as this to call to mind one Scandinavian, whose name should not be omitted on any occasion where achievements in navigation of American waters are remembered. The ancient Roman ships that brought tribute to the Tiber, and the triremes that bore Agrippa and Antony and Cleopatra at the battle of Actium, as well as the merchant marine of Tyre and Venice, were all *flat-bottomed*. It was the Northmen who invented the *keel* that made possible navigation of the stormy waters of the Atlantic. That was long ago. It revolutionized the service of the ocean. Who that has seen the Lofoden fishing-fleet of to-day, stately, majestic, beyond language to picture, has not felt the power with which the inventions of Northmen long ago stamped the single-masted, square-sailed, dragon-headed, ancient ship of Norway? But in recent

in the distance.' They all presently see it and pronounce it to be a rock. Leif had so much sharper eyes than all the others that he saw men upon the rock. . . .

"On reaching the wreck, the captain was asked his name — 'Thorer!— and yours?' 'Leif.' 'Are you the son of Eirek the Red, of Brattahlid?' Leif told him he was, and added, 'I wish now to offer you all a place in my ship, and to take also as much of your goods as my ship will carry.' . . . When Leif lent his ship to his brother to go to Vinland, he charged him *first* to 'fetch away from the rock all that Thorer left there.'" — *Smith*, pp. 104–107.

times one man, himself bearing the name we honor to-day, is remembered in every land for his contributions to the development of ships-of-war, not less than vessels for the merchant service. He is still living, working his twelve hours a day, at the age of eighty-four.

To him we owe the screw; to him the telescopic chimney, and the idea of placing the boilers and machinery of steamships below the level of the sea, where, in men-of-war, they would be beyond the reach of shot and shell. To him are we indebted for numerous devices in submarine warfare, and for the hot-air engine, and many others I might name. Of one invention more only will I speak. Most of you remember the great revolution in naval warfare which came with the appearance of the "Monitor" at Hampton Roads. One cannot recall the relief which the achievements of that vessel brought to millions of agonized hearts at a critical period in the history of the late war, without feeling that our country's well-being was at that time very closely knit with the genius and unselfish devotion of John Ericsson.

If you would see how a Briton regards the ancient Norsemen, the contemporaries of Lief and his countrymen, hear what Mr. Laing, a Scotchman, or, more strictly, a native of the Orkneys, having, with us and these kindred of ours, a common inheritance of blood from Scandinavia, says: "All that men hope for of good government and future improvement in their physical and moral condition; all that civilized men enjoy at this day of civil, religious and political liberty, — the British Constitution,

representative legislature, the trial by jury, security of property, freedom of mind and person, the influence of public opinion over the conduct of public affairs, the Reformation, the liberty of the press, the spirit of the age, — all that is or has been of value to man in modern times as a member of society, either in Europe or in America, may be traced to the spark left burning upon our shores by the Norwegian barbarians."

A man of these people, a scholar of the times, a man of faith, a gentleman, an athlete, a man of deeds and renown, was Leif. To him a monument has been erected.

XII.

In thus fulfilling the duty we owe to the memory of the first European navigator who trod our shores, we do no injustice to the mighty achievement of the Genoese Discoverer under the flags of Ferdinand and Isabella, who, inspired by the idea of the rotundity of the earth, — so long before demonstrated, but practically before his time exercising little influence on the philosophy of maritime discovery, — and with the certainty of reaching Asia by sailing westward sufficiently long, set out on a new and entirely distinct enterprise, having a daring and a conception and an intellectual train of research and deduction at its foundation quite his own.

While the Norse adventurers undoubtedly had all the geographical knowledge of the time, it is possible that they regarded Vinland as only a very distant prolongation of the coast, going out as they conceived north and west from

Norway. Their oceanic world was the North Atlantic. The men of enterprise of southern Europe, at the end of the fifteenth century, could profit by all the accumulations of knowledge of the five hundred years following the bold navigators of the time of Olaf. Marco Polo had been in the East. Southern Europe had otherwise learned of the Oriental world. The Northmen had shared in the Crusades; their conquests might be traced on the shores of the Mediterranean. Maritime discovery had led far down the coast of Africa. A voyage of anticipated great length now involved heavy outlay. The aid of the State or of wealthy patrons must be invoked. Men who contemplated or advocated voyages of discovery deemed it a duty, before bringing their projects to the attention of royal sources of patronage, to seek information in every accessible and promising quarter. We have an example of a later date in the "Brief" of Frobisher, in the interest of the northwest passage, and of Sir Humphrey Gilbert in the search for Norumbega, and the appeal of Hakluyt's "Western Planting," and John Smith's efforts to establish an English Colony in New England. Columbus *ought* to have visited Iceland, if he could, whether he did or did not; and so of Ireland or Britain, or the Faroes, and other accessible countries that would enable him to strengthen his appeal. Whatever he might have found in Thule could at the best have afforded him little aid in the line of the mighty vision of reaching the land at the antipodes by sailing westward from the Pillars of Hercules.

I submit a map of the world as known at the time of

Columbus, on which are sketched the veiled American continents north and south, of which before him, except the part known to Northmen, no one, not even Columbus, had a dream. Columbus did not sail toward Vinland, whatever he may have learned of its discovery.

Aside from the splendid personal qualities of Leif which would challenge admiration in any age, it is not impossible that some have been led to accredit to him a measure of rank as a discoverer which he would have instinctively repudiated. What he would have patiently heard said of himself would have been something like this: He had seen in Bjarni's story internal evidence of its truth, had appreciated its possible stupendous significance, had the intrepidity to act upon it, had bought his ship, and had sailed away to verify his relation. To this end he had given a year of his life. He had found what Bjarni had said was true, and in the most essential service had prepared the way for the settlement of the country which Bjarni first saw.

Through Leif and Bjarni the American continent was discovered by Northmen, and Leif was the first European to set foôt on its shores, — the first to tread the soil of Massachusetts.

Boston will welcome the proposition to set up in 1892 a fit statue to Columbus.

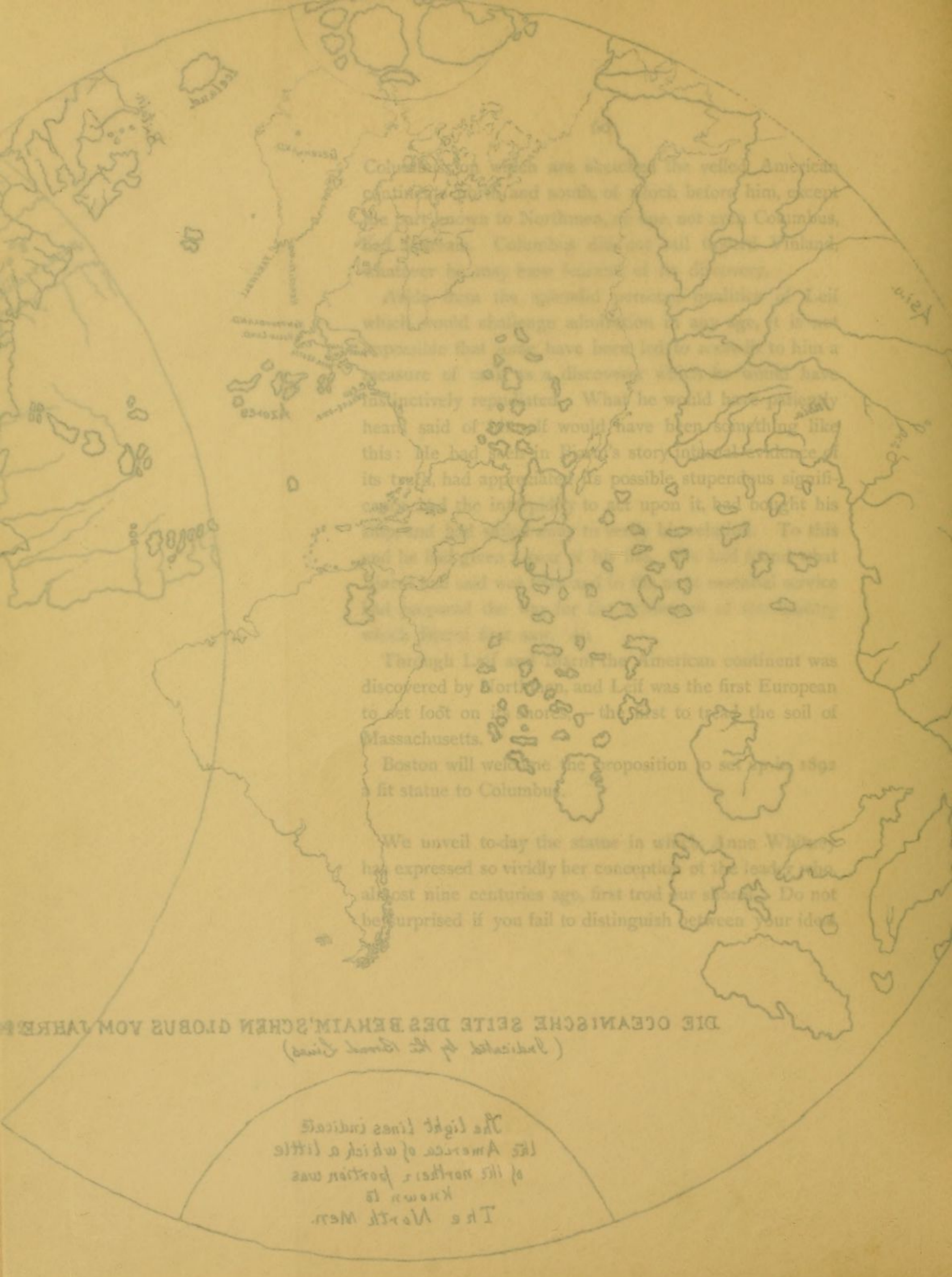
We unveil to-day the statue in which Anne Whitney has expressed so vividly her conception of the leader who, almost nine centuries ago, first trod our shores. Do not be surprised if you fail to distinguish between your ideal

DIE OCEANISCHE SEITE DES BEHAIM'S
(Indicated by the Broad Lines

The light lines indicate
the America of which a lit
of the northern portion was
known to
The North Men.

DIE OCEANISCHE SEITE DES BEHAIM'SCHEN GLOBUS VOM JAHRE 1492
(Indicated by the Broad Lines)

The light lines indicate
the America of which a little
of the northern portion was
known to
The North Men.



hero and the artist's creation. Such a creation Appleton and Longfellow would have set up in Boston. Could we but hear their acclaim at such fulfilment of their desire, how rich would it be with the benedictions of Art and Song! Such a memorial Ole Bull, earliest of all, conceived and dreamed of, worked and sang for. This is the consummation the loyal heir to his name and purpose for years has longed and labored and prayed for. I believe it is worthy of Leif and of Boston.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

A.

DIGHTON ROCK.

The changes which have taken place in the surface of the rock since the copy of the inscription by Mr. James Winthrop in 1788 suggest a doubt of the great age of the characters inscribed. The rock is fissile, liable to erosion from alternate frost and sunshine, alternate immersion in water more or less salt, and exposure to the air. It may be questioned whether a hundred years hence the figures will not have wholly vanished. In view of these considerations, it may be asked, Could the original inscription have been produced nearly nine hundred years ago?

B.

LATITUDE OF VINLAND.

For the different views there have been able writers among the Icelandic and Danish scholars. The ancient Icelanders had no clocks. They had a kind of sun-dial, or substitute for one, in a system of *day-marks*. Their principal division of time was into eighths of a day, watches

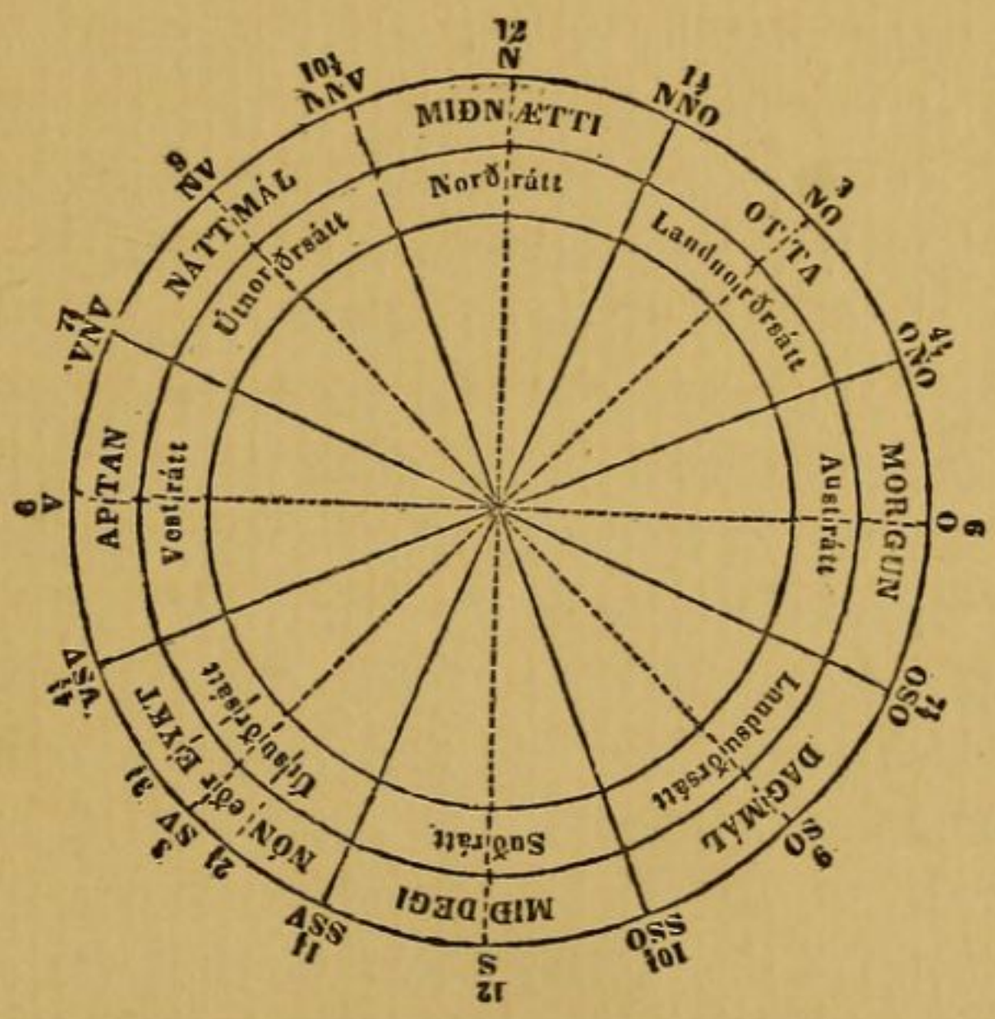
of three hours each. Had they used the lesser divisions of time, there might have been no question among the antiquaries. Erasmus Rask, the great Danish philologist, wrote Mr. Wheaton to this effect in December, 1831: "Since only the greater and not the hour divisions of the day according to the old Icelandic method are mentioned in the Sagas, the length of the shortest day will always be liable to various interpretations." The more important readings of the Sagas rest on whether the shortest day of the year should begin at half-past seven in the morning, and end at half-past four in the afternoon, holding the sun above the horizon for nine hours; or begin at six o'clock, and end at three o'clock, holding the sun up for only six hours. The discussion of the latitude of Vinland is thus brought to revolve around the meaning of a single ancient Norwegian or Icelandic word, *eyktarstad*, here translated *half-past four* in the afternoon. If their shortest day was, in reality, only six hours long, the place of observation of its length, whatever else may be involved, could not have been to the south of Labrador.

I insert here a diagram from Rafn's "Americas Opdagelse, etc."[1] It was prepared by Finn Magnusen, of the Northern Antiquaries.[2] It may afford some insight into the disputed question. It will be observed that certain dotted divisions of eighths correspond with early

[1] Discovery of America in the year ten hundred, from the old Norse manuscripts of C. C. Rafn, Copenhagen, 1841.

[2] See Voyages of the Northmen to America. Prince Soc. Edited by Rev. Dr. Slafter.

directions for sailing, having the North Star for the unchanging starting-point. The halving of these watches and the division of the period between half-past one and half-past four into thirds, which Magnusen suggests may relate to sailors' dog-watches, are presented on the chart. These divisions, to which certain secular alternative names have been given, show one way out of which the confusion in the terminology may have arisen.



The present condition of the problem of the latitude of Vinland, as determined by the length of the shortest day, may be thus summed up:—

Rask pronounced it impossible of solution. Bishop Sveinson, of Skalkolt, did not understand it. Torfaeus, instructed by the Bishop and the writings of Finn Johnson,

at first thought the day must have been six hours long. Forster interpreted the passage in the Saga to mean eight hours. Vidalin, and after him Rafn, held the day to be nine hours long, which would give a latitude for Leif's place of observation between 41° and 43°. Humboldt accepted this view. So did Finn Magnusen, whose diagram is given above. Peringskiold made it ten or twelve hours long, carrying Vinland far to the south.

We need not wonder that Bancroft, Palfrey, Cabot, and other careful students of the Norse story have felt the shadow of the prevailing doubt. It is not a new perplexity. It has existed for centuries. Is it impossible to escape from it without rejecting the whole account as a myth? No one may lightly set aside the crucial test of the latitude. Let us see out of what the doubt has arisen.

The earlier Sagas, including those relating to the discovery of America by the Northmen, were committed to writing toward the close of the fourteenth century, 1387 to 1395, and constitute the "Flatey Book," a parchment folio, which later came into the possession of Bishop Sveinson, who parted with it to Frederick III., of Denmark, about 1650. The king found certain obscurities in the language of the "Flatey Book," which it was deemed important to have cleared up. He accordingly sent a young man, Torfaeus, to obtain the needed correct understanding. This is what Torfaeus says: "*First*, On the authority, IF I RIGHTLY UNDERSTOOD HIM, of Bryniulf Sveinson, the most learned of all the bishops of Skalholt, to whom I was sent while yet a youth, in the year 1662, with royal letters from my gracious master, King

LABRADOR
NEWFOUNDLAND
GULF OF ST.
ASIA

LABRADOR

NEWFOUNDLAND

St Johns

ANTICOSTI

GULF OF ST LAWRENCE

NOTRE DAME B.

BONAVISTA B.

TRINITY B.

CONCEPTION B.

ST. GEORGE B.

H.B Post

Mingan R.

100 fathom line

Frederick the Third, for the purpose of learning the *genuine signification* of the more difficult ancient words and phrases, and *then* from the necessary correspondence of the time of sunset with that of sunrise, . . . I had long ago given the meaning that the sun [on the shortest day in Vinland] passes six hours above the horizon."

The highest authority among the scholars of Iceland had failed to make the matter clear to Torfaeus. The meaning of "eyktarstad," *whatever that might be*, associated with "dagmalastad" (*breakfast-time*) upon which two the sun shone for Leif on the shortest day in Vinland, was to Icelandic scholars apparently indeterminable. Torfaeus did not doubt the general story of the discovery by the Northmen. The difficulty of a Vinland, with its vines and meadows and forests and sand-beaches, on the north-eastern coast of Labrador, which is at the best a sheet of desolation, did not deter him[1]. There was to him, *somewhere*, a Vinland discovered by Northmen. He entertained with Forster the possibility of a shortest day of *eight hours*, which would have carried Vinland to the northern half of Newfoundland on the east, than which only Labrador is more hopelessly destitute of forests and meadows and sand-beaches. The Sagas speak of it as flat rock,—the Helluland visited by Leif. Torfaeus was apparently so absorbed with the second half of the sentence that he did not consider adequately the first

[1] The accompanying most recent map by F. Leuthner, Bulletin of the American Geographical Society for December, 1887, embraces the coast on which the shortest day is six hours long, — from latitude 58° to 60°; seven hours for the shortest day would be farther south on the coast of Labrador, and eight hours would indicate the northeastern shore of Newfoundland.

MAP

of

LABRADOR

Compiled by F. Leuthner

from

British Admiralty Maps

and an

Unpublished Moravian Map.

—*—

Ship routes

Sledge

HBC Hudson-Bay Compt.

DAVIS STRAIT

HUDSON STRAIT

GREENLAND

C. Pendleton

Nias I.

Gabriel M.

Resolution I.

C. CHIDLEY

Killinek

Kiglapait Mts

Okkak

Hebron

Nain

Hopedale

Okak

Tessinjak

Ft. Manvers

Anaklalik

Tessinjaksoak

Tunungajoksoak

Ukkasiksalik

Cape Harrison

Webeck 1065

Byron B.

Gull Is

Wooded Mts

Nottararomaso L.

Sipuscan L.

Tapuash L.

Chateonovah L.

Godnithina L.

Atascalengamio L.

Ashuanipi L.

Whale R.

George R.

Kanjertiluksoak R.

Tmiakowik L.

Nunangoak

Tikoatokak

Nuenarungoak

Kiglapait

Nellettarfak or Watchman

Nennoktut

C. Mugford

Mt. Kaumayok

Saddle I.

Square I

Occasional Hr

Stony I.

Caribou I

C. Charles

Belle Isle

St. Michaels B.

St. Lewis R.

Alexis R.

Eagle R.

Paradise R.

White Bear R.

Mealy Mts

Hamilton Inlet

L. MELVILLE

Kenamish R.

H.B. Post

St. John R.

Mingan R.

ANTICOSTI

ST. GEORGE B.

ST. LAWRENCE

GULF OF ST.

ASPE

TABLE LAND

CANADA

NEWFOUNDLAND

NOTRE DAME B.

BONAVISTA B.

TRINITY B.

CONCEPTION B.

St. Johns

100 fathom line

Kangalaksoak

Kangalaksoak R.

Kaltukeek

Nuparrik

Ablarink

Umiakoak

Killinek

Kangiva

Nennoktok

Okkaksalik

Sorrituk

Saeglek B.

Kikkertaksoak I.

Kikkertarsoak I.

Kanjertiluksoak R.

Tikoatokak

Nuenarungoak

Kiglapait Mts

Ukkasiksalik

Kaumayok

Tessinjak

Ft. Manvers

Anaklalik

Tessinjaksoak

Tunungajoksoak

Kinggak R.

Davis B.

Alkatsoak

Tunnoak

Alkatsoak R.

Hopedale Mts

Kiglapait

Nellettarfak or Watchman

Nennoktut

C. Mugford

Saddle I.

Okk

half. The whole sentence reads (Beamish's translation) as follows: —

"*Day and night were more nearly equal there than in Greenland or Iceland;* for on the shortest day was the sun above the horizon from half-past seven in the forenoon till half-past four in the afternoon."

Let us look at the latitudes: —

Southern Iceland is	63° 30′
Southern Greenland	60°
Northern Labrador, including the southern shore of Hudson's Straits	58° to 60°
Southeastern New England (Vinland) . . .	41° to 43°

The contrast between the days and nights of southern Greenland (60°) where Leif passed his boyhood, and the days and nights in northern Labrador (60°) shrinks to nothing; while the contrast in latitude between that of Greenland and that of the region of Massachusetts is nearly 20°, — quite enough to arrest observation.

MEANING OF "EYKTARSTAD."

Down to the date of the completion of the Flatey Book the *time* of eyktarstad was half-past three in the afternoon (see Vigfusson, "Old Norse Dictionary"). This would give for the length of the shortest day in Vinland seven hours, which would place it between Belle Isle and northern Labrador, where the Vinland of the Sagas, with its forests and mild winters, plainly could not have been. Yet "eyktar-stad" was an old Norse word, familiar in Norway, carried with the pilgrims when they emigrated to Iceland, and from there carried by the emigrants to Greenland. It was something correlative to breakfast-

time,—that is, as far from mid-day as breakfast-time was. It was something the sun shone upon on the shortest day of the year in Vinland, as it did on the same day at sunrise,—at breakfast-time,—the dagmala-stad.

The suggestion forces itself upon one that "eyktar," like "dagmal," "meant primarily a meal, and came to mean the *time of day*," as Vigfusson says, "when the meal was taken." Vigfusson further says, "In Norway *ykt* means a luncheon taken about *half-past three.* But the passage in 'Edda,' that autumn ends and winter begins at sunset at the time of eykt, confounded the commentators who believed it to refer to the conventional Icelandic winter, which (in the old style) begins with the middle of October and lasts six months. In the latitude of Reykholt, the residence of Snorri" (who was the collector and author of the "Book of Edda") "the sun sets at this time [the middle of October] *at half-past four.*" (Vigfusson's Dictionary.)

Half-past three and half-past four! A discrepancy of an hour in two records of the same event!

This time of half-past four had been fixed by the astronomer Torlacius, who determined that on the 17th day of October at Skalholt, the seat of the most prominent school of Iceland, not far from Reykjavik, and less distant from the place of assembly of the Althing, the sun sets at *half-past four*, with a commencement at midnight exactly opposite to high noon.

Next came Finn Magnusen. October was the eighth month. A sailor's watch on shipboard was three hours, which was one eighth of twenty-four. This learned Ice-

landic scholar regarded "eykt" as meaning *eighth*. A ship's watch was an eykt. The cardinal points to the sailor, north, east, south, and west, furnished beginnings for four of them. Points halfway between furnished four more. Then Magnusen introduced others midway between these, making sixteen divisions in all. To these he added the dog-watches of the sailor[1] and the terms of the church, of much smaller scope, and over the whole distributed the various names given on his chart. Eyktarstad to Finn Magnusen was also at *half-past four*.

This chart, at first sight, challenges acceptance, it is so complete — so symmetrical. It rests, unhappily, on two assumptions: first, that the word "eykt" meant *eighth;* and second, that the ancient Norwegian and Icelandic day commenced at 12 o'clock at night. Of the first, Vigfusson (in his Dictionary) says: "The word "eykt" can have no relation to "atta" — *eight*." As to the second, we shall probably see, if we have not mistaken Magnusen's meaning, that he erred in making the ancient day of Iceland commence at midnight.

This brings us to the question, How came *half-past three* to be changed to *half-past four?*

The intelligent Norwegian sailor to whom I have already referred tells me — precisely what the chart of Magnusen asserts, and what the astronomical determinations of Torlacius confirm — that —

[1] These watches are given at no usual Icelandic meal-time, but between half-past two and half-past three, P. M., of *our time*. They are at one period of the day only, while the dog-watches of the existing usage among sailors are at two periods, — one early in the morning, from 4 to 6, and the other in the evening, from 6 to 8.

The time of the afternoon lunch,
" " " sunset on the 17th of October in Southern Iceland,
" " " half-past four of our time, and
" " " the end of the secular day of ancient usage —

are all one and the same. Other educated Norwegians (one, a graduate of Christiania) tell me the same. "How do you know it? In the early times you had no clocks or watches." To this the sailor replied: "An afternoon meal is universal among Norwegian peasantry. It is at the end of the day." "But sunset varies," said I. "Yes! that is true; but *half-past four* is the time of the *afternoon meal*, *half-way* between *dinner*, the mid-day meal at *twelve*, and supper, the night meal at *nine*. That does not vary among the common people. It is a *human want*. It is our modern Norwegian *eftasvar*, the afternoon meal." On turning to Vigfusson's "Icelandic Dictionary" of the language of the Viking age, I find under EVKT, *first*, that the word as used in the old Sagas is derived from a root *auk*, from which comes our *augment*, and the German *auch;* and means *also*, *added*, *extra* (and in Vigfusson's "Prose Reader," *to boot*); *second*, that the word "probably first meant the *eke* meal, answering to English afternoon *lunch* (or our old-time "tea"?), and thence came to mean the *time of day* when the meal was taken; *third*, that *stad* as applied to meals means *meal-time*. If we turn to familiar dialectic correspondences we find that *f* and *ch* of the old Teutonic dialects are sometimes found to be equivalents; so that *eft* and *eykt* (*ycht*) are seen to be not very far from each other.

The time at which the meal called by the Norwegians

of to-day "eftasvar," *afterward* — the *extra* meal, or afternoon lunch — is now taken in Norway, and has been taken from time immemorial, is *half-past four* of our time. As *eft* and *ykt* are only dialectic modifications of the same root,[1] it is clear that eyktarstad coincided in usage with eftasvar — with *half-past four* — with the end of the day at the beginning of the ancient Icelandic winter.

It may be thought scarcely necessary to go beyond the philological argument and the astronomical calendar of the latitude of Skalholt, to point out the identity of half-past three of the ancient Sagas, the *eyktarstad*, with the half-past four of hereditary usage in Norway. But as the subject has been so long discussed, I may be pardoned for submitting what must be regarded as a demonstration of what Leif understood "eyktarstad" to mean.

Let me present first a translation of the single sentence that has become of such significance.

Meira var thar jafndaegri en á Graenlandi edr
More was there equality-of-day-and-night than in Greenland or
Islandi; sól hafdi thar eyktar-stad ok dagmála-stad um
Íceland; sun have there afternoon lunch-time and breakfast-time on the
skamdegi.
shortest day.

One sees at a glance that the first half of the sentence — *more was there equality of day and night than in Greenland or Iceland* — virtually precludes Torfaeus's

[1] Vigfusson says the root *auk*, "in ancient Norse or Icelandic, is spelled *eykd* or *eykth*" [= *eykt*, *ykt*, or *ycht*].

Eyktar has its equivalent in southern Norway in *eftas* and *aften*; in English, *after*; in Dutch, *achter*; in German, *nach*.

understanding of the second half. The absurdity of accepting in the same breath the characteristics of the Vinland of Leif, and the region indicated by the shortest day as of either six hours or seven or eight hours has already been pointed out. If Vinland must have had for its shortest day only six hours, the whole story must have an entirely new understanding.

The second branch of the sentence remains. What did "eyktar-stad" mean to Leif? It meant to him what it meant to his Norse ancestors and to his Norse and Icelandic contemporaries. The term "dag*mala-stad*" applied to one extreme of the day, of which "eykt*ar-stad*" was the other extreme, and both were equally distant from midday. The term "dagmala-stad" has survived as *breakfast-time*. We have seen the modern meaning of "eyktar-stad," but that meaning is at variance, as a point of *time*, with the meaning of early record, by a whole hour. It applies to an afternoon meal, between the midday meal and supper.

Let us now turn to the happy explanation of the source of all the confusion:—

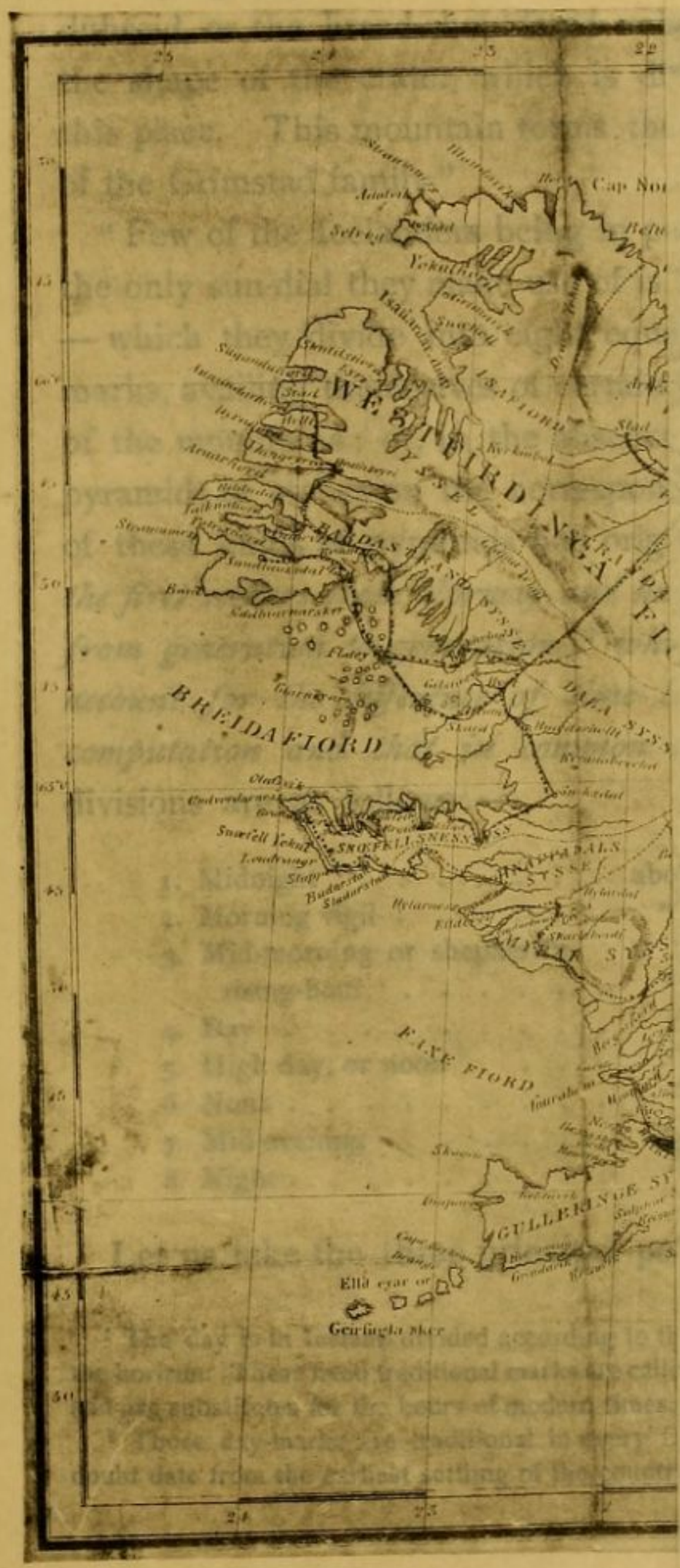
In 1814 and 1815 a Scotch gentleman, Dr. Henderson, went on horseback attended by adequate escort with suitable equipment, entirely around the coast of Iceland, and crossed the country in various directions four times. He had, as a scholar and philanthropist, supervised the printing of the Bible in Icelandic, and as the agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, undertaken the distribution of the Bible to such of the families of Iceland

as had not before possessed it. It became his duty to visit the clergy and learned men, including the officials, and also the people of all ranks in their homes. This labor occupied him, except during the winter, for two years. To no Englishman or Scotchman probably before or since has it been possible to become better acquainted with the general cultivation, the habits, the domestic life, the inherited ways, the usages, of the Icelandic people, than he was. His opportunities do not seem ever to have been equalled by any man of any nationality.[1] He published his journal. In that he remarks: —

" The Norwegians who first went over to Iceland were sprung from some of the most distinguished families in the land of their nativity. . . . Their predominant character is that of unsuspecting frankness, pious contentment, and a steady liveliness of temperament, combined with a strength of intellect and acuteness of mind seldom to be met with in other parts of the world. . . . Their *language*, dress, and *mode* of *life* have been *invariably* the *same* during a period of *nine centuries*." (Page 18: Perkins & Marvin edition, Boston, 1831.)

Dr. Henderson passed some time at Grimstad, encamping near the residence of a large family of much consideration. " They lived at a distance of thirty miles from their nearest neighbor. They were in the midst of a desert, except the grass lands, on the horizon of which were here and there snow and ice capped volcanic peaks, of fantastic appearance, and in almost every direction."

[1] The accompanying map, executed by Dr. Henderson, shows the extent of his journeyings. Finn Magnusen quotes Henderson, — apparently without wholly appreciating the significance of the revelation he makes.


WESTFIORDEN
BREIDAFIORD
FIXE FIORD
GULLBRINGE SY
DALA
Ellid eyar or
Geirfugla Sker

Iceland.
ARCTIC CIRCLE
Cap Nord
Reinsgarck
Grœttisgnupr
Vestmannhavn
Isafiord
Snæfell
Snæfellsness
Hraundas
Dala Sysse
Breidafiord
Vestfirdinga Fiordung
Nordlendinga Fiordung
Sudurlandinga Fiordung
Austfirdinga Fiordung
Thingeyiar Sysse
Skaptafells Sysse
Rangarvalla
Faxe fiord
Gullbringe Sysse
Ellid eyar
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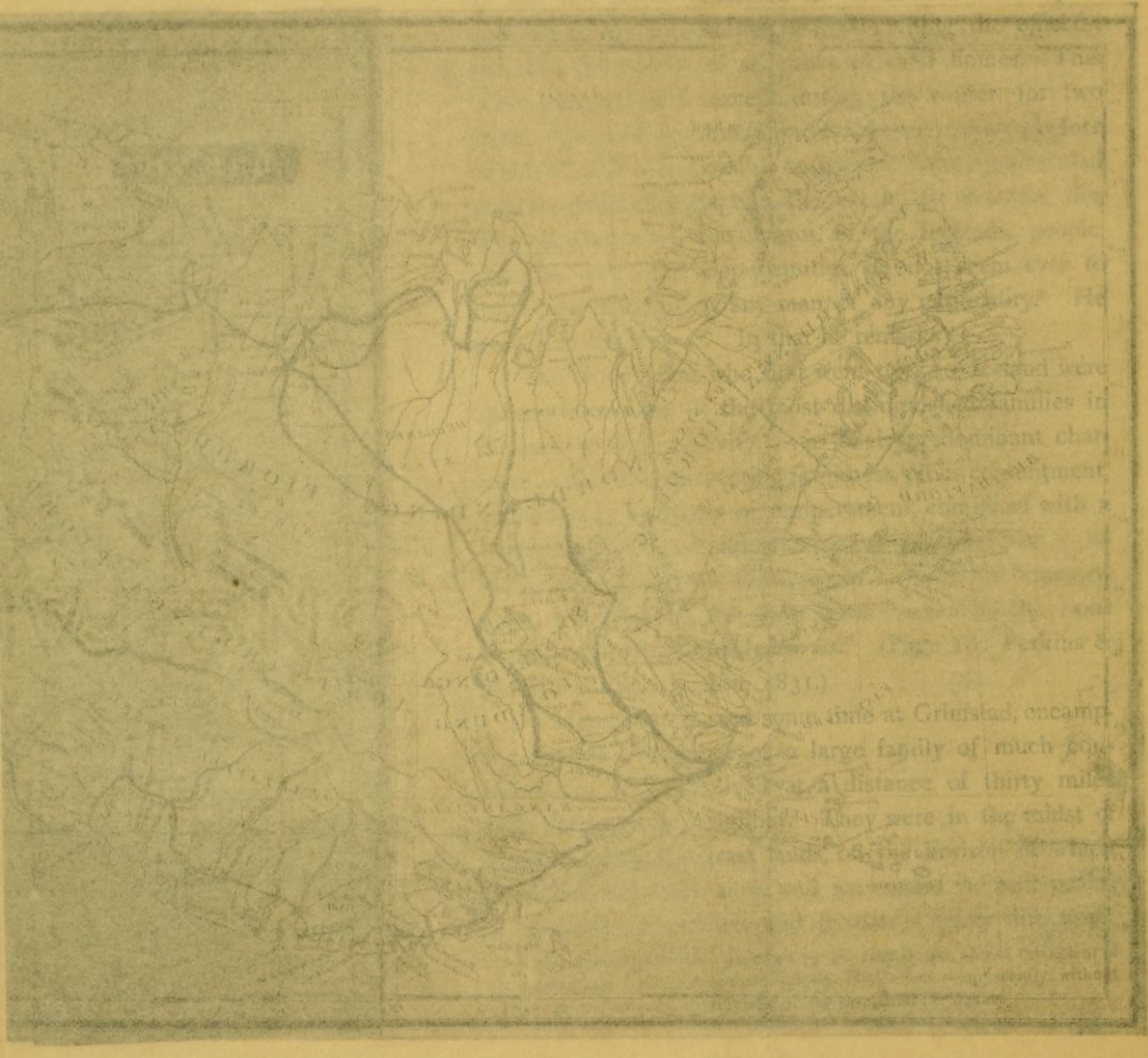


He says (p. 95) of these, " The most remarkable was Herdubreid, or the broad-shouldered volcano, so called from the shape of the crater, which is distinctly visible from this place. This mountain forms the *meridian day-mark* of the Grimstad family."

" Few of the Icelanders being in possession of watches, the only sun-dial they make use of is the natural horizon,[1] — which they divide into eight equal points called day-marks, availing themselves of certain peaks or projections of the mountains; or, in the absence of these, they erect pyramids of stones on the corresponding heights. Most of these kinds of pyramids had originally been *raised by the first settlers from Norway, and have been held in repair from generation to generation;*[2] *which circumstance will account for the difference of time between the Icelandic computation and that in common use with us.* Their divisions are as follows: —

1. Midnight	about	11	o'clock	P.M.
2. Morning vigil	"	2	"	A.M.
3. Mid-morning or shepherd's rising-hour	"	5	"	A.M.
4. Day	"	8	"	A.M.
5. High day, or noon	"	11	"	A.M.
6. Nona	"	2	"	P.M.
7. Mid-evening	"	5	"	P.M.
8. Night	"	8	"	P.M."

Let us take the three principal points, and place them

[1] The day is in Iceland divided according to the position of the sun above the horizon. These fixed traditional marks are called " dags-mörk," *day-marks*, and are substitutes for the hours of modern times. — *Vigfusson*, under DAGR.

[2] Those day-marks are traditional in every farm, and many of them no doubt date from the earliest settling of the country. — *Ibid.*

side by side with the corresponding points on Magnusen's chart.

Henderson.					Finn Magnusen.
5	o'clock A. M.		corresponds with		6 o'clock.
11	"	high-day, or noon	"	"	12 o'clock, or mid-day.
8	"	at night	"	"	9 o'clock at night.

It is clear that an hour must be added to the time according to the ancient day-marks to convert them into the corresponding day-marks of true time. An hour added to *half-past three* makes it *half-past four*, and the beginning of the hour correspondingly distant from mid-day is *half-past seven*. The day between them is nine hours long.

This is in keeping with the companion observation given in the Saga, *that the day and night were more nearly equal in Vinland than in Greenland or Iceland.* It is in keeping with the presence of grape-vines, Indian corn growing wild, forests of timber, and meadows, and general mildness of winters in the latitude ascribed to Vinland. It is in keeping with the geographical, topographical, and hydrographical features of the region as described in the Sagas. It is in keeping with the numerous Indian population of the region, as observed by Cortereal, Verrazano, Gomez, Allefonsce, Thevet, Champlain, John Smith, and the Pilgrims and Puritans.

There is no other quarter of the globe which supplies all these required conditions of Vinland.

Eyktar-stad is said to have been fixed "*in the laws*" as the end of the natural day at half-past four, P. M. (Cabot

page 12.)[1] May not the language of Rafn's note ("Antiquitates Americanae,") admit the notion that its *sense* was merely a declaration of immemorial usage? The *people* of Iceland were obedient to the hereditary usages of the early emigrants from Norway. The national dials —the day marks—which they had been familiar with, and in their every-day life had been guided by, were the same day-marks, perpetuated from generation to generation, that Vigfusson mentions, and that Dr. Henderson had found in his house-to-house visitation all over Iceland. They had observed that the day of our clocks and watches,— the day of twenty-four hours, commencing at our twelve o'clock at night, and having its mid-day twelve hours later, —which was introduced among them, in the extension of the more modern European designations, found the *time* of *their national afternoon lunch* — the time when the sun sets at Skalholt on October 17 — the half-way point between the mid-day meal and supper — the "eyktar-stad" of Leif — *at half-past four; an hour later than would be reckoned with their mid-day meal*, according to their day-marks, *at eleven* o'clock in the morning.

In Northern Norway, whence the Icelanders went out, and from which the "*day-marks*" were transferred to Iceland, half-past four by our watches would be *half-past three* by their day-marks.

[1] See note, p. 108. There are in Vigfusson's Dictionary, also in the "Antiquitates" of Rafn, p. 436, and repeatedly in Grágás, allusions to the work upon Icelandic church laws or usages by Finn Johnson; and this writer is cited as high authority in more recent discussions of the meaning of *eyktarstad*. I have not seen the work of Finn Johnson. In the "Index of Words and Phrases in the Ancient Laws of Iceland," Grágás, vol. ii. (*Codex Juris Islandorum Antiquissimus*), *eykt* is defined "*trihorium*." No mention of *eyktarstad* is made in the "Index," or in the body of the recorded laws or enactments of the Althing.

In southern Norway, where clocks are used, the afternoon lunch is the *preserved habit* of the peasantry, and at the *same hour* as in northern Norway, but by *their clocks* at *half-past four*.[1]

Had Dr. Henderson been told that *eyktarstad* was at half-past four, and had he asked the proprietor of the estate at Grimstad where the sun stood at *half-past four*, there would have been indicated to him a corresponding point in the day-marks on the horizon, which his watch would have told him was *half-past three.*

Had Dr. Henderson waited on the proprietor at half-past four on the 17th of October, he would have found him at his afternoon lunch at sunset — eyktarstad.

The church, as its custom has been, appropriated the word *eykt*, and made it the equivalent of *trihorium*, "a time of three hours." It was this *trihorium* of the church that perplexed Torfaeus and his venerable instructor, Bishop Sveinson,—out of which came the day of *six hours;* and one may see how our time of an hour later gave to Torfaeus the doubt in favor of the day of *eight hours*, and also how the day of seven hours may have arisen to still others. (See Vigfusson, under EYKT.)

Henderson's chart shows at a glance how *eyktar-stad* and *half-past four* were identical. This, as we have seen, gives a day of nine hours.

The *eyktar-stad* and *dagmala-stad*, that is, the *afternoon lunch-time* and the *breakfast-time* of Leif at Vinland on the shortest day of the year, occurring at sunset and sunrise, determines the latitude of Leif's houses to have been between 41° and 43°.

[1] The time of the lunch at half-past four is called *eftasvar*. Its equivalent is now written by some Norwegian peasants, *aftensmad*, — which is Danish.

C.

ANDRÉ THEVET.

In 1556 we see André Thevet, a Frenchman, approach the shore. He called the point "Cape Baxe," and it was later called by others "Cabo de Baxos." "Bax" is the natural abbreviation of "Bacca-es," Algonquin for "little bay," which became "Bax" just as "Pautuck-es-et," as Dr. Trumbull notes, became "Pautuxet." It qualified Cape Cod Bay, with the Gurnet for an opposite headland. "Baxos" is a double diminutive, — "Bacca-es-es," a very little bay, — a term qualifying the harbor of Provincetown, as compared with the larger Cape Cod Bay.

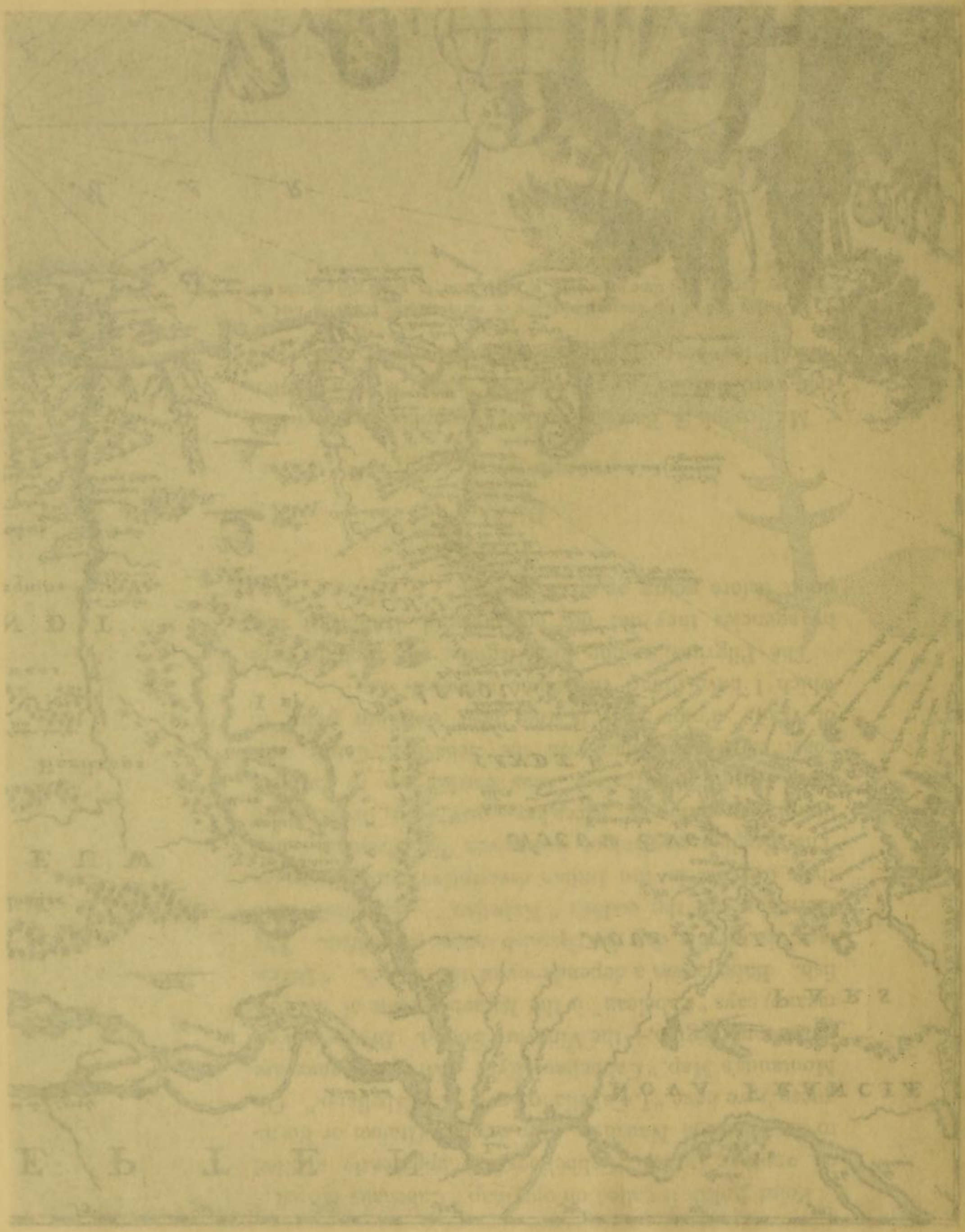
Thevet is said to have been credulous, and some question his trustworthiness. Let us look at the other side. He has come up in nine days' sail, after passing twenty-odd days in the Sargasso Sea, — the first, I believe, to observe and describe it, — where, in February, 1556, he says he beheld the extraordinary phenomenon of a star with a tail (a comet) in the east. I had the curiosity to make inquiry of competent authority about a comet in the east in February, 1556, observable from the latitude of the Sargasso Sea. I wrote to Dr. B. A. Gould, of Cambridge, the astronomer of Cordoba, of the Argentine Republic, and Professor Pickering, of Harvard, and they were good enough to go over the records of that distant time. They wrote me, confirming the statement of Thevet in all its points.

It was Thevet who, as relating for himself or for

others, as he says he sometimes did, described Nantasket (Aiayascon), as having the form of a human arm, and recorded that Norumbega, on the Charles, was in the forty-third degree of latitude. Thevet was at the mouth of the Neponset. He gives its Indian name, "Anordie," and its exact latitude, 42° 11′. He found a river at the entrance to Narragansett Bay; it was called "Anordie" (or "Arnodie"). This is pure Algonquin, "An-au-da." *Current of water there* was the answer to the question, "What do you call that?"[1] The name "Accadie" was the answer to a like question, — "Ahke-da," *Land there.* How natural that this should confirm the conviction that Norumbega was an island, as Allefonsce thought, though he was not clear whether its most southern point was at Buzzard's Bay, or Delaware Bay, or even Charleston.

It was Thevet who, in a storm, sought refuge inside of Point Juuide (Judy), the name still preserved by the inhabitants of southern Rhode Island, — the modern Point Judith, — from which he sailed along the coast of Baccaleos, past the islands of the St. Croix, the Gurnet (Cross-a-naes), and Nantasket. This coast of Baccaleos of Thevet is recognized on Dutch maps of this region as late as 1660 in the name "Cabbeljous," a perversion in the position of letters not unusual in obeying the law of "facility of utterance." It is applied to points south of Cape Cod peninsula. We have such perversion in "Conanicut," familiar to us all as "Canonicut," — in "Anticosti" for "Natiscotec" the old Indian name of the time of Jacques Cartier (1535).

[1] See Thevet's "Cosmographie."



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E P T E N
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S.t Piere
Quebec
Ile
de
Orleans
Mont Royal
Groote Val
Rio St. Laurentius
Rio de Gannes
Rio de Port
NOVA FRANCIÆ
PARS
NOVA ANGLIA
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IROCOISIA
EUW
Horikans
NIEUW ENGE
Kennebeka
LANDT
d'Inwoonders genaemt
ALMOU:
Smits Eylant
Gebroken hoeck
Schoone Haven
Witte Bay
Graef Hendricks Bay
Carry Ilos
Point George
Staten hoeck, ook
Cape Cod
Cape Ianes
SEN.
Noort
Zee
Horicans
Pequatoos
Wapanoos
Moricans
't Groot Riff
van Malaburre
Vlacke hoeck
Zuyer
Zee
Texel
Hendrick Christiaensz Eyl.
Petachenock
M A R

Point Judith is called on one map "Cabeliaus Hoeck;" on another (1666) "Cabbéljous" is apparently applied to the Island of Naushon. On another (Italian or Portuguese?) we have "I. Cabeliano" and "C. Cabeliano." On Montanus's Map, "Cabbeliaus Eyl." All these names are in the same region,—the Vineyard Sound. Brevoort (Verrazano) says "Cabeleau" is the Batavian name of the codfish. Batavia was a dependency of the Dutch. "Baccalaos" is to this day the Spanish name of codfish. The Germans call the codfish "Kabeljau." All these have their original in the Indian descriptive name, *Bacca-loo.* The English equivalent was given by Gosnold, — the literal translation of bacca-loo — bay food, or off-shore food, — cod. "Baccalieu" was carried up to the east coast of Newfoundland on the Sebastian Cabot map of 1544. Point Judy is the most southern point to which I have found the name attached.

The Pilgrims, sailing for Virginia, and brought here by agencies they did not comprehend, landed at this point before going on to Plymouth.[1]

D.

WOOD'S HOLL.

Mr. Joseph S. Fay has written a pamphlet to show that the word "Hole," as pronounced, which is now written "Holl" for the post-office on the mainland, Wood's Holl,

[1] Of this and of the reasons why, and of various other positions here in summary for the first time presented, a paper now in press will contain the evidence.

— the *o* pronounced as in *for*, — applied to eminences in the neighborhood, and not to waterways, like Quick's Hole and Robinson's Hole, or the inner harbor at Holmes' Hole. This view may not so well apply to "Powder Hole" and to "Butler's Hole," near the end of Monomoy Island. The Icelandic word for "hill" is *holl*. The root is the source of "Ulles" in "Ulles-water" at Patterdale, of the Lake District in the north of England. It is the equivalent of our "hill."

E.

INDIAN CORN FOUND GROWING WILD IN VINLAND.

The Sagas relate that King Olaf gave to Leif — it must have been with his commission to carry Christianity to Greenland — two young Scotch[1] servants, a man and maid, — Haki and Haekja. After the wedding of Thorfinn and Gudrid at Brattahlid, Leif's paternal mansion, the host presented these servants to Thorfinn, who took them with him on his expedition to Vinland. While lying against the peninsula of Cape Cod — Furdustrand — Nauset Beach — Thorfinn, that he might know the quality of the neighboring land, sent out his fleet-footed servants to run for three days over the region, and return and report what they had seen, — the ship lying at anchor during their absence. They brought back, one a bunch of grapes, the other an

[1] Scotia then included Ireland. The servants may have been Irish, as rendered by Vigfusson.

"*ear of corn.*" They had two months earlier seen the "*new sown*" (Beamish) young corn at Hóp. *Ear of corn* is the translation of the Icelandic word *hveiti-ax* by J. Toulmain Smith. Beamish (Rev. Dr. Slafter: Prince's Soc.) translated the same expression "*ear of wheat.*" The doubtful point is this: was it Indian corn — *zea mays* — or was it wheat — *triticum vulgare?* Now, in reply:—

1. *Ax*, by itself, is Icelandic for *ear of corn* (*Vigfusson*); *hveiti* is *wheat* (*Vigfusson*).

2. *Skeat* (Etym. Dic.) says the word *wheat* is derived from a Teutonic root which means *white*, and qualifies the *color* of the *flour* made from the *grain*, *kernel*, or *corn*, of whatever kind. "Hviti" is *white* as applied to the White River in Iceland. (See Henderson's map.) "Hviti-ax" would be Icelandic for *white ear of corn.*

This is in keeping with Capt. John Smith's expression, "mayes, *like Virginia wheat;*" also with the early chroniclers of Florida, who speak of "*Indian wheat.*"

3. Indian corn (*zea mays*) is indigenous to America. It is still found, reduced to a dark mould, but retaining its form, in ancient Indian mounds. I have seen such kernels, apparently charred. They have been recently found in the very ancient remains of cities in New Mexico, by Mr. Cushing.

Coronado ate corn cakes at Zuñi in 1537-40 (Ogilby). Champlain saw the growing corn in profusion along our New-England coast early in the 17th century. (See

Slafter's "Champlain," Prince's Soc. Publications.) The Pilgrims found it on their arrival in 1620.[1]

4. Indian corn does not ripen in Labrador,[2] and of course cannot perpetuate itself there — or grow wild, — *sjalf sait* ("self-,sown"), as the Sagas relate.

What do these considerations show?

a. They show, first, that wherever Vinland was, Indian corn grew wild.

b. Second, that this condition prevailed on the coast of Massachusetts.

c. Third, that the claims of Labrador as the Vinland of the Northmen are barred out.

[1] The Pilgrims found on Cape Cod that "corn had been planted three or four years ago." "They found" also "divers cornfields." (Davis's "Plymouth.") Winthrop obtained in 1630, 100 pounds of corn from the south side of Cape Cod. We have on Verrazano's map of 1527, along the inner coast of Cape Cod, "Palmas," — a natural inference to one who had never seen half-grown Indian corn, and remarked its resemblance to some of the forms of palm.

[2] According to Dr. Goodale, Professor of Botany in Harvard University.

ERRATA.

"*home*," not "house," p. 38, 10th line from bottom.

"*I. de Bacchus*," p. 50. This name occurs on the De Laet map of a later edition, that of 1633; but not on the early edition of 1625. It may be questioned whether the name does not rather apply to an island off the coast.

"*Choucaoit*," p. 53, 9th line from top, should be "Chouacoit."

"*Six* o'clock," p. 66, 13th line from top, should be "*nine* o'clock."

Thevet, p. 81. The first paragraph should have followed the last paragraph, p. 43.

SAGAS

OF

EIREK THE RED AND THORFINN KARLSEFNI.

THE following page is a heliotype fac-simile from the manuscript of the Codex Flateyensis, taken from the Antiquitates Americanae. It is a part of the Saga of Eirek (Eric) the Red, probably a copy from an earlier manuscript, and, as Mr. Everett suggests, first committed to writing in Greenland within two or three generations after the time of the persons whose deeds are narrated.

— Fac Simile —
Of a page from the Saga of
Eirek the Red
Codex Flateyensis —

THE following page is a heliotype fac-simile from the manuscript of the Codex Flateyensis, taken from the Antiquitates Americanae. It is a part of the Saga of Eirek (Eric) the Red, probably a copy from an earlier manuscript, and, as Mr. Everett suggests, first committed to writing in Greenland within two or three generations after the time of the persons whose deeds are narrated.

—FAC SIMILE —
Of a page from the Saga of
EIREK THE RED
CODEX FLATEYENSIS —

SAGA OF EIREK THE RED.

THERE was a man named THORVALD, of goodly lineage. Thorvald and his son EIREK, surnamed the RED, were compelled to fly from Jadar, on the southwest of Norway, on account of a homicide committed by them. They settled in Iceland, at that time thoroughly colonized. The father of Eirek soon died, but Eirek seemed to have inherited some portion of his spirit, for he got into quarrels with his Icelandic neighbors, of which homicide was again the consequence; though the last quarrel seems to have originated in an injury unjustly inflicted upon him. Having been condemned by the court, proceeds the narrative, he fitted out a vessel. When all was ready, those who had been the partisans of Eirek in the recent quarrel accompanied him to some distance. Eirek informed them that he had determined to seek the land which Gunnbiorn had seen when, driven into the western ocean, he had found the islands thence called the rocks of Gunnbiorn, — saying that if he found land there, he would revisit his friends. He set sail from Snaefellsjokul, a mountain on the western coast of Iceland. At length he found land, and called the place Midjokul. Thence he coasted along the shore in a southerly direction, in order to observe whether the land were habitable. He passed the first winter in Eirek'sœ (Eirek's Island), near the middle of Eastbygd (eastern habitable tract). In the following spring Eirek entered Eireksfiord (Eirek's creek or inlet), and there fixed his residence. During the summer of the same year he explored the western part of the country, imposing names on various places. He passed the following winter also in this land, but in the third summer he returned to Iceland. He called the land which he had thus discovered, Greenland, saying that men would be induced to emigrate thither by a name so inviting.

This event happened fifteen winters before the Christian religion was established in Iceland.[1]

[1] It is well known that the Christian religion was established, through the efforts of Olaf, King of Norway, in the year 1000. The emigration to Greenland, therefore, took place in the year 985, and the discovery of the country by Eirek, three years

Heriulf had a wife named Thorgerd and a son named Biarni, a youth of great promise. This young man was seized with a great desire to travel, and was successful in obtaining both fortune and honor. He passed the winters alternately abroad and at home with his father. Biarni had recently fitted out a merchant-vessel, and had spent the last winter in Norway. During his absence it was that Heriulf had passed over, with his whole household, in company with Eirek, to Greenland. In the same ship with Heriulf was a Christian from the Hebrides.

Heriulf fixed his residence at Heriulf-ness; he was a man of great authority. Eirek the Red fixed his seat at Brattahlid.

In all this region, Eirek possessed chief authority. All were subject to his will. There were his children, Leif, Thorvald, and Thorstein; he had also a daughter named Freydis. She was married to a man named Thorvard, and they lived at Gardar, which became subsequently the Episcopal seat. She was overbearing, Thorvard weak-minded; she married him for the sake of his money.

EXPEDITION OF BIARNI.

Biarni during the summer arrived at the port of Eyrar (southwest of Iceland), his father having just before left the island. Biarni, somewhat troubled, was unwilling to disembark. When the sailors inquired what course he intended to pursue, he replied, "To do as I have been accustomed, and spend the winter with my father. I wish, therefore, to proceed to Greenland, if you are willing to accompany me thither." All professed their willingness to accede to his desires. Then said Biarni, "Our course seems somewhat foolish, when none among us has ever crossed the Greenland ocean." Nevertheless, they put out to sea when they had refitted their vessel. They made sail for three days until they were out of sight of land. The fair wind then fell, and strong northeasterly winds sprang up accompanied by thick fogs. They were borne before the wind for many days, they knew not whither. At length, the light of day being once more visible, they were able to discern the face of heaven. They sailed one day further before they saw land. As they discussed what

earlier, — namely, 982. The names of many persons are recorded who accompanied Eirek the Red to Greenland, and fixed their habitation there; out of twenty-five ships which accompanied him, only fourteen reached Greenland, the rest being lost or driven back to Iceland. Among those which reached Greenland, the ship of Heriulf, the father of Biarni Heriulfson, was one. Heriulf was kinsman to Ingolf, the first settler in Iceland.

land it was that they then saw, Biarni said that he thought it could not be Greenland. They asked him whether he would wish to make for land or not. "My advice is," said he, "that we approach nearer the land." They did so, and presently perceived that the land was not mountainous, but covered with wood, and had rising ground in many parts. Leaving the land on the left hand, — or the larboard, if you like, — they put the ship about, with the stern towards land. Then they sailed two days before they saw land again. They asked Biarni whether he thought that this was Greenland. He said that he did not think that this was Greenland any more than the former land, "for they told me," said he, "that there are great mountains of ice in Greenland." Presently, drawing nearer, they perceived that this land was low and level, and overgrown with wood. Then the fair wind falling, the sailors said that they should like to land. Biarni would not permit it.

They urged that there was a want of wood and water. "You need neither of these," said Biarni; hence arose, however, some complaint on the part of the sailors. At length they hoisted sail, and turning their prow from land, they stood out again to sea; and having sailed three days with a southwest wind, they saw land the third time. This land was high and mountainous, and covered with ice. They asked Biarni whether he wished to land here. He said no; "for this land appears to me little inviting." Without relaxing sail, therefore, they coasted along the shore till they perceived that this was an island. They then put the ship about with the stern towards land, and stood out again to sea with the same wind, which blowing up very strong, Biarni desired his men to shorten sail, forbidding them to carry more sail than with such a heavy wind would be safe. When they had thus sailed four days, they saw land the fourth time. Then they asked Biarni whether he thought that this was Greenland, or not. He answered, "This, indeed, corresponds to the description which was given me of Greenland. Let us make for land." They did so, and approached toward evening a certain promontory. It was on this very promontory that Heriulf, the father of Biarni, dwelt. Then Biarni betook himself to his father's house, and having relinquished a seafaring life, he remained with his father as long as he lived, and after his death took possession of his estate.

EXPEDITION OF LEIF ERICSEN.

Leif, the son of Eirek, had an interview with Biarni Heriulfson, and bought of him his ship, which he fitted out and manned with thirty-five men. Fourteen years after Eirek the Red had gone to Greenland [that

is, A. D. 999] Leif his eldest son went to Norway, where he was hospitably entertained by King Olaf. The king was a zealous Christian, and exhorted him, as he did all pagans who came to him, to embrace Christianity. To which request Leif consented without any difficulty: and he and all his sailors were baptized.

Leif reached Greenland with his ship and crew, and projected the expedition to the land Biarni had seen. He requested his father Eirek to become the leader of the expedition. Eirek excused himself on the score of his advanced age, saying that he could ill bear the fatigues and dangers of the voyage. Leif urged that the constant good fortune of his family would attend him. Eirek yielded to this appeal, and, when all was ready, rode down on horseback to the vessel, which lay at but a short distance from his residence. The horse on which Eirek rode stumbled, — whereby Eirek was thrown, and injured his foot. Then he said, "Fortune will not permit me to discover more lands than this which we inhabit; I will proceed no further with you." Eirek then returned home to Brattahlid. Leif, with his thirty-five companions, went on board. Among them was a man from the south country [that is, a German] named Tyrker [Dr. Kohl says Biarni accompanied him, which is probably an error].

All being now ready, they set sail, and the first land to which they came was that last seen by Biarni.

They made direct for land, cast anchor, and put out a boat. Having landed, they found no herbage. All above were frozen heights; and the whole space between these and the sea was occupied by bare flat rocks; whence they judged this to be a barren land. Then said Leif, "We will not do as Biarni did, who never set foot on shore: I will give a name to this land, and will call it 'Helluland'" [that is, *land of broad stones*]. After this they put out to sea, and came to another land. They approached the shore, and having cast anchor, put out a boat, and set foot ashore. This land was low and level, and covered with wood. In many places where they explored there were white sands, with a gradual rise of the shore. Then said Leif, "This land shall take its name from that which most abounds here. It shall be called 'Markland'" [that is, *land of woods*]. Then they re-embarked as quickly as possible. They put out to sea, and sailed for two days, with a northeast wind, till they again came in sight of land; approaching which, they touched upon an island lying opposite to the northeasterly part of the main land. Here they landed, and found the air remarkably pleasant. They observed the grass covered with much dew. When they touched this accidentally, and raised the hand to the mouth, they perceived a sweetness which they had not before noticed. [Possibly in the sense of refreshingly pure, — sweet water.]

Returning to their ship, they sailed through a bay which lay between the island and a promontory running towards the northeast, and directing their course westward, they passed beyond this promontory. In this bay, when the tide was low, there were shallows left of very great extent.

So great was the desire of the men to land that, without waiting for the high tide to carry them nearer, they went ashore, at a place where a river poured out of a lake. When the tide rose, they took their boat and rowed back to the ship, and passed first up the river, and then into the lake. Having cast anchor they disembarked, and erected temporary habitations. Having subsequently determined, however, to remain here during the winter, they built more permanent dwellings. Both in the river and in the lake, there was a great abundance of salmon, and of greater size than they had before seen.

So great was the goodness of the land that they conceived that cattle would be able to find provender in winter, none of that intense cold occurring to which they were accustomed in their own country, and the grass not withering very much.

The quality in the length of the days was greater there than in Greenland or Iceland. On the shortest day the sun remained above the horizon from half-past seven in the morning till half-past four in the afternoon.[1]

Their dwellings completed, Leif said to his companions: "I propose that our numbers be divided into two companies, for I wish to explore the country; each one of these companies shall, alternately, remain at home, and go out exploring. Let the exploring party, however, never go further than that they may return home the same evening; neither let them separate one from another." It was so arranged. Leif himself, on alternate days, went out exploring and remained at home. Leif was a man strong and of great stature, of dignified aspect, wise and moderate in all things.

It happened one evening that one of the company was missing. This was Tyrker the German. Leif felt much concerned, for Tyrker had lived with him and his father for a long time, and had been very fond of Leif in his childhood; wherefore Leif severely blamed his comrades, and went himself, with twelve others, to seek the man. When they had gone but a short distance from the dwelling Tyrker met them, to their no small joy. Leif soon perceived that Tyrker had not his usual manner. He was (naturally) erect in countenance, his eyes constantly rolling, his face hollow, his stature short, his body spare, and he was possessed of great skill in every kind of smith's work. Then said Leif to him, "Why have you stayed out so late, friend, and separated yourself from your companions?" For some time Tyrker gave no answer, except in German, and rolled his

[1] See Appendix B.

eyes (as usual) here and there, and twisted his mouth. They could not understand what he said. After some time he spoke in the Norse language, and said, "I have not been much further, but I have something new to tell you; I have found vines and grapes." "Is this true?" asked Leif. "Yes, indeed, it is," answered he; "I was brought up in a land where there was abundance of vines and grapes."

"There are two matters now to be attended to, on alternate days, — to gather grapes, or (as a means of saving time and trouble) cut down vines, and to fell timber with which we may load the ship." The task was immediately commenced. It is said that their long boat was filled with grapes. And now, having felled timber to load their ship, and the spring coming on, they made all ready for their departure [A. D. 1001]. Leif gave the land a name expressive of its good produce, and called it "Vinland" [*land of wine*]. They then put out to sea, having a fair wind, and, at length, came within sight of Greenland and her icy mountains. As they approached, one of the men asked Leif, "Why do you steer the ship to that quarter, directly in the teeth of the wind?" Leif answered, "I guide the helm, and look out at the same time; tell me if you see anything." All denied that they saw anything at all of particular importance. "I am not sure," said Leif, "whether it is a ship or a rock which I see in the distance." They all presently see it, and pronounce it to be a rock. Leif had so much sharper eyes than all the others, that he saw men upon the rock. "Now," said Leif, "I am desirous of striving even against the wind, so that we may reach those yonder; perchance they may have need of our assistance, and their necessity calls upon us to render them our aid; if they are hostile, there can be no danger, for they will be altogether in our power." They make for the rock, furl their sails, cast anchor, and put out the other small boat which they had carried with them. Then Tyrker demanded who was the captain of the band (on the rock). The captain answered that his name was Thorer, and that he was a Norwegian by birth. He then asked, "What is your name?" Leif gave his name. "Are you the son of Eirek the Red, of Brattahlid?" Leif told him that he was. "I wish now," added Leif, "to offer you all a place in my ship, and to take also as much of your goods as my ship will carry." They accepted his offer. The vessel then sailed up Eireksfiord until they reached Brattahlid, where they disembarked. Then Leif offered to Thorer and his wife, and three of his men, to take up their residence with him. He showed hospitalities likewise to all the others, as well the sailors of Thorer as his own. There were fifteen men thus preserved by Leif, and from that time he was called "Leif the Lucky."

This expedition contributed both to the wealth and honor of Leif. In

the following winter a disease attacked the company of Thorer, to which that man himself and many of his companions fell victims. Eirek the Red also died during that winter.

EXPEDITION OF THORVALD.

There was much talk, now, of the expedition of Leif; and Thorvald, his brother, considered that the lands had been too little explored. Then said Leif to Thorvald, "Go, brother, take my ship to Vinland; but first fetch away from the rock all that Thorer left there." Thorvald did so.

Now Thorvald made preparations for this expedition under the authority of his brother Leif; taking with him thirty companions. They fitted out the ship, and put out to sea. Nothing is recorded concerning the events of the voyage before their arrival at Leifsbudir [or Leifsbooths, which was the name given to the dwellings erected by Leif] in Vinland, where, the ship being drawn ashore, they passed the winter [1002–3], supporting themselves by catching fish.

In the ensuing spring Thorvald desired his men to make ready the ship, and selected some to go in the ship's boat along the western coast, and to explore it through the summer. The country seemed fair and woody, there being but little distance between the forests and the ocean, and much white sandy shore. There was a great number of islands and numerous shallows.

They found no habitations of men or beasts there, except in an island far west, where they saw a single wooden shed.[1] They found nothing more of human workmanship, and in the autumn they returned to Leif's booths.

The next summer [being A. D. 1004], Thorvald with a portion of his company in the great ship coasted along the eastern shore, and passed round the land to the northward. They were then driven by a storm against a neck of land, and the ship was stranded; the keel was damaged. Remaining here for some time, they repaired their ship. Then Thorvald said to his companions: "Now let us fix up the keel on this neck of land, and let us call the place 'Kialarness'" [*keel promontory*].

Having done as he desired, they sailed along the coast, leaving that neck to the eastward, and entered the mouths of the neighboring bays, until they came to a certain promontory which was covered with wood. Here they cast anchor, and prepared to land; and Thorvald and all his companions

[1] Beamish says, "a corn-shed of wood."

went on shore. Then said Thorvald: "This is a pleasant place, and here I should like to fix my habitation."

They afterwards, having returned to their ship, perceived on the sandy shore of the bay, within the promontory, three elevations. They went towards them, and saw three small boats made of skins (that is, canoes), and under each three men. They seized all of these except one, who escaped with his canoe. They killed those whom they had taken. Having returned to the promontory, they looked round and saw in the inner bay several elevations, which they considered to be habitations. They were all afterwards overcome by such a heavy sleep that none of them were able to keep watch. After some time a loud shout was heard which roused them all; and the words which roused them were these: "Awake, Thorvald, and all thy company, if you wish to preserve your lives; embark immediately, and make the best of your way from the land."[1] Then an innumerable multitude of canoes was seen approaching from the inner bay, by which Thorvald's party was immediately attacked. Then said Thorvald: "Let us raise protections over the sides of the ship, and defend ourselves as well as we are able, though we can avail little against this multitude." So it was done. The Skraelings cast their weapons at them for some time, and then precipitously retired. Then Thorvald inquired what wounds his men had received. They denied that any of them had been at all wounded. "I have received a wound under my arm," said Thorvald, "with an arrow, which, flying between the ship's side and the edge of my shield, fastened itself in my armpit; here is the arrow. This will cause my death. Now it is my advice that you prepare to return home as quickly as possible; but me you shall carry to the promontory which seemed to me so pleasant a place to dwell in. Perhaps the words which fell from me shall prove true, and I shall indeed abide there for a season. There bury me, and place a cross at my head and another at my feet, and call that place forever more 'Krossa-ness'" [*promontory shaped like a cross*]. At that time Greenland had been converted to Christianity [this being A. D. 1004, and Christianity having been introduced by Leif in 999, as we have seen]. Then Thorvald expired. Everything was done according to his directions; and those who had gone with him on this expedition, having joined their companions at Leifsbooths, informed them of all that had happened. They passed the following winter [the third, 1004–1005] there, and prepared quantities of grapes to carry home. Early in the following spring [1005] they set sail for Greenland, and arrived safely in Eireksfiord, having much melancholy intelligence to convey to Leif.

[1] Was the speaker one of Leif's men, left behind, whom the Skraelings had adopted?

SAGA OF THORFINN.

The Thorfinn Saga has perplexed every one, including the original scribe, who has attempted to adjust its parts in harmonious arrangement. It contains repetitions, has been subjected to transpositions, and seems the result of an effort to record all which could be regarded as true in the Saga, rather than of an intelligent comprehension of the order in which the sentences should be set down. The Saga itself bears witness to the confusion of the scribe. He says: "Now came they back to Straumfjord. . . . It is some men's say that Bjarni and Gudrid remained behind and a hundred men with them, and did not go further; but that Karlsefni and Snorri (Grimalson) went southwards, and forty men with them, and were not longer in Hóp than barely two months, and the same summer came back." (Beamish.)

This passage is cited to show that there was perplexity in the mind of the ancient recorder, and because it contains a most important key to the other parts of the narration. It is obvious to a careful reader that the Thorfinn Saga as a whole is a collection, as if from separate pieces of parchment, of brief relations by several different persons touching the events of more than one expedition, each relation true in itself, but the whole strung together with imperfect regard to proper sequence. Here follows Smith's version: —

Thorfinn occupied his time in mercantile expeditions, and was esteemed a skilful merchant. . . .

Thorfinn Karlsefni married Gudrid, and their nuptials were celebrated at Brattahlid during the same winter [1006–7].[1]

The conversation frequently turned, at Brattahlid, on the discovery of Vinland the Good, many saying that an expedition there held out a fair prospect of gain.

At length Thorfinn and Snorri made preparations for going on the expedition thither in the following spring. Biarni Grimolfson and Thorhall Gamlason, already mentioned, determined to accompany them. Thorvard, the husband of Freydis the daughter of Eirek, went with them, as did Thorvald Erickson.

An expedition was at length fitted out, consisting of three ships, with one hundred and sixty souls, of whom seven were women, and besides, little ships and the equipment for a colony. They took with them all kinds of live-stock, for they designed to colonize the land. Thorfinn asked Leif to give him the dwellings which he had erected in Vinland. Leif told him that he would grant him the use of them, but that he could not give them to him.[2]

Then they sailed to Westbygd, and thence to Bjarney; thence they sailed for two days toward the south. Land being seen they put out a boat and explored. They found vast flat stones, many of which were twelve ells broad. There was a great number of foxes there.

They called that land "Helluland." Thence they sailed two days in a southerly course, and came to a land covered with wood, and in which were many wild animals. Beyond this land to the southeast lay an island on which they killed a bear. They called the island "Bjarney" (Sable Island?), and the land "Markland."

Thence they sailed toward the south for two days, and arrived at a *ness*, or promontory of land. They sailed along the shores of this promontory, the land lying to the starboard. These shores were extensive and sandy. They made for land, and found on the ness the keel of a ship, wherefore they called the place "Kialarness." And they called the shores "Furdustrandir," because the coasting along them seemed tiresome.[3]

[1] The date is ascertained from the circumstance of its being mentioned in the "account of Eirek," etc., that Thorfinn and his companions arrived in Greenland in the summer of the same year as that in which Gudrid returned to Brattahlid after the death of Thorstein.

[2] *Then they bore out to sea with the ship, and came to Leif's booths, hale and whole, and landed there their cattle.* — Graenlendinga Thátt. (J. Eliot Cabot, Mass. Quarterly Review, March, 1849).

[3] It seems possible that the expedition turned away at once from Kjalarness to Leif's houses.

They afterwards came to a bay and directed the course of their vessels into this bay.

King Olaf Tryggvason [the same whom we saw that Leif visited] had given to Leif two Scots, a man named Haki and a woman named Hekia; they were swifter of foot than wild animals. These Leif had given to Thorfinn, and they were then in his ship. When they had passed beyond Furdustrandir he put these Scots on shore, directing them to run over the country toward the southwest for three days, and then return. They were very lightly clad. The ships lay to during their absence. When they returned one carried in his hand a bunch of grapes, the other an ear of corn [*a new sowen ear of wheat.* Beamish]. They went on board, and then the ships proceeded on their course until the land was intersected by another bay.

Outward from this bay lay an island, on each side of which there was a very rapid current. They named this island "Straumey" [*isle of currents*]. There was so great a number of eider ducks there that they could hardly walk without treading on the eggs. [Monomoy?]

They directed their course into this bay and called it "Straumfiord." Here they disembarked, and made preparations for remaining. They had carried out with them every kind of cattle, and found abundance of pasturage. The situation of this place was pleasant. They occupied their time chiefly in exploring the land. Here they passed the winter [1007–8].

That winter was very severe, and as they had no stores provided, provisions ran short, for they could neither hunt nor fish. So they passed over into the island, hoping that they might there find the means of subsistence, either in what they could catch or what should be cast ashore. They found, however, little better means of subsistence there than before, though the cattle were somewhat better off. Then they prayed to God that he would send them food; which prayer was not answered as soon as they desired.

About this time Thorhall was missing, and they went out to seek for him. Their search lasted for three days. On the morning of the fourth day Thorfinn and Biarni Grimolfson found him lying on the top of a rock. There he lay stretched out, with his eyes open, blowing through his mouth and nose, and mumbling to himself. They asked him why he had gone there. He answered that it was no business of theirs; that he was old enough to take care of himself without their troubling themselves with his affairs. They asked him to return home with them, which he did.

A short time after a whale was cast ashore, and they all ran down

eagerly to cut it up, but none knew what kind of a whale it was. Neither did Thorfinn, though well acquainted with whales, know this one. The cooks dressed the whale and they all eat of it, but were all taken ill immediately afterwards. Then said Thorhall: "Now you see that Thor is more ready to give aid than your Christ. This food is the reward of a hymn which I composed to Thor, my god, who has rarely forsaken me." When they heard this none would eat any more; and so they threw all the remainder of the flesh from the rocks, commending themselves to God. After which the air became milder; they were again able to go fishing; nor from that time was there any want of provisions, for there were abundance of wild animals hunted on the mainland, of eggs taken on the island, and of fish caught in the sea.

And now they began to dispute as to where they should next go. Thorhall, the hunter, wished to go north, round Furdustrandir and Kialarness, and so to explore Vinland. Thorfinn wished to coast along the shore toward the southwest, considering it as probable that there would be a more extensive tract of country the further south they went. It was thought more advisable that each should explore separately. Thorhall, therefore, made preparations on the island, his whole company consisting of nine only; all the others accompanied Thorfinn.

One day, as Thorhall was carrying water to his ship, he drank, and sang these verses: —

"I left the shores of Eireksfiord
To seek, O cursed Vinland, thine;
Each warrior pledging there his word
That we should here quaff choicest wine.
Great Odin, Warrior God, see how
These water-pails I carry now;
No wine my lips have touched, but low
At humblest fountain I must bow."

When all was ready and they were about to set sail Thorhall sang:

"Now home our joyful course we 'll take,
Where friends untroubled winters lead:
Now let our vessel swiftly make
Her channel o'er the ocean's bed;
And let the battle-loving crew
Who here rejoice and praise the land —
Let them catch whales, and eat them too,
And let them dwell in Furdustrand."

Thorhall's party then sailed northward, round Furdustrandir and Kialarness. But when they desired to sail thence westward, they were met by an adverse tempest and driven off on to the coast of Ireland, and there were beaten and made slaves. And there, as the merchants reported, Thorhall died.

Thorfinn,[1] with Snorri Thorbrandson, and Biarni Grimolfson, and all the rest of the company, sailed toward the southwest. They went on for some time until they came to a river which, flowing from land, passed through a lake into the sea. They found sandy shoals there, so that they could not pass up the river except at high tide. [*It was very shallow, and one could not enter the river without high water.* B.]

Thorfinn and his companions sailed up as far as the mouth of the river, and called the place "Hóp."

Having landed, they observed that where the land was low corn grew wild; where it rose higher vines were found; there were self-sown fields of wheat. Every river was full of fish. They dug pits in the sand where the tide rose highest, and at low tide there remained sacred fish in these pits. In the forest there were a great number of wild beasts of all kinds.

They passed half a month here [*there,* B.], carelessly, having brought with them their cattle [*and amused themselves and did not perceive anything new.* B.]. One morning as they were looking round they saw a great number of canoes, in which poles were carried. These poles, vibrating in the direction of the sun, emitted a sound like reeds shaken by the wind. Then said Thorfinn, "What do you think this means?" Snorri Thorbrandson answered, "Perhaps it is a sign of peace; let us take a white shield and hild out toward them." They did so. Then those in the canoes rowed toward them, seeming to wonder who they were, and landed. They were swarthy in complexion, short and savage in appearance, with ugly hair, great eyes, and broad cheeks. When they had stayed some time, and gazed at the strangers in astonishment, they departed and retired beyond the promontory to the southwest.

Thorfinn and his companions erected dwellings at a little distance from the lake; some nearer, others had made theirs further off. [*Some of the houses were near the water, others further off.* B.] They passed the winter here. No snow fell, and all their cattle lived unhoused.

One morning in the following spring they saw a great number of canoes approaching from beyond the promontory at the southwest.

They were in such great numbers that the whole water looked as if it

[1] This appears to be the beginning of a separate and original account of the voyage out from Greenland.

were sprinkled with cinders. Poles were, as before, suspended in each canoe. Thorfinn and his party held out shields, after which a barter of goods commenced between them. These people desired above all things to obtain some red cloth, in exchange for which they offered various kinds of skins, some perfectly gray. They were anxious also to purchase swords and spears, but this Thorfinn and Snorri forbade. For a narrow strip of red cloth they gave a whole skin, and tied the cloth round their heads. Thus they went on bartering for some time. When the supply of cloth began to run short, Thorfinn's people cut it into pieces so small that they did not exceed a finger's breadth; and yet the Skraelings gave for them as much as or even more than before.

It happened that a bull, which Thorfinn had brought with him, rushing from the woods, bellowed lustily just as this traffic was going on. The Skraelings were terribly alarmed at this, and running down quickly to their canoes, rowed back toward the southwest; from which time they were not seen for three weeks. At the end of that time a vast number of the canoes of the Skraelings was seen coming from the southwest. All their poles were on this occasion turned opposite to the sun, and they all howled fearfully. Thorfinn's party raised the red shield. The Skraelings landed and a battle followed. There was a galling discharge of weapons, for the Skraelings used slings. Thorfinn's party saw the Skraelings raise on a long pole a large globe, not unlike a sheep's belly, and almost of a blue color. They hurled this from the pole toward the party of Thorfinn, and as it fell it made a great noise. The sight of this excited great alarm among the followers of Thorfinn, so that they began immediately to fly along the course of the river, for they imagined themselves to be surrounded on all sides by the Skraelings. They did not halt till they reached some rocks, where they turned about and fought valiantly. Freydis going out (of the dwellings) and seeing the followers of Thorfinn flying, exclaimed, "Why do strong men like you run from such weak wretches, whom you ought to destroy like cattle? If I were armed, I believe that I should fight more bravely than any of you." They regarded not her words. Freydis endeavored to keep up with them, but was unable to do so, owing to the state of her health, — yet she followed them as far as the neighboring wood. The Skraelings pursued her. She saw a man lying dead. This was Thorbrand, the son of Snorri, in whose head a flat stone was sticking. His sword lay naked by his side. This she seized and prepared to defend herself. The Skraelings came up with her. She struck her breast with the naked sword, which so astonished the

Skraelings that they fled back to their canoes and rode off as fast as possible.

The followers of Thorfinn coming up to her extolled her courage. Two of their number fell, together with a vast number of the Skraelings.

Then the followers of Thorfinn, having been so hard pressed by the mere numbers of the enemy, returned home and dressed their wounds. Considering how great had been the multitude which had attacked them, they perceived that those who had come up from the canoes could have been only a single band, — that the remainder and greater part must have come upon them from ambush.

The Skraelings (in the course of the battle) found a dead man, and a battle-axe lying near him. One of them took up the axe and cut wood with it; then one after the other did the same, thinking it an instrument of great value, and very sharp. Presently one of them took it and struck it against a stone, so that the axe broke. Finding that it would not cut stone, they thought it useless and threw it away.

Thorfinn and his companions now thought it obvious that, although the quality of the land was excellent, yet there would always be danger to be apprehended from the natives. They therefore prepared to depart and to return to their native country. They first sailed round the land to the northward. They took near the shore five Skraelings clothed in skins and sleeping; these had with them boxes containing marrow mixed with blood. Thorfinn presumed them to have been exiled from the country. His people killed them. They afterwards came to a promontory abounding in wild animals, as they judged from the marks found in the sand.

They then went again to Straumfiord, where there were abundant supplies of all that they needed [*and there was abundance of everything that they wanted to have.* B.].

Some say that Biarni and Gudrid remained here with one hundred men and that they never went any farther; that Thorfinn and Snorri went toward the southwest with forty men, and that they remained no longer at Hóp than barely two months, returning the same summer [*and the same summer came back.* B.].

Afterwards Thorfinn went with one ship to seek Thorhall the Hunter, the rest remaining behind. Sailing northward round Kialarness they went westward after passing that promontory, the land lying to their left hand [larboard]. There they saw extended forests. When they had sailed for some time they came to a place where a river flowed

from southeast to northwest. Having entered its mouth they cast anchor on the southwestern bank.

One morning the followers of Thorfinn saw in an open place in the wood something at a distance which glittered. When they shouted it moved. This was a uniped, who immediately betook himself to the bank of the river where the ship lay. Thorvald Eirekson was sitting near the helm. The uniped shot an arrow at him. Thorvald, having extracted the arrow said: "We have found a rich land but shall enjoy it little." After a short time Thorvald died of the wound. The uniped subsequently retired. Thorfinn's crew pursued him. They presently saw him run into a neighboring creek. Then they returned and one of them sang these verses: —

"Pursue we did, —
'T is true, no more, —
The uniped
Down to the shore.

The wondrous man
His course quite clear
Through ocean ran!
Hear! Thorfinn, hear!"

Then, having returned, they sailed towards the south [*they drew off then, and to the northward.* B.]; for imagining that this was the land of the unipeds, they were unwilling to expose themselves to danger any longer. They concluded that the hills which were in Hóp were the same as those which they here saw [*and it also appeared to be equal length from Straumfiord to both places.* B.].

They passed the winter in Straumfiord. Snorri Thorfinnson had been born during the first autumn, and was in his third year when they left Vinland.

Setting sail from Vinland [in the spring of 1010] with a southerly wind, they touched at Markland and found there five Skraelings, of whom one was a grown man, two were women, and two boys. Thorfinn's party seized the boys, the others escaping and hiding themselves in caves. They took these two boys with them, taught them their language, and baptized them. The boys called their mother Vethilldi and their father Uvaege. They said that chiefs ruled over the Skraelings, of whom one was named Avalldania, the other Valldidda; that they had no houses, but lived in caverns and the hollows of rocks; that beyond their country was another, the inhabitants of which were clothed in white, and carried before them long poles with flags, and

shouted with a loud voice. It was thought that this must be Huitramannaland, or *Irland it Mikla.*

They afterwards reached Eireksfiord in Greenland. . . .

FROM JAMES ELIOT CABOT'S "DISCOVERY OF AMERICA BY THE NORTHMEN."

[*In the Massachusetts Quarterly Review*, 1849.]

THE following translations are taken from the *Tháttir*[1] *Eirek's Rauda* and the *Graenlendinga Thátt.* ("the piece about Eirek the Red," and "the piece about the Greenlanders"), which are presented here nearly entire. These pieces are fragments which have been interpolated into a Life of King Olaf Tryggvason. The manuscripts are of the end of the fourteenth century (1387–1395), but the style and other evidences show them to be copies from much older ones.

It seems that among a large number of Icelanders who accompanied Eirek the Red (who was the first to make a voyage to Greenland, after its discovery by Gunnbiorn) was one Herjulf, whose son Biarni — a merchant — had been in the habit of passing every other winter at home with his father, and then sailing again on distant voyages.

That same summer [985 or] 986 came Biarni with his ship to Eyrar, in the spring of which his father had sailed from the island. These tidings seemed to Biarni weighty, and he would not unload his ship. Then asked his sailors what he meant to do. He answered that he meant to hold to his wont, and winter with his father, "and I will bear for Greenland if you will follow me thither." All said they would do as

[1] Small stories.

he wished. Then said Biarni, "Imprudent they will think our voyage, since none of us has been in the Greenland Sea."

Yet they bore out to sea as soon as they were boun,[1] and sailed three days till the land was sunk; then the fair wind fell off and there arose north winds and fogs, and they knew not whither they fared; and so it went for many days. After that they saw the sun, and could then get their bearings. Then they hoisted sail and sailed that day before they saw land; and they counselled with themselves what land that might be. Biarni said he thought it could not be Greenland. They asked him whether they would sail to the land or not. "This is my counsel, to sail nigh to the land" (said he); and so they did, and soon saw that the land was without fells, and wooded, and small heights on the land; and they left the land to larboard, and let the foot of the sail look towards land.[2] After that they sailed two days before they saw another land. They asked if Biarni thought this was Greenland. He said he thought it no more Greenland than the first; "for the glaciers are very huge, as they say, in Greenland." They soon neared the land, and saw it was flat land and overgrown with wood. Then the fair wind fell. Then the sailors said that it seemed prudent to them to land there; but Biarni would not. They thought they needed both wood and water. "Of neither are you in want," said Biarni; but he got some hard speeches for that from his sailors. He bade them hoist sail, and so they did; and they turned the bows from the land, and sailed out to sea with a west-southwest wind three days, and saw a third land; but that land was high, mountainous, and covered with glaciers. They asked then if Biarni would put ashore there, but he said he would not; "for this land seems to me not very promising." They did not lower their sails, but held on along this land, and saw that it was an island; but they turned the stern to the land, and sailed seawards with the same fair wind. But the wind rose, and Biarni bade them shorten sail and not to carry more than their ship and tackle would bear. They sailed now four days, then saw they land the fourth. Then they asked Biarni whether he thought that was Greenland or not. Biarni answered, "That is likest to what is said to me of Greenland, and we will put ashore." So they did, and landed under a certain ness [cape] at evening of the day. And there was a boat at the ness; and there lived Herjulf, the father of Biarni, on this ness; and from him has the ness taken its name, and is since called 'Herjulfsness.' Now fared Biarni to his father, and gave up sailing, and was with his father whilst Herjulf lived, and afterwards lived there after his father."

[1] Or bound (*búnir*); namely, ready, — as we say a ship is "bound" for London.

[2] Ok lètu skaut horfa á land.

Eirek the Red, the leader of the colony, was still looked upon as its head; and Biarni once having paid him a visit, and being well received, the conversation fell upon his adventures and his discoveries of unknown lands. All thought Biarni had shown very little curiosity in not making further explorations. There was much talk about voyages of discovery; and Leif, the eldest of Eirek's three sons, resolved to see this newly discovered country. Accordingly he paid Biarni a visit, bought his vessel of him, and engaged a crew.

He now endeavored to persuade his father to accompany him, and after some trouble succeeded. But the old man, on the way to the vessel, fell from his horse and injured his foot. Thereupon he said, "It is not fated that I should discover more countries than those we now inhabit, and we can now no longer fare all together." So he returned home; but Leif with his companions, thirty-five in all, set sail.

(A. D. 999.) First they found the land which Biarni had found last. Then sailed they to the land and cast anchor, and put off a boat and went ashore, and saw there no grass. Mickle glaciers were over all the higher parts; but it was like a plain of rock from the glaciers to the sea, and it seemed to them that the land was good for nothing. Then said Leif, "We have not done about this land like Biarni, not to go upon it; now I will give a name to the land and call it 'Helluland'" [*flat-stone land*]. Then they went to their ship. After that they sailed into the sea, and found another land; sailed up to it and cast anchor, then put off a boat and went ashore. This land was flat and covered with wood and broad white sands wherever they went; and the shore was low. Then said Leif, "From its make shall a name be given to this land, and it shall be called 'Markland'" [*wood-land*]. Then they went quickly down to the vessel. Now they sailed thence into the sea with a northeast wind, and were out two days before they saw land; and they sailed to land, and came to an island that lay north of the

land; and they went onto it and looked about them in good weather, and found that dew lay upon the grass; and that happened that they put their hands in the dew and brought it to their mouths, and they thought they had never known anything so sweet as that was.[1] Then they went to their ship and sailed into that sound that lay between that island and a ness which went northward from the land, and then steered westward past the ness. There were great shoals at ebb-tide, and their vessel stood up, and it was far to see from the ship to the sea. But they were so curious to fare to the land that they could not bear to bide till the sea came under their ship, and ran ashore where a river flows out from a lake. But when the sea came under their ship, then took they the boat and rowed to the ship, and took it up into the river, and then into the lake, and there cast anchor, and bore from the ship their skin cots and made there booths.

Afterwards they took counsel to stay there that winter, and made there great houses. There was no scarcity of salmon in the rivers and lakes, and larger salmon than they had before seen. There was the land so good, as it seemed to them, that no cattle would want fodder for the winter. There came no frost in the winter, and little did the grass fall off there. Day and night were more equal there than in Greenland or Iceland; the sun had there *eyktarstad* and *dagmalastad*[2] on the shortest day. But when they had ended their house-building, then said Leif to his companions, "Now let our company be divided into two parts, and the land kenned; and one half of the people shall be at the house at home, but the other half shall ken the land, and fare not further than that they may come home at evening; and they shall not separate." Now so they did one time. Leif changed about, so that he went with them [one day] and [the next] was at home at the house. Leif was a mickle man and stout, most noble to see, a wise man and moderate in all things.

Leif the Lucky Found Men on a Skerry at Sea.

One evening it chanced that a man was wanting of their people, and this was Tyrker, the Southerner.[3] Leif took this very ill; for

[1] Probably the so-called honey-dew, — a sweet substance deposited on the plants by certain insects (*aphides*), which often attracts swarms of ants and flies to rose-bushes infested by them. (See last line of page 92.)

[2] *Dagmalastad* was half-past seven A.M., — the hour of sunrise in the south of Iceland on the first day of winter (October 17). *Eyktarstad* was the period fixed (in the laws) as the end of the natural day; namely, half-past four P.M. — *Antiquitates Americanae*, p. 435.

[3] That is, the German.

Tyrker had been long with his parents, and loved Leif much in his childhood. Leif now chid his people sharply, and made ready to fare forth to seek him, and twelve men with him. But when they had gone a little way, there came Tyrker to meet them, and was joyfully received. Leif found at once that his old friend was somewhat out of his mind; he was bustling and unsteady-eyed, freckled in face, little and wizened in growth, but a man of skill in all art. Then said Leif to him, "Why wert thou so late, my fosterer, and separated from the party?" He talked at first a long while in German, and rolled many ways his eyes and twisted his face; but they skilled not what he said. He said then in Norse after a time: "I went not very far, but I have great news to tell; I have found grape-vines and grapes." "Can that be true, my fosterer?" quoth Leif. "Surely it is true," quoth he, "for I was brought up where there is no want of grape-vines or grapes." Then they slept for the night, but in the morning Leif said to his sailors: "Now we shall have two jobs; each day we will either gather grapes or new grape-vines, and fell trees,—so there will be a cargo for my ship;" and that was the counsel taken. It is said that their long boat was filled with grapes. Now was hewn a cargo for the ship; and when spring came they got ready and sailed off; and Leif gave a name to the land after its sort, and called it "Vinland" [*wine-land*]. They sailed then afterwards into the sea, and had a fair wind until they saw Greenland and the fells under the glaciers. Then a man took the word, and said to Leif, "Why steerest thou the ship so close to the wind?" Leif answered, "I look to my steering and to something more; and what see ye remarkable?" They said they saw nothing that seemed remarkable. "I know not," said Leif, "whether I see a ship or a rock." Now they looked, and said it was a rock. But he saw further than they, and saw men on the rock. "Now we must bite into the wind" [*beitim undir vedrit*], said Leif, "so that we may near them if they are in need of our aid, and it is needful to help them; but if so be it that they are not peaceably disposed, all the strength is on our side and not on theirs." Now they came close to the rock, and furled their sail and cast anchor, and put out another little boat which they had with them. Then asked Tyrker, Who rode before them [who was their leader]? He said he was named Thorir, and that he was a Norseman of kin. "But what is thy name?" Leif told his name. "Art thou son of Eirek the Red, of Brattahlid?" said he. Leif said it was so. "Now will I," said Leif, "bid you all to my ship, and as many of the goods as the ship will carry." They were thankful for the chance, and sailed to Eireksfirth with the cargo until they came to Brattahlid, and then unloaded the ship. Afterwards Leif bade Thorir to stay with him, and also Gudrid his wife, and

three other men, and got lodgings for the other sailors, — both Thorir's and his own fellows. Leif took fifteen men from the rock. After that he was called Leif the Lucky. Leif was now both well to do and honored. That winter there came a great sickness among Thorir's people, and carried off Thorir and many of his people. This winter died also Eirek the Red.

Now there was a great talk about Leif's Vinland voyage; and Thorvald, his brother, thought the land had been too little explored. Then said Leif to Thorvald, "Thou shalt go with my ship, brother, if thou wilt, to Vinland; but I want that the ship should go first after the wood that Thorir had on the rock;" and so was done.

Thorvald Fares to Vinland.

Now Thorvald made ready for this voyage with thirty men, with the counsel thereon of Leif, his brother. Then they fitted out their ship and bore out to sea [A.D. 1002]; and there is nothing told of their voyage before they came to Vinland to Leif's booths; and they laid up their ship and dwelt in peace there that winter, and caught fish for their meat. But in the spring Thorvald said they would get ready their ship, and send their longboat and some men with it along to the westward of the land, and explore it during the summer. The land seemed to them fair and wooded, and narrow between the woods and the sea, and of white sand. There were many islands and great shoals. They found neither man's abode nor beasts;[1] but on an island to the westward they found a corn-shed of wood. More works of men they found not; and they went back, and came to Leif's booths in the fall. But the next summer fared Thorvald eastward with the merchant-ship, and coasted to the northward. Here a heavy storm arose as they were passing one of two capes, and drove them up there and broke the keel under the ship; and they dwelt there long, and mended their ship. Then said Thorvald to his companions: "Now will I that we raise up here a keel on the ness, and call it 'Keelness;'" and so they did. After that they sailed thence, and coasted to the eastward, and into the mouths of the firths that were nearest to them, and to a headland that stretched out. This was all covered with wood. Here they brought the ship into harbor and shoved a bridge onto the land, and Thorvald went ashore with all his company. He said then, "Here it is fair, and here would I like to raise my dwellings." They went then to the ship, and saw upon the sands within the headland three heights; and they went thither and

[1] Beamish says "neither dwellings of men or beasts."

saw there three skin boats, and three men under each. Then they divided their people, and laid hands on them all, except one that got off with his boat. They killed these eight, and went then back to the headland and looked about them there, and saw in the firth some heights, and thought they were dwellings. After that there came a heaviness on them so great that they could not keep awake, and all slumbered. Then came a call above them so that they all awoke. Thus said the call: "Awake, Thorvald, and all thy company, if thou wilt keep thy life; and fare thou to thy ship, and all thy men, and fare from the land of the quickest" [a cry, probably, from one of Leif's men who had identified himself with the Indians and did not return to Greenland]. Then came from within the firth innumerable skin boats, and made toward them. Thorvald said then, "We will set up our battle-shields, and guard ourselves the best we can, but fight little against them." So they did; and the Skraelings shot at them for a while, but then fled each as fast as he could. Then Thorvald asked his men if any of them was hurt; they said they were not hurt. "I have got a hurt under the arm," said he; "for an arrow flew between the bulwarks and the shield under my arm, and here is the arrow, and that will be my death. Now I counsel that ye make ready as quickly as may be to return; but ye shall bear me to the headland which I thought the likeliest place to build. It may be it was a true word I spoke, that I should dwell there for a time. There ye shall bury me, and set crosses at my head and feet, and call it 'Krossanes' henceforth." Greenland was then Christianized, but Eirek the Red had died before Christianity came thither. Now Thorvald died; but they did everything according as he had said, and then went and found their companions and told each other the news they had to tell, and lived there that winter and gathered grapes and vines for loading the ship. Then in the spring they made ready to sail for Greenland, and came with their ship to Eireksfirth, and had great tidings to tell to Leif.

In the meanwhile Thorstein, Eirek's third son, had married Gudrid, the widow of the Norwegian Thorir, whom Leif had rescued from the rock. When the news of his brother's death arrived, Thorstein resolved to go after Thorvald's dead body, in order to give it a Christian burial. Accordingly he set off; but after driving about the whole summer unsuccessfully, he was obliged to put

in at the western settlement of Greenland, where they remained that winter. Here Thorstein and many of his men died of a pestilence, and Gudrid returned to Leif at the eastern settlement. This summer a rich Norwegian, named Thorfin Kalsefni, came to Greenland and stayed at Leif's house, where he fell in love with Gudrid and married her. There being still a great talk about Vinland, Thorfin was persuaded to undertake a voyage thither, — which he did, taking with him his wife and a company of sixty men and five women [1] (A. D. 1007).

"This agreement made Karlsefni and his seamen, that they should have even-handed all that they should get in the way of goods. They had with them all sorts of cattle, as they thought to settle there if they liked. Karlsefni begged Leif for his house in Vinland; but he said he would lend him the house, but not give it. Then they bore out to sea with the ship and came to Leif's booths hale and whole, and landed there their cattle. There soon came into their hands a great and good prize; for a whale was driven ashore, both great and good. Then they went to cut up the whale, and had no scarcity of food. The cattle went up into the country, and it soon happened that the male cattle became wild and unruly. They had with them a bull. Karlsefni had wood felled and brought to the ship, and had the wood piled on the cliff to dry. They had all the good things of the country, both of grapes and of all sorts of game and other things. After the first winter came the summer; then they saw appear the Skraelings, and there came from out the wood a great number of men. Near by were their neat-cattle; and the bull took to bellowing [tok at belja], and roared loudly; whereat the Skraelings were frightened, and ran off with their bundles. These were furs, and sable-skins, and skin-wares of all kinds. And they turned towards Karlsefni's booths, and wanted to get into the house, but Karlsefni had the doors guarded. Neither party understood the other's language. Then the Skraelings took down their bags and opened them and offered them for sale, and wanted above all to have weapons for them. But Karlsefni forbade them to sell weapons.

[1] Beamish and Smith give the total number 160. Vigfusson translates the passage "*four tens off the second hundred.*" Icelandic Prose-reader, Notes to Erik's Saga Rauda, 1879, p. 381.

He took this plan: he bade the women bring out their dairy stuff [1] for them; and so soon as they saw this they would have that and nothing else. Now this was the way the Skraelings traded, — they bore off their wares in their stomachs; but Karlsefni and his companions had their bags and skin-wares, and so they parted. Now hereof is this to say, that Karlsefni had posts driven strongly round about his booths, and made all complete. At this time Gudrid, the wife of Karlsefni, bore a man-child, and he was called Snorri. In the beginning of the next winter the Skrælings came to them again, and were many more than before, and they had the same wares as before. Then Karlsefni said to the women, "Now bring forth the same food that was most liked before, and no other." And when they saw it they cast their bundles in over the fence. . . . (But one of them being killed by one of Karlsefni's men, they all fled in haste and left their garments and wares behind.) "Now I think we need a good counsel," said Karlsefni, "for I think they will come for the third time in anger and with many men. Now we must do this: ten men must go out to that ness and show themselves there; but another party must go into the wood and hew a place clear for our neat-cattle, when the foe shall come from the wood. And we must take the bull and let him go before us." But thus it was with the place where they thought to meet, that a lake was on one side and the wood on the other. Now it was done as Karlsefni had said. Now came the Skraelings to the place where Karlsefni had thought should be the battle. And now there was a battle, and many of the Skraelings fell. There was one large and handsome man among the Skraelings, and Karlsefni thought he might be their leader. Now one of the Skraelings had taken up an axe and looked at it awhile, and struck at one of his fellows and hit him, — whereupon he fell dead. Then the large man took the axe and looked at it awhile and threw it into the sea as far as he could. But after that they fled to the wood, each as fast as he could; and thus ended the strife. Karlsefni and his companions were there all that winter; but in the spring Karlsefni said he would stay there no longer, and would fare to Greenland. Now they made ready for the voyage, and bare thence much goods; namely, grape-vines and grapes and skin-wares. Now they sailed into the sea and came home with their ship to Eireksfirth, and were there that winter.

[1] *Bunyt, lacticinia,* — anything made of milk.

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