THE

PRE-COLUMBIAN

DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

BY

THE NORTHMEN,

WITH

TRANSLATIONS FROM THE ICELANDIC SAGAS.

BY

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THIRD EDITION REVISED.

ALBANY, N. Y.:
JOEL MUNSELL'S SONS, PUBLISHERS.
1901.

CONTENTS.

MINOR NARRATIVES, AND LETTERS.

PREFACE.

The chief aim of this work is to place within the reach of the English-reading public every portion of the Icelandic-Sagas relating to the Pre-Columbian Discovery of America by the Northmen, and to indicate the movements by which that discovery was preceded. The reader will, therefore, find in this volume material from the Sagas not to be found in any other work in an English form.

The Sagas have been left, in the main, to tell their own story, though the necessary notes and explanations have been added.

So long ago as the year 1838, a distinguished writer in the North American Review, in closing a valuable and appreciative article on the Sagas relating to America, said: "We trust that some zealous student of these subjects will be immediately found, who will put the Icelandic authorities into an English dress, and prepare them, with proper literary apparatus, for the perusal of the general reader."

In 1868 this suggestion was acted upon by the writer. Availing himself liberally of the studies of those who had preceded him, he brought out a volume devoted to the subject. That work, however, owing to a large demand, soon went out of print; while in 1890 the progress of discussion, and the nearness of the coming Columbian Celebration, justified a new edition, which was brought out, with various improvements, being soon exhausted.

A third edition is now called for, and, in fact, rendered necessary by the discovery in the Vatican Library, at Rome, of a number of Papal letters that exhibit the subject in a new light. The testimony of these letters is of the highest value.

In treating the Sagas, the writer has not felt called upon to modify his views on any important point, and, substantially, his interpretation of these documents is the same as that undertaken in the original work. Time has only served to strengthen the belief of scholars in the historical character of the Sagas, while geographical studies now point, as formerly, to New England as one scene of the Northman's exploits, many of which have left no record, though traces of Icelandic occupation may yet be found on the coast between Cape Cod and Nova Scotia.

The author is strengthened in his opinion, not only by his own studies, but by the growing favor with which the profoundest scholars in Europe regard the Icelandic historical literature. Everywhere societies, as well as distinguished students of history, are in one way or another expressing their belief in the authenticity of the Sagas relating to the Pre-Columbian Discovery of America. Speaking of the Icelandic voyagers, and their acquaintance with America, Professor Max Muller says: "I have met with nothing to shake my belief in the fact that the Northmen possessed such knowledge." *

This work is not issued with the least intention of seeking to detract from the glory of the achievements of Columbus. That were impossible, though we should remember the claim of the Cabots, the great fellow countrymen of the Genoese, who saw the Continent of America before Columbus himself viewed it. The desire is to place before the reader the story preceding that of 1492, which is so interesting and important.

The author hopes that the Sagas have not been misinterpreted, or left obscure, especially as these records relating to the Pre-Columbian voyages are given in Professor Rafn's work on the Antiquities of America, accompanied by helpful notes and versions in Latin and Danish. In everything relating to the latter tongue, the author has had the invaluable assistance and advice of one who has

* Letter to the Author, August 14, 1889.

spoken it from childhood. He has also had most important and indispensable aid in connection with the Icelandic.

This work being strictly historical, both in spirit and design, the poetical extracts which occur here and there are translated as literally as possible, without any attempt to garnish them with metre and rhyme. Nevertheless examples in rhyme are given in the Notes.

It will be seen that the author differs on some points from Professor Rafn; yet it is believed that if that great student of Northern Antiquities could have gone over the subject again, studying it on the ground, and amid the scenes in which so many of the exploits of the Northmen were performed, he would have modified some of his views.

On the other hand, the author has sought to strengthen several of the conclusions of that noble and laborious investigator, and particularly by bringing out more fully the truthfulness of the Icelandic descriptions of the New England coast, which, centuries ago, presented an aspect that it does not now possess.

Let us remember, too, that in vindicating the Icelanders we honor those who gave, not indeed the first knowledge of the American Continent, but men to whom we are indebted for much that we esteem very valuable besides the immortal Sagas. In reality we fable, in a great measure, when we speak of our "Saxon inheritance." It is rather from the Northmen that we derived vital energy, freedom of thought, and, in a measure that we do not yet suspect, our strength of speech. Yet, happily, the people are becoming conscious of their indebtedness; so that it is to be hoped that the time is not far distant when the Northmen may be recognized in their true social, political and literary character, and at the same time, as navigators assume their rightful position in the Pre-Columbian Discovery of America.

It is gratifying to to be able to state here, in concluding, that, after the publication of the Second Edition of this work (just before 1890), the distinguished historian of the United States, the Hon. George Bancroft, under date

of Washington, D. C., Dec. 30, 1889, communicated to the author the fact that he had withdrawn his objections to the historic character of the voyages recorded in the Sagas, and that he struck out reference to the subject in his last work, not only for the reason that he was engaged in condensing the narrative, but because he recognized that he had long been in error. This is certainly a most important admission.

B. F. DE COSTA.

PRE-COLUMBIAN DISCOVERY.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

HISTORIC FANCIES.

Before the plains of Europe rose above the primeval seas the Continent of America emerged from the watery waste that encircled the whole globe, and became the scene of animate life. The so-called New World is in reality the Old, and bears abundant proofs of hoary age. But at what period it became the abode of man we are unable even to conjecture. Down to the close of the tenth century of the Christian era it had little or no written history even in Central America. Traces of a rude civilization that suggest a high antiquity are by no means wanting. Monuments and mounds remain that point to periods the contemplation of which would cause Chronos himself to grow giddy; yet among all these great and often impressive memorials there is no monument, inscription or sculptured frieze that satisfactorily explains their origin. Tradition itself is dumb, and the theme chiefly kindles when brought within the realm of imagination. We can only infer that age after age nations and tribes rose to greatness and then fell into decline, barbarism and a rude culture holding alternate sway.[1]

Nevertheless, men have enjoyed no small degree of satisfaction in conjuring up theories to explain the origin of the early races on the Western Continent. What a charm

[1] Of course we must not overlook the recent researches into the history of Central America, and especially the studies in connection with Yucatan.

lingers around the supposed trans-Atlantic voyages of the hardy Phenician, the luxurious sailors of Tyre, and, later, of the bold Basque. What stories might the lost picture-records of Mexico and the chronicles of Dieppe tell. Now we are presented with the splendid view of great fleets, the remnant of some conquered race, bearing across the ocean to re-create in new and unknown lands the cities and monuments they were forever leaving behind; and now it is simply the story of some storm-tossed mariner, who blindly drives across the sea to the western strand, and lays the foundation of empire. Again it is the devotee of mammon in search of gainful traffic or golden fleece. How romantic is the picture of his little solitary bark setting out in the days of Roman greatness, or in the splendid age of Charlemagne, sailing trustingly away between the pillars of Hercules, and tossing toward the Isles of the Blessed and the Fountains of Eternal Youth. In time the *Ultima Thule* of the known world is passed, and favoring gales bear the merchant-sailor to new and wondrous lands. We see him coasting the unknown shores, passing from cape to cape, and from bay to inlet, gazing upon the marvels of the New World, trafficking with the bronzed Indian, bartering curious wares for barbaric gold; and then shaping his course again for the markets of the distant East, to pour strange tales into incredulous ears. Still this may not be all fancy.

THE SEA OF DARKNESS.

In early times the Atlantic ocean, like all things without known bounds, was viewed by man with mixed feelings of fear and awe. It was called the Sea of Darkness. Yet, nevertheless, there were those who professed to have some knowledge of its extent, and of what lay beyond. The earliest reference to this sea is that by Theopompus, in the fourth century before the Christian era, given in a fragment of Ælian,[1] where a vast island is described, lying far in the west, and peopled by strange races. To this we may

[1] *Var. Hist.* lib. III, cap. XVIII.

add the reference of Plato[1] to the island called "Atlantis," west of the Pillars of Hercules, which was estimated to be larger than Asia and Africa combined.[2] Aristotle also thought that many other lands existed beyond the Atlantic. Plato supposed that Atlantis was sunk by an earthquake, and Crantor declares that he found the same account related by the Priests of Sais three hundred years after the time of Solon, from whom the grandfather of Critias had his information. Plato says, that after Atlantis disappeared, navigation was rendered too difficult to be attempted on account of the slime which resulted from the sinking of the land. It is probable that he had in mind the immense fields of drifting sea-weed found in that locality, estimated by Humboldt to cover a portion of the Atlantic ocean six times as large as all Germany.

It is thought that Homer[3] obtained the idea of his Elysium in the Western ocean from the voyages of the Phenicians, who, as is well known, sailed regularly to the British Islands. They are also supposed by some to have pushed their discoveries as far as the Western Continent. Cadiz, situated on the shore of Andalusia, was established by the Tyrians twelve centuries before the birth of Christ; and when Cadiz, the ancient Gadir, was full five hundred years old, a Greek trader, Colæus, there bought rare merchandise, a long and severe gale having driven his ships beyond the Pillars of Hercules.

THE PHENICIANS.

In the ninth century before the Christian era, the Phenicians had established colonies on the western coast of Africa; and three hundred years later, according to Herodotus, Pharaoh Necho, son of Psammiticus, sent an expedition, manned by Phenician sailors, around the entire coast

[1] See Plato's *Critias and Timæas.*

[2] *De Mundo,* cap. III. See *Prince Henry the Navigator,* chap. VII, by Major, London, 1868.

[3] *Odyssey,* book IV, l. 765.

of Africa. Vivien de St. Martin fixes the date of this expedition at 570 before Christ. St. Martin, in his account of the voyage, improves slightly upon the views of Carl Muller, and is followed by Bougainville.[1] A notice of this voyage performed by Hanno under the direction of Pharaoh, was inscribed in the Punic language on a Carthagenian temple, being afterward translated into Greek.

That the Canary Islands were discovered and colonized by the Phenicians, there need be no doubt. Tradition had always located islands in that vicinity. Strabo speaks of the Islands of the Blessed, as lying not far from Mauritania, opposite Gadir or Cadiz. He distinctly says, "That those who pointed out these things were *the Phenicians*, who, before the time of Homer, had possession of the best part of Africa and Spain."[2] When we remember that the Phenicians sought to monopolize trade, and hold the knowledge of their commercial resorts a secret, it is not surprising that we should hear no more of the Fortunate Isles until about eighty-two years before Christ, when the Roman Sertorius met some Lusitanian sailors on the coast of Spain who had just returned from the Fortunate Isles. They are described as two delightful islands, separated by a narrow strait, distant from Africa five hundred leagues. Twenty years after the death of Sertorius, Statius Sebosus drew up a chart of a group of five islands, each mentioned by name, and which Pliny calls the Hesperides, including the Fortunate Isles. This mention of the Canaries was sixty-three years before Christ.

JUBA'S EXPEDITION.

When King Juba II returned to Mauritania, he sent an expedition to the Fortunate Isles. A fragment of the narratives of this expedition is found in the works of Pliny. The islands are described as lying south-west, six hundred and twenty-five miles from Purpurariæ. To reach them

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[1] See "Prince Henry the Navigator," p. 90.

[2] Strabo, lib. III.

from the latter place, they first sailed two hundred and fifty miles westward, and then three hundred and seventy-five miles eastward. Pliny says: "The first is called Ombrios, and affords no traces of buildings. It contains a pool in the midst of mountains, and trees like ferules, from which water may be pressed. It is bitter from the black kinds, but from the light kinds pleasant to drink. The second is called Junonia, and contains a small temple built entirely of stone. Near it is another smaller island having the same name. Then comes Capraria, which is full of large lizards. Within sight of these is Nivaria, named from the snow and fogs with which it is always covered. Not far from Nivaria is Canaria, called thus on account of the great number of large dogs therein, two of which were brought to King Juba. There were traces of buildings in these islands. All the islands abound in apples and in birds of every kind, and in palms covered with dates and in the pine nut. There is also plenty of fish. The papyrus grows there, and the silurus fish is found in the rivers."[1]

The author of *Prince Henry the Navigator*,[2] says that in Ombrios, we recognize the Pluvialia of Sebosus. Convallis of Sebosus, in Pliny, becomes Nivaria, the Peak of Teneriffe, which lifts litsef up to the majestic height of nine thousand feet, its snow-capped pinnacle seeming to pierce the sky. Planaria is displaced by Canaria, which term, first applied to the great central island, now gives the name to the whole group. Ombrios or Pluvialia, evidently means the island of Palma, which had "a pool in the midst of mountains," now represented by the crater of an extinct volcano. This the sailors of King Juba evidently saw. Major says: "The distance of this island (Palma) from Fuerteventura agrees with that of the two hundred and fifty miles indicated by Juba's navigators as existing between Ombrios and the Purpurariæ. It has already been

[1] Pliny's "Natural History," lib. VI, cap. XXXVII.

[2] See p. 137, First Edition.

seen that the latter agree with Lancerote and Fuerteventura, in respect of their distance, from the Continent and from each other, as described by Plutarch. That the Purpurariæ are not, as M. Bory de St. Vincent supposed, the Madeira group, is not only shown by the want of inhabitants in the latter, but by the orchil, which supplies the purple dye, being derived from and sought for especially from the Canaries, and not from the Madeira group, although it is to be found there. Junonia," he continues, "the nearest to Ombrios, will be Gomera. It may be presumed that the temple found therein was, like the island, dedicated to Juno. Capraria, which implies the island of goats, agrees correctly with the island of Ferro, . . . for these animals were found there in large numbers when the island was invaded by Jean de Bethencourt, in 1402. But a yet more striking proof of the identity of this island with Capraria, is the account of the great number of lizards found therein. Bethencourt's chaplains, describing their visit to the islands, in 1402, state: 'There are lizards in it as big as cats, but they are harmless, although very hideous to look at.'"[1]

We see, then, that the navigators of Juba visited the Canaries[2] at an early period, as did the Phenicians, who doubtless built the temple in the island of Junonia. For aught we know, early navigators may have passed over

[1] "Prince Henry the Navigator," p. 137.

[2] After this mention by Pliny, the Canaries, or Fortunate Isles, are lost sight of for a period of thirteen hundred years. In the reign of Edward III of England, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, one Robert Machin sailed from Bristol for France, carrying away a lady of rank, who had eloped with him, and was driven by a storm to the Canaries, where he landed, and thus re-discovered the lost Fortunate Isles. This fact is curiously established by Major, in the "Life of Prince Henry," so that it can no longer be regarded as an idle tales. (See pp. 66–77). In 1341 a voyage was also made to the Canaries, under the auspices of King Henry of Portugal. The report, so widely circulated by De Barros, that the islands

to the Western Continent and laid the foundation of those strange nations whose monuments still remain. Both Phenician and Tyrian voyages to the Western Continent have been advocated; while Lord Kingsborough published his magnificent volumes on the Mexican Antiquities, to show that the Jews settled this continent at an early day.[1] If it is true that all the tribes of the earth sprang from one central Asiatic family, it is not unlikely that some of the original inhabitants of the American Continent crossed the Atlantic, instead of piercing the frozen regions of the north, or coming in by the way of Behring Straits. From the Canaries to the coast of Florida, it is a short voyage, and the bold sailors of the Mediterranean, after touching at the Canaries, need only spread their sails before the steady-breathing monsoon to find themselves wafted safely to the western shore.

TRADITIONS.

There is a tradition that America was visited by St. Columba,[2] and also by the Apostle St. Thomas,[3] who penetrated even as far as Peru. This opinion is founded on the resemblance existing between certain rites and doctrines which might *seem* to have been held in common by Christians and the early inhabitants of Mexico. The first Spanish missionaries were surprised to find the Mexicans apparently bowing in adoration before a figure of the cross, and inferred that these people were of a Christian origin. Yet the inference has no special value, when we remember that Christianity is far less ancient than the symbol of the

were re-discovered by Prince Henry is, therefore, incorrect. His expedition reached Porto Santo and Madeira in 1418-1420.

[1] He also speculates upon the probability of this Continent having been visited by Christian missionaries. The Hebrew theory is hardly tenable, and must be classed with the speculations of the famous Major Noah. See vol. VI, p. 410.

[2] Kingsborough's *Mexican Antiquities*, vol. VI, p. 285.

[3] Ibid., p. 332.

cross, which existed among the Egyptians and other ancient people.[1]

Attention must be given to the activity of the Irish. Broughton brings forward a passage in which St. Patrick is represented as sending missionaries to the Isles of America.[2] A claim has been urged of a more respectable character, supported by striking, though not wholly conclusive allusions in the chronicles of the North, in which a distant land is spoken of as "Ireland the Great." The Irish, in the early times, might easily have passed over to the Western Continent, for which voyage they undoubtedly had the facilities. Professor Rafn, after alluding to the well-known fact that the Northmen were preceded in Iceland by the Irish, says, that it is by no means improbable that the Irish should also have anticipated them in America. The Irish were a sea-faring people, and have been assigned a Phenician origin by Moore and others who have examined the subject.[3] If this is so, the tradition would appear to be somewhat strengthened. Even as early as the year 296, the Irish are said to have invaded Denmark

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[1] In Mexico they seem to have used the Epyptian *ankh*, the sign of life.

[2] *Monastikon Brittanicum*, pp. 131–132, 187–188. The fact that the word *America* is here used seems hardly sufficient to upset the legend. Speaking of the claims to Pre-Columbian discovery at the west by the various eastern peoples, Mr. Winsor admits that "there is no good reason why any one of them may not have done all that is claimed." *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. I, p. 59.

[3] The Irish were early known as Scots, and O'Halloran derives the name from Scota, high priest of Phoenius, and ancestor of Mileseuis.

> Me quoque vicins pereuntem gentibus, inquit,
> Munivit Stilicho. Totam cum Scotus Iernem,
> Movit et infesto spumavit remige Thetys.
>
> By him defended, when the neighboring hosts
> Of warlike nations spread along our coast;
> When Scots came thundering from the Irish shores,
> And the wild ocean foamed with the hostile oars.

with a large fleet. In 396, Niall made a descent upon the coast of Lancashire with a considerable navy, where he was met by the Roman, Stilicho, whose achievements were celebrated by Claudian in the days of the Roman occupation of England. At that period the Irish were in most respects in advance of the Northmen, not yet having fallen into decline, and quite as likely as any people then existing to brave the dangers of an ocean voyage.[1] The Icelandic documents, clearly referring to the Irish, will be given in their proper place. In truth as the wish is so

[1] Speaking of Britain and Ireland, Tacitus says of the latter, that "the approaches and harbors are better known, by reason of Commerce and the merchants."—*Vit. Agri.*, c. 24. The Irish, doubtless, mingled with the Carthagenians in mercantile transactions, and from them they not unlikely received the rites of Druidism. The story of a Welsh voyage to America, under Prince Madoc, relates to a period *following* the Icelandic voyages. This voyage by the son of Owen Gwyneth is fixed for the year 1170, and is based on Welsh chronicles, poems and genealogical authority. See *Hackluyt*, vol. III, p. 1. See, also, *America Discovered by the Welsh in* 1170, by Bowen, Philadelphia, 1876; *An Enquiry into the Truth of the Tradition, concerning the Discovery of America by Prince Madog ab Owen Gwyneth, about the year* 1170, *by John Williams*, etc., London, 1791, p. 85; and, *Farther Observations on the Discovery of America by Prince Madog ab Owen Gwyneth*, etc., 1792, p. 51. The following is from the London *Standard*, September 6, 1888, "Great interest was excited yesterday in North Wales by the announcement that the tomb of Madoc ap Gryffyddmaelor, a great Welsh warrior in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, grandson of Owen Gwynedd, Prince of Wales, had been discovered in the ruins of Valle Crucis Abbey, Llangollen. The Rev. H. T. Owen, warden of the abbey, who is now engaged upon some excavations, was searching for old stained glass in the dormitory, when he disinterred a large stone slab bearing the name of Madoc, and an inscription, which has not yet been fully deciphered. Down the centre of the stone is an incised sword in sheath. Further excavations led to the dis-

often father to the thought, it would be an easy task to find resemblance in the languages of the aborigines to almost any language that is spoken in our day, so far as mere sounds may be concerned.

Much labor has been given to the subject, yet the early history of the American Continent is still veiled in mystery, and it is not until near the close of the tenth century of the present era that we can point to a known trans-Atlantic voyage, though prior to that time Europeans had reached Greenland.

THE NORTHMEN.

The first voyage to America, of which we now have any account, was performed by Northmen. But who were the Northmen?

The Northmen were the descendants of a race that in early times migrated from Asia and traveled toward the north, settling in what is now the kingdom of Denmark. Thence they overran Norway and Sweden, and afterward colonized Iceland and Greenland. Their language was the

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covery of four other stones, each about five feet by eighteen inches; two bear floriated crosses, one an inscribed spear, and the other a Grecian ornament. The stones form part of the vaulting of the corridor leading to the old burial ground of the monks. Madoc ap Gryffydd founded the abbey, which was a Cistercian Monastery, about the year 1200. After the venerable building became a ruin, the chapter-house and scriptorium were used for several generations as a farmstead, and were practically destroyed by fire. During the repairs it is conjectured that the stones of Madoc's tomb were used to complete the vaulting. In 1851 the débris covering the area of the abbey was removed by Lord Dungannon, and the tombs of benefactors, buried in front of the high altar, the figure of a knight in chain armour, and a stone coffin were laid bare. During the excavations of last year the monk's well and spring were discovered." The reader may consult the writer's "Myvyerian Archaiology," Albany, Joel Munsell's Sons, 1891, which shows the probabilities. On St. Brenden, see Gen. Butterfield, in *Freeman's Journal*, July 27, 1901.

old Danish (*Dönsk túnga*) once spoken all over the north,[1] but now preserved in Iceland, being called the Icelandic or old Northern,[2] upon which is founded the modern Swedish, Danish and Norse or Norwegian.

After the Northmen pushed on from Denmark to Norway, the condition of public affairs in the latter country gradually became such that a large portion of the better classes found their life intolerable. In the reign of Harold Harfagr (the Fair-haired), an attempt was made by the king to deprive the petty jarls of their ancient udal or feudal rights, and to usurp all authority for the crown. To this the proud jarls would not submit; and, feeling themselves degraded in the eyes of their retainers, they resolved to leave those lands and homes which they could now hardly call their own. Whither, then, should they go?

THE COLONIZATION OF ICELAND.

In the cold North sea, a little below the Arctic circle, lay a great island. As early as the year 860, it had been made known to the Northmen by a Dane of Swedish descent named Gardar, who called it Gardar's Island, and four years later by the pirate Nadodd, who sailed thither in 864 and called it Snowland. Presenting in the main the form of an irregular ellipse, this island occupies an area of about one hundred and thirty-seven thousand square miles, affording the dull diversity of valleys without verdure and mountains without trees.[3] Desolation has there fixed its abode. It broods among the dells, and looks down upon the gloomy fiords. The country is threaded with streams and dotted with tarns, yet the geologist finds

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[1] See "Northmen in Iceland," *Societe des Antiquaries du Nord, Séance du* 14 *Mai*, 1859, pp. 12–14.

[2] It is sometimes, though improperly, called the *Norse. Société des Antiquaries*, etc., 1840–44, p. 165.

[3] In the earlier times when the Irish monks occupied the island, it is said that it was "covered with woods between the mountains and the shores."

but little evidence in the structure of the earth to point to the action of water. On the other hand, every rock and hillside is covered with signs that prove their igneous origin, and indicate that the entire island, at some distant period, has already seethed and bubbled in the fervent heat, in anticipation of the long promised *Palingenesia.* Even now the ground trembles in the throes of the earthquake, the Geyser spouts scalding water, and the plain belches mud; while the great jokull, clad in white robes of eternal snow — true priest of Ormuzd — brandishes aloft its volcanic torch, and threatens to be the incendiary of the sky.

The greater portion of the land forms the homestead of the reindeer and the fox, who share their domain with the occasional white bear that may float over from Greenland on some berg. Only two quadrupeds, the fox and the moose, are indigenous. Life is here purchased with a struggle. Indeed the neighboring ocean is more hospitable than the dry land. Of the thirty-four species of mammalia, twenty-four find their food in the roaring main. The same is true of the feathered tribes, fifty-four out of ninety being water-fowl. Here and there may be seen patches of meadow and a few sheep pastures and tracts of arable land warmed into fruitfulness by the brief summer's sun; yet, on the whole, so poor is the soil that man, like the lower orders, must eke out a scanty subsistence by resorting to the sea.

It was toward this land, which the settlers called *Iceland,* that the proud Norwegian jarl turned his eyes, and there he resolved to found a home. The first settler was Ingolf. He approached the coast in the year 875, threw overboard his seat-posts,[1] and waited to see them touch the land. But in this he was disappointed, and those sacred columns, carved with the images of the gods, drifted away

[1] *Setstakkar.* These were wooden pillars carve with images, usually of Thor and Odin. In selecting a place for a settlement they were flung overboard, and wherever they were

from sight. He nevertheless landed on a pleasant promontory at the south-eastern extremity of the island, and built his habitation on the spot which is called Ingolfshofdi to this day. Three years after, his servants found the sea-posts in the southwestern part of the island, and hither, in obedience to what was held to be the express wish of the gods,[1] he removed his household, laying the foundation of Reikiavik, the capital of this ice-bound isle. He was rapidly followed by others, and in a short time no inconsiderable population was gathered here.

But the first Scandinavian settlers did not find this barren country entirely destitute of human beings. Ari Frode,[2] than whom there is no higher authority, says: "Then were here Christian people whom the Northmen

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thrown up on the beach, there the settlement was to be formed These idols were also called "stocks," and the site of "Stockholm," Sweden, was chosen by the same rule.

[1] In another case a settler did not find his posts for *twelve* years, nevertheless he changed his abode then. In Frithiof's Saga (American edition) chap. III, p. 18, we find the following allusion:

"Through the whole length of the hall shone forth the table of oak wood,
Brighter than steel, and polished; the pillars twain of the high seats
Stood on each side thereof; two gods deep carved out of elm wood:
Odin with glance of a king, and Frey with the sun on his forehead."

[2] Ari Hinn Frode, or the Wise. The chief compiler of the famous *Landanama Bok*, which contains a full account of all the early settlers in Ireland. It is of the same character, though vastly superior to the English "Doomsday Book," and is probably the most complete record of the kind ever made by any nation. It contains the names of 3,000 persons, and 1,400 places. It gives a correct account of the genealogies of the families, and brief notices of personal achievements. It was begun by Frode (born 1067, died 1148), and was continued by Kalstegg, Styrmer and Thorsden, and completed by Hauk Erlandson, Lagman, or Governor of Iceland, who died in the year 1334.

called Papas, but they afterward went away, because they would not be here among heathens; and left behind them Irish books, and bells, and croziers, from which it could be seen that they were Irishmen." He repeats substantially the same thing in the *Landanama Bok*, the authority of which, no one acquainted with the subject, will question, adding, that books and other relics were found in the island of Papey and Papyli, and says that the circumstance is also mentioned in English books. This is also stated in an edition of King Olaf Tryggvesson's Saga, made near the end of the fourteenth century, thus recognizing the priority of the Irish.

The monks or Culdees, who had come hither from Ireland to be alone with God, took their departure on the arrival of the heathen followers of Odin and Thor, and the Northmen were thus left in undisputed possession of the soil. In about twenty years the island became quite thickly settled, though the tide of immigration continued to flow in strongly for fifty years, so that at the beginning of the tenth century Iceland possessed a population variously estimated from sixty to seventy thousand souls. But few undertook the voyage who were not able to buy their own vessels, in which they carried over their own cattle, thralls, and household goods. So great was the number of people who left Norway, that King Harold tried to prevent emigration by royal authority, though, as might have been predicted, his efforts were altogether in vain. Here, in Iceland, therefore, was formed a large community, taking the shape of an aristocratic republic, which framed its own laws, and for a long time maintained a genuine independence, in opposition to all the assumptions and threats of the Norwegian king.

THE SETTLEMENT OF GREENLAND.

As time passed, the people of Iceland felt a new impulse for colonization in strange lands, and the tide of emigration began to tend toward Greenland in the west. This was chiefly inaugurated by a man named Eric the Red,

born in Norway in the year 935. On account of manslaughter, he was obliged to flee from Jardar and take up his abode in Iceland. The date of removal to Iceland is not given, though it is said that at that time the island was very generally inhabited. Here, however, he could not live in peace, and early in the year 982, he was again outlawed by the king for manslaughter and condemned to banishment. He accordingly fitted out a ship, and announced his determination to go in search of the land lying in the ocean at the west, which, it was said, Gunnbiorn,[1] Ulf Krage's son, saw when, in the year 876, he was driven out to sea by a storm. Eric sailed westward and found land, where he remained and explored the country for three years. At the end of this period he returned to Iceland, giving the newly-discovered land the name of Greenland, in order, as he said, to attract settlers, who would be favorably impressed by so pleasing a name, which, however, did not originate with him.

The summer after his return to Iceland, he sailed once more for Greenland, taking with him a fleet of thirty-five ships, only fourteen of which reached their destination, the rest being either driven back or lost. This event took place, as the Saga says, fifteen winters before the introduction of Christianity into Iceland, which we know was accomplished in the year A. D. 1000. The date of Eric's second voyage is, therefore, set down at 985.

At this point, however, we must turn to call distinct attention to the fact that the discovery of Greenland by Eric was at the best a rediscovery.

Following the authority of Geoffrey of Monmouth, it appears that the earliest known movement northward was that inaugurated by King Arthur, about the year 505. Geoffrey of Monmouth was bishop of Saint Asaph in 1152, and wrote the *Historia Britonum*, a work which

[1] All the information which we possess relating to the discovery by Gunnbiorn is given in the body of this work, in extracts from *Landanama Bok.*

afforded a basis for the fables and romances of the "Knights of the Round Table." Nevertheless, whoever inclines to turn from all the statements of Geoffrey, for the reason that they contain much that is unhistorical, should ponder the well-considered words of Hume ("England," I, 38, ed. 1822), who says of the Prince of Silures: "This is that Arthur so much celebrated in the songs of Thaliessin and the other British bards, and whose military achievements have been blended with so many fables as even to give occasion for entertaining a doubt of his real existence. But poets," he continues," though they disfigure the most certain history of their fictions, and use strange liberties with truth, where they are the sole historians as among the Britons, have commonly some foundation for their wildest exaggerations." The Bishop of Saint Asaph, who was not a poet, may be credited, therefore, when he states such simple facts as that, about the year 505, King Arthur, after the "Conquest of Ireland," received the submission of the Orkneys and sailed to Iceland, "which he also subdued;" at a subsequent period overcoming his foes in Norway. (B. IX, c. 10.) As to the Conquest of Ireland, it may have been some small victory magnified by the writer, even though it is represented that much blood was shed.[1] The Conquest of Ireland, if he went there, could not have involved any great struggle.[2]

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[1] See Hyde's "Literary History of Ireland," p. 572.

[2] Hakluyt (I, 1), treating this matter, quotes from Galfridus Monumetensis, who says that, after subduing Ireland, Arthur went to Iceland, and "brought it and the people thereof under his subjection." The same author mentions "Maluasius" as "King" of Iceland, and tells of soldiers that he furnished. The "King," however, may perhaps be reduced to a figure of speech, while there could have been few soldiers, unless indeed, Arthur, as elsewhere stated, transported people to the north. See "Inventio Fortunata. Arctic Exploraiton, with an account of Nicholas of Lynn," etc. By B. F. De Costa, New York, 1861, p. 5. Unfortunately of this period we know little

We have already learned from *Landanama*, that the Irish were in Iceland before the Northmen arrived. How long they had been there it would be impossible to say; but we know that after the conversion of Ireland, and the death of St. Patrick, near the end of the fifth century, the Irish Religious went far and wide. Among the English writers referred to by Frode was Bede. He writes: "Thus saith the holy priest Bede. . . . Therefore learned men think that it is Iceland which is called Thule. . . . But the holy priest Bede died DCCXXXV years after the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, more than a hundred years before Iceland was inhabited by the Northmen." This extract shows that the Irish Christians retired to Iceland at a very early day. The Irish monk Dicuil also refers to this solitary island, which, about the year 795, was visited by some monks with whom he had conversed.[1] In this connection the results of the Danish invasion of Ireland should be considered, since that may have resulted in driving men to both Iceland and Greenland.

In connection with Greenland the investigator seems to stand on solider ground. Christophessen declared that Greenland was discovered in the year 770; and Pontanus gives a bull of Gregory IV, 835, which shows that both Iceland and Greenland were known at that period.[2] Yet it is generally understood and laid down, that Eric the Red first led colonists into those parts. We have seen, however, that Eric in 983 went west in search of the land found by Gunnbiorn in 876; while the Sagas admit that the Irish were in America before the men of Iceland reached

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or nothing, and can neither affirm nor deny, as is the case so often with Early Irish History.

[1] *Antiquitates Americanæ*, p. 202.

[2] It is also referred to by Peyrere. In 1869, when publishing "The Sailing Directions of Henry Hudson," the author was sceptical about the authenticity of this bull, which had been questioned by the Bollandists. It is found in *Rerum Danicarum Historia*, by Pontanus.

that country. Turning to the Minor Narratives, toward the end of this volume, the reader will find the story. The Irish, through Ralf the Limerick merchant, reported one Are Marson, an Icelander, as held a prisoner in a country at the west, called "Ireland the Great." He was among Christians, apparently, as he had been baptized there. In 981 Marson was a well-known man in Iceland. He went on a voyage and disappeared, but was found later. On the spread of the missionaries and monks following the conquest of Ireland by St. Patrick, Irishmen probably found their way to Greenland and parts of the mainland of America, as they did to Iceland. The fact that we have only vague and shadowy reports of their actions has nothing to do with the reality of the explorations. In denying these reports, men simply make their ignorance a basis for disbelief. The early days of America, no doubt, were marked by much maritime adventure that has left no record.

Both Christophessen and Pontanus had authority for their statements, but now from the Vatican archives, we have a confirmation of Pontanus. These archives will be discussed later, but attention must here be called to the letter of Pope Nicholas V, Sept. 20, 1448, in which he says: "From the natives and inhabitants of Greenland, an island said to be situated in the most distant parts of the ocean off the northern coast of the Kingdom of Norway, in the Province of Drontheim a mournful wail has reached our ears and saddened our hearts. This people nearly six hundred years ago received the faith." This letter will be given in its place. It is referred to here for the fact that it confirms the statement in the Bull of Gregory IV, by carrying back the Church in Greenland to about 848, more than a century earlier than the time of Eric the Red. We may next expect confirmation of the date of Christophessen, 770. The Icelanders made no claim to priority, but conceded it to the Irish in the lands at the west, even as in Iceland.

The Bull of Gregory IV is not given in its perfect form by Pontanus, the date being wanting, but this is supplied,

substantially, by the reference to the rescript of the Emperor Louis which precedes it and to which it refers. This document bears the date of May 21, 834. The Bull gives the new archbishop jurisdiction not only over Sweden and Norway, but Iceland and Greenland. It shows that the Papal rule was exercised over those regions remote from Europe at an early day, and also disposes of the priority of Eric the Red.[1]

THE PROGRESS OF THE GREENLAND COLONIES.

There is a lack of continuity in the history of the Icelandic occupation of Greenland. We have already seen that the second voyage of Eric the Red took place in the year 985. Colonists appear to have followed him in considerable numbers, and the best portions of the land were soon appropriated by the principal men, who gave the chief bays and capes names that indicated the occupants, following the example of Eric, who dwelt in Brattahlid, in Ericsfiord.

In the year 999, Leif, son of Eric, sailed from Greenland to Norway, and passed the winter at the court of King Olaf Tryggvesson, where he accepted the Christian faith, which was then being zealously propagated by the king. He was accordingly baptized, and, when the spring returned, the king requested him to undertake the introduction of Christianity in Greenland, urging the consideration that no man was better qualified for the task. Accordingly he set sail from Norway, with a priest and several members of a religious order, arriving at Brattahlid, in Greenland, without any accident.[2] His pagan father was incensed by the bringing in of the priest, which act he regarded as pregnant with

[1] For literary illustrations of Irish fearlessness on the sea and their eagerness to battle with the waves, see Hyde's "Literary History of Ireland," pp. 366-9.

[2] The statement, found in several places, that he discovered Vinland while on his way to Greenland, is incorrect. The full account of his voyages shows that his Vinland voyage was an entirely separate achievement.

evil; yet, after some persuasion on the part of Leif, he renounced heathenism and nominally accepted the Catholic religion, being baptized by the priest. His wife Thorhild made less opposition, and appears to have received the new Faith with much willingness. One of her first acts was to build a church, which was known far and wide as Thorhild's church. These examples seem to have been very generally followed, and Christianity was adopted in both Iceland and Greenland at about the same peroid,[1] though its acceptance did not immediately produce any radical social changes. In course of time a number of churches were built, the ruins of which remain down to our day.[2]

In the year 1003, the Greenlanders became tributary to Norway. The principal settlement was formed on the western coast. What was known as the eastern district did not extend farther than the southern extremity toward Cape Farewell. In modern times it came to be supposed that the east district was located on the eastern coast of Greenland; but the researches of Captain Graah, whose expedition went out under the auspices of the Danish government, proved very conclusively that no settlement ever existed on the eastern shore, which for centuries has remained blocked up by vast accumulations of ice that floated down from the Arctic seas. In early times, as we are informed by the Sagas, the eastern coast was more accessible, yet the western shores were so superior in their attractions that the colonist fixed his habitation there. The site of the eastern settlement, eastern relative to the western, is that included in the modern district of Julian's Hope, now occupied by a Danish colony. The western settlement is represented by the habitation of Frederikshab, Godthaab, Sukkertoppen and Holsteinborg.

[1] Gissur the White and Hialte went on the same errand to Iceland in the year 1000, when the new religion was formally adopted at the public Thing.

[2] See Bradford's work on Greenland, with an introduction by the present writer; also his edition of Bardsen's Relation.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH.

Christians in Greenland multiplied to such an extent, both by conversions and by the immigration from Iceland, that it was found necessary, in the beginning of the twelfth century, to take measures for the government of the church, especially as they could not hope for regular visits from the bishops of Iceland. They, therefore, resolved to make an effort to secure a bishop of their own. Eric Gnupson, a priest of Iceland, was selected for the office, and proceeded to Greenland about the year 1112, without being consecrated. He returned to Iceland in 1120, and afterward went to Denmark, where he was consecrated in Lund, by Archbishop Adzer. Yet he never undertook episcopal duties in Greenland, but soon after declined that bishopric and accepted another,[1] thus leaving Greenland still without an episcopal director.

In the year 1123, Sokke, one of the principal men of Greenland, assembled the people and represented to them that both the welfare of the Christian faith and their own honor demanded that they should follow the example of other people and maintain a bishop. To this view they gave their unanimous approval; and Einar, son of Sokke, was appointed a delegate to the court of King Sigurd, of Norway. He carried a present of ivory and fur, and a petition for the appointment of a bishop. His mission was successful, and, in the year 1126, Arnald, the successor of Eric,[2] came into Greenland, and set up the Episcopal seat at Gardar.[3] Torfæus and Baron Holberg[4] give a list of

[1] It will be seen hereafter that he went and established himself in Vinland.

[2] See *Mémoires des Antiquaires du Nord*, p. 383.

[3] The location of Gardar is now uncertain. At one time it was supposed to have been situated on the eastern coast; but, since it became so clear that the east coast was never inhabited, that view has been abandoned, though the name appears in maps of a late date.

[4] See Crantz's "Greenland," vol. I, p. 252.

seventeen bishops who ruled in Greenland, ending with Andrew. The latter was consecrated and went thither in 1408.

A history of Old Greenland is found in the *Ecclesiastical Annals*, and consists of a skeleton of facts. As in Iceland, Ireland and Norway there was no end of broils and bloodshed. A very considerable trade was evidently carried on between that country and Norway, which is the case at the present time with Denmark. As the land afforded no materials for ships, they depended in too great a measure upon Europe for communication with the mother countries.

This, in substance, was nearly all that could be said with much certainty in the previous edition of this work, but new and important material has now been found in the Vatican.

In 1892 the American Congress passed a resolution requesting the Roman Pontiff to make some contribution to the Columbian Exposition, and Cardinal Rampolla instituted an examination in the Vatican Archives, finding, among other material, important letters by popes relating to Greenland, thus illuminating the pre-Columbian history of this continent. Twelve copies of these letters were made in *fac simile*, while a small edition was prepared and printed in Roman letter by the late J. C. Heywood, one of the chamberlains of Leo XIII, the work being marked by his broad and well-known scholarship.[1] A *fac simile* copy was exhibited at Chicago. The letters were found in the registers or letter books, of which there remain about twelve thousand, some being of parchment and others of paper. Copies of the letters were sent to the persons for whom they were intended. The collection begins, Mr. Heywood says, with Pope Innocent III, 1198-1216. All the documents of a previous date

[1] Several copies were donated to the more distinguished libraries in the United States, one going to Harvard University.

have disappeared.[1] This is the more unfortunate, for the reason that the lost letters covered the most interesting period, which embraced the Icelandic occupation of New England.

The new material begins with a letter by Innocent III, dated Feb. 13, 1206, addressed to the Archbishop of Drontheim, Norway. In this letter he says that Pope Eugene III, about 1148, established the See of Drontheim, "Iceland and Greenland," and now, acting "by virtue of the privilege granted him from on high in the person of the Prince of the Apostles" to judge and settle "the causes of all" and confirm the Christian faith "throughout the world," Innocent reaffirms the decree and confers the pallium on the new appointee, whose archdiocese extended into North America. Vinland is not mentioned, but at an early period mission work had been undertaken there from Greenland; we may consider New England as included in the province of which Drontheim was the seat. The supremacy of Peter is openly declared in this letter.

Next we have four letters from Pope John XXI to the Archbishop of Drontheim, bearing date of December 4, 1276. Seventy-one years had passed and the world was witnessing new and strange scenes. The Crusades were in progress. Sinews of war were needed, and the Archbishop of Drontheim was commanded to collect the tithes throughout his vast jurisdiction which included parts of the great world of the west. It was computed that six years could be spent in going through the territory, and, finally, on representation, some relief was granted in the work by the letter of Pope Nicholas III, January 31, 1279.

The same pontiff, it will be seen by reference to the letters, on June 9, 1279, was arranging to supply wine and

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[1] Still a person representing the United States Government wrote: "Until Leo XIII came to the Vatican no amount of argument or influence was able to unlock the mysterious manuscripts, which for eighteen [*sic*] hundred years had been accumulating upon the shelves of the Holy See."

altar bread for the northern jurisdiction, including parts of America.

In 1281, Pope Martin IV recognizes that "the only tithes which can be collected in Greenland consist of skins of the elk or musk-ox or of seals and teeth of whales," and orders the Archbishop to exchange them for current coin to the best advantage.

Unfortunately, one hundred and sixty-one years pass before we find another letter. This is by Pope Nicholas V, September 20, 1448, though we know that the succession of Greenland bishops was maintained in the meanwhile. He gives a mournful view of the situation, as will be seen by reference to his letter, saying: "This people, nearly six hundred years ago, accepted the faith from their glorious apostle, the blessed King Olaf, and preserved it pure and unchanged guided by the rites of the holy Roman Church and the Apostolic See. In lapse of time, animated by a tireless devotion, they built many churches and a splendid cathedral, in which the worship of God was faithfully maintained until thirty years ago." This would give the date of 1418, near the year when Bishop Andrew was heard from last. "At that time," he says, "the barbarians invaded Greenland from the neighboring shores and many churches were destroyed, only nine parish churches remaining. Many of the people were carried away prisoners. Finally, however, the people rallied, and were at this period seeking help from the See of Rome. The Bishops of Skalholt and Holar, in Iceland, were, accordingly directed to examine the reports, and, if found true, they were to send fitting priests to the relief of the Greenland Church. They were also empowered to consecrate a bishop. Bishop Andrew's administration was ended by this incursion of natives from the mainland of America who, probably, were a populous people resembling the Eskimo.[1]

[1] These incursions of the natives are recognized in Bardsen's narrative, where it is said that "he was chosen a captain to

Nearly half a century more passes, and, while Columbus is absent on his first great voyage, Pope Alexander VI, 1492-3, is found engaged in providing a bishop for Greenland. The bishop designated was Matthias, a poor monk of the order of St. Benedict, who was filled with zeal and compassion, and wished to consecrate himself to the cause of Greenland. How the communication was kept up with Greenland does not appear, but Pope Innocent VIII had heard of the fallen state of the people, who were without a priest, and nominated Matthias. Whether he actually reached Greenland cannot now be determined. Yet Matthias was resolved to go, while Rome claimed the jurisdiction and made the appointment.

The narrative of Bardsen affords a minute account of the condition of Greenland, dwelling upon the towns and villages, together with the number and extent of the churches, giving an account of their revenues and the resources of the country. The cathedral had the benefit of the whale fishery and claimed the right to hunt the white bears.

MONUMENTS AND RUINS IN GREENLAND.

The villages and farms of the Northmen in Greenland were numerous. They probably numbered several hundred, the ruins now left being both abundant and extensive. Near Igaliko, supposed to be the same as the ancient Einarsfiord, are the ruins of a church, probably the Cathedral of Gardar. It is called the Karkortok Church. It was of simple but massive architecture, and the material was taken from the neighboring cliffs. The stone is rough hewn, and but few signs of mortar are visible. It is fifty-one feet long and twenty-five wide. The north and south walls are over four feet thick, while the end walls are still more massive.

Nor are other monuments wanting. At Igaliko, nine

go to the west district to drive thence the Skraellings, but when he came there he found no men, neither Christians nor pagans." "Sailing Directions of Henry Hudson," etc., p. 95.

miles from Julian's Hope, a Greenlander being one day employed in obtaining stones to repair his house, found among a pile of fragments a smooth stone that bore, what seemed to him, written characters. He mentioned the circumstance to Mr. Mathieson, the colonial director a Julian's Hope, who inferred that it must be a runic stone. The man was so fortunate as to find it afterward, and Mr. Mathieson accordingly sent it to Copenhagen, where it arrived in the year 1830. The runes, which were perfectly distinct, showed that it was a tombstone. The inscription was translated as follows:

"VIGDIS MARS DAUGHTER RESTS HERE.
MAY GOD GLADDEN HER SOUL."

Another, found in 1831, by the Rev. Mr. De Fries, principal of the Moravian Mission, bore the following inscription in runic letter:

"HERE RESTS HROAR KOLGRIMSSON."

This stone, now in the museum at Copenhagen, was found built into the wall over the entrance of a Greenland house, having been taken for that purpose from a heap of ruins, about two miles north of Frederichsthal. The stone is more than three feet long, being eighteen inches wide in the narrowest part, and about five inches thick. It bears every sign of a high antiquity.[1]

One of the most interesting remains proving the Icelandic occupation of Greenland, is the runic stone found by Parry, in 1824, in the island of Kingiktorsoak, lying in 72° 55′ N. and 56° 51′ W. It contained a somewhat lengthy inscription. Copies of it were sent to three of the first scholars of the age, Finn Magnusson, Professor Rask, and Dr. Bryniulfson, who, without consulting one another, at once arrived at the same conclusion, and united in giving the following translation:

[1] See *Memoires de la Société Royale Des Antiquaires du Nord*, 1840–1844, Copenhagen, p. 101.

"ERLING SIGHVATSON AND BIORN THORDARSON AND EINDRID ODDSON, ON SATURDAY BEFORE ASCENSION WEEK, RAISED THESE MARKS AND CLEARED GROUND, 1135."[1]

The Icelandic colonists in Greenland do not appear to have been confined to a small portion of territory. We find considerable relating to this subject in the invaluable chronicle of Ivar Bardsen,[2] the steward of one of the bishops of Greenland; yet, though used extensively by Torfæus in his Greenlandia[3] modern researches in the country prove that it is in some minor respects faulty. In this chronicle, as in the Sagas, the colonists are spoken of as possessing horses, sheep and oxen; and their churches and religious houses appear to have been well supported.

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[1] These inscriptions are all in fair Runic letters, about which there can be no mistake, and are totally unlike the imaginary runes.

[2] See Egede's *Greenland*, p. xxv; Crantz's *Greenland*, vol. I, pp. 247–8; Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*, vol. III, p. 518; *Antiquitates Americanæ*, p. 300. See the Chronicle in *Sailing Directions of Henry Hudson*, Munsell, 1869.

[3] *Historia Vinlandiæ Antiquæ seu Partes Americæ Septentrionalis, ubi Nominis ratio recenfetur sitis terræ ex dierumbiu malium Spatio expenditur, Soli fertilatis & nicolarum barbaries, peregrinorum temporarius incolatus & gesta, vicinarum terrarum nomina and facies Antiquitatibus Islandicis in lucem producta exponunta per Thormodum Torfæum Rerum Norvegicarum Historiographum Regium. Havniæ Ex Typographeo Regiæ Magist, and Universit* 1705. *Impensis Authoris.*

Gronlandia Antiqua seu Gronlandiæ descriptio, ubi coeli marisqve natura, terræ, locorum & villarum situs, animalum terrestrium aqvatilivmqve varia genera, Gentis origo & incrementa, status Politicus & Ecclesiasticus, gesta memorabilia & vicissitudines, ex antiqvis memoriis, præcipue Islandicis qva fieri potuit industria collecta exponuntur, authore Thormo Torfæo, Rerum Norvegicarum Historiographo Regio, Haviæ iapud Hieron; Christ: Paulli Reg: Universit: Bibliopolam. Anno 1715.

EXPLORATION IN GREENLAND.

Much was done, it appears, in the way of exploring the extreme northern portions of the country known as Nordrsetur. In the year 1266, a voyage was made under the auspices of some of the priests, and the adventurers penetrated north of Lancaster Sound, reaching about the same latitude that was obtained by Parry in 1827. This expedition was of sufficient importance to justify some notice of it here. The account is found in Rafn's *Antiquitates Americanæ* (p. 269). It sets out with the statement that a narrative of the expedition was sent by Haldor, a priest, to Arnald, the Chaplain of King Magnus in Norway. They sailed out of Kroksfiardarheidi in an open boat, and met with southerly winds and thick weather, which forced them to let the boat drive before the wind. When the weather cleared they saw a number of islands, together with whales and seals and bears. They made their way into the most distant portion of the sea, and observed glaciers south of them as far as the eye could reach. They also saw indications of the natives, who were called Skrælings, but they did not land, on account of the number of the bears. They, therefore, put about, and laid their course southward for nearly three days, finding more islands with traces of the natives. They saw a mountain which they called Snæfell, and, on St. James' day, July 25, they had a severe weather, being obliged to row long and hard. It froze during the night in that region, but the sun was above the horizon both day and night. When the sun was on the southern meridian, and a man lay down crosswise in a six-oared boat, the shadow of the gunwale toward the sun would reach as far as his feet, which, of course, indicates that the sun was very low. Afterward they all returned in safety to Gardar.[1] Rafn fixes the position of the point attained by the expedition in the parallel of 75° 46′. Such an

[1] *Antiquitates Americanæ*, p. xxxix.

achievement at that day indicates a degree of boldness quite surprising.[1]

THE DECLINE OF GREENLAND.

Of the reality and importance of the Greenland colony there exists no doubt, notwithstanding the records are so meagre and fragmentary.[2] It maintained its connection with the mother countries for a period of not less than five hundred years; yet it finally disappeared and was nearly forgotten.

Many causes led to the suspension of communication, though it is difficult to account for the extinction of the colony, if it actually became extinct. It does not appear ever to have been in much danger from the Skrællings, though, on one occasion, in 1349, or later, the natives attacked the western settlement, it is said, and killed eighteen Greenlanders of Icelandic lineage, carrying away two boys captives.[3]

Trade was carried on with Denmark until the end of the fourteenth century, although the voyages were not regular. The last bishop, Andrew, was sent out in 1408, and Professor Finn Magnussen has established the fact that he officiated in the cathedral at Gardar in 1409.[4] A pagan invasion soon followed.

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[1] *Antiquitates Americanæ*, p. xxxix.

[2] For the account of the manuscripts upon which our knowledge of Greenland is founded, see *Antiquitates Americanæ*, p. 255.

[3] *Islenzkir Annálar.*

[4] In that year parties are known to have contracted marriage at Gardar, from whom Finn Magnussen and other distinguished men owe their descent. Hakluyt quotes Lambord, to the effect that Arthur made his way to Greenland. The Icelandic chronicles distinctly say that, half a century before the voyage of Eric, a great country was known at the west, being called "Ireland the Great." So far as we know, this country was first reached by the Irish, whose prior discovery was conceded by the Icelanders. The Irish had described it, evidently, as a land

After this time nothing appears to be certain. As we have seen, Pope Innocent VIII, 1484, had information about Greenland, but the date is not given. Alexander VI says that "no ship is supposed to have touched there during eighty years last past." To this might be opposed the statement that Wormius is said to have told Peyrere of his having read in a Danish manuscript, that down to the year 1484, there was a company of more than forty sailors at Bergen, in Norway, who still traded with Greenland.[1] But this is doubtful, as the revenue at that time belonged to Queen Margaret of Denmark, no one could visit Greenland without the royal permission. A company of sailors driven upon the Greenland coast, came near suffering the penalty of the law on their return. Crantz[2] says, that "about the year 1530, Bishop Amund of Skalholt in Iceland is said to have been driven by a storm, on his return from Norway, so near the coast of Greenland by Heriulfness, that he could see the people driving in their cattle. But he did not land, because just then a good wind arose, which carried the ship the same night to Iceland. The Icelander, Biærnvon Skardfa, who relates this, also says further, that a Hamburgh mariner, Jon Greenlander by name, was driven three times on the Greenland island, where he saw such fishers huts for drying fish as they have in Iceland, but saw no men; further, that pieces of shattered boats, nay, in the year 1625, an entire boat, fastened together with sinews and wooden pegs, and pitched with seal blubber, have been driven ashore at Iceland from

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of verdure, while the Saga says that Eric applied the name of "Greenland" to the part he visited, not from any peculiar fitness but from motives of policy, saying that "men would be persuaded to go to a land with so good a name." Possibly the term "Greenland" was originally applied to the whole of North America, as were other names that finally came to have a local meaning. See "Verrazano the Explorer."

[1] Egede's *Greenland*, p. xlvii.

[2] Ibid., xlviii.

time to time; and since then they found once an oar with a sentence written in Runic letters: *Oft var ek dasa, dur elk drothik*, that is, 'Oft was I tired when I drew thee.' "[1] It would at least appear that there was reason for believing the colony in existence in 1484 or 1492.

LOST GREENLAND FOUND.

But, whatever may be the value of the preceding statements of Skardfa, it is clear that Greenland was never forgotten. The first person who proposed to re-open communication was Eric Walkendorf, Archbishop of Drontheim, who familiarized himself with the subject, and made every preparation necessary in order to re-establish the colony; but, having fallen under the displeasure of King Christian II, he left the country and went to Rome, where he died in the year 1521. Thus his plans came to nothing.[2] Christian III abrogated the decree of Queen Margaret, prohibiting trade with Greenland without the royal permission, and encouraged voyages by fitting out a vessel to search for Greenland, which, however, was not found. In 1578, Frederic II sent out Magnus Henningsen. He came in sight of the land, but does not appear to have had the courage to proceed further. Crantz, in his work on Greenland, gives an account of the number of voyages undertaken to the coast, but says "that at last Greenland was so buried in oblivion that one hardly would believe that such a land as Greenland was inhabited by Christian Norwegians."[3]

It remained, therefore, for Hans Egede,[4] in 1721, to re-open communication. Columbus himself did not endure much greater mortification than did this good man for the

[1] Crantz's *Greenland*, vol. I, p. 264.

[2] Ibid., p. 274.

[3] Ibid., p. 279.

[4] Hans Egede was a Protestant clergyman, and minister of the congregation at Vogen, in the northern part of Norway, where he was highly esteemed and beloved. He spent fifteen

space of eleven years, during which period he labored to persuade the Danish and Norwegian authorities to undertake the re-discovery. But his faith and zeal finally overcame all hostility and ridicule. On the 2d day of May, 1721, he went on board the Hope, with his wife and four young children, and landed at Ball's river in Greenland on the third of the following month. Here he spent the best portion of his life in attempting to teach the natives, and in making those explorations the results of which filled the mind of Europe with surprise, affording confirmation of the truthfulness of the Sagas.

THE CHARACTER AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE NORTHMEN.

Let us now return to the consideration of the Icelandic voyages to the American Continent, though not without first seeking a better acquaintance with the men by whom they were performed.

We have already seen that the Northmen were a people of no inferior attainments. Indeed, they constituted a most enterprising portion of the race, and, on general principles, we should, therefore, view them as fitted, even above all the men of their time, for the important work of exploration beyond the seas. They had made themselves known in every part of the civilized world by their daring as soldiers and navigators. Straying away into the distant east whence they originally came, we see them laying the foundation of the Russian empire, swinging their battle-axes in the streets of Constantinople, carving their mystic runes upon the Lions of the Areopagus, and filling the heart of even the great Charlemagne with dismay.[1] Says Dasent, when summing up their achievements:

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years as a missionary in Greenland, and died at Copenhagen, 1758. Reference here is exclusively to the Scandinavians, as we remember voyages like those of Davis and Frobisher from England.

[1] The motto on the sword of Roger Guiscard was:

Appulus et Calaber Siculus mihi Servit et Afer.

"In Byzantium they are the leaders of the Greek emperor's body guard, and the main support of his tottering throne. From France, led by Rollo, they tear away her fairest province and found a long line of kings. In Saxon England they are the bosom friends of such kings as Athelstane, and the sworn foes of Ethelred the Unready. In Danish England they are the foremost among the thanes of Canute, Swein and Hardicanute, and keep down the native population with an iron heel. In Norman England," he continues, "the most serious opposition the conqueror meets with is from the colonists of his own race settled in Northumbria. He wastes their lands with fire and sword, and drives them across the border, where we still find their energy, their perseverance, and their speech existing in the lowland Scotch. In Norway they dive into the river with King Olaf Tryggvesson, the best and strongest champion of his age, and hold him down beneath the waves so long that the bystanders wonder whether either king or Icelander will ever reappear on the surface.[1] Some follow Saint Olaf in his crusades against the old (pagan) faith.[2] Some are his obstinate foes and assist at his martyrdom. Many follow Harold the Stern to England when he goes to get his 'seven feet' of English earth, and almost to a man they get their portion of the same soil, while their names grow bright in song and story." Finally, "From Iceland as a base, they push on to Greenland and colonize it: nay, they discover America in those half-decked barks."[3]

THE SHIPS OF THE NORTHMEN.

The Northmen were excellent navigators. They were, moreover, it has been claimed, the first to learn the art of sailing on the wind. They had good sea-going vessels,

[1] See Laing's *Heimskringla*, vol. II, p. 40. This refers to his swimming match with Kiarten the Icelander, in which the king was beaten.

[2] See Saga of Saint (not king) Olaf.

[3] *Des Antiquaires du Nord*, 1859.

some of which were of large size. We have an account in the Saga of Olaf Tryggvesson of one that in some respects was remarkable. It is said that "the winter after King Olaf Tryggvesson came from Halegoland, he had a great ship built at Ledehammer,[1] which was larger than any ship in the country, and of which the beam-knees are still to be seen. The length of the keel that rested upon the grass was seventy-four ells. Thorberg Skafting was the man's name who was the master builder of the ship, but there were many others besides; some to fell the wood, some to shape, some to make nails, some to carry timber, and all that was used was the best. The ship was both long and broad and high sided, and strongly timbered. . . . The ship was a dragon, built after the one that the king had captured in Halegoland, but it was far longer and more carefully put together in all her parts. The Long Serpent (her name) had thirty-four benches for rowers.

The head and arched tail were both gilt, and the bulwarks were as high as in sea-going ships. This ship was the best and most costly ever built in Norway."[2]

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[1] Ledehammer. The point of land near the house of Lede, just below Drontheim.

[2] Laing's *Heimskringla*, vol. I, p. 457. It is related that while they were planking the ship, "it happened that Thorberg had to go home to his farm upon some urgent business; and as he stayed there a long time, the ship was planked upon both sides when he came back. In the evening the king went out and Thorberg with him, to see how the ship looked, and all said that never was seen so large and fine a ship of war. Then the king went back to the town. Early the next morning the king came back again to the ship, and Thorberg with him. The carpenters were there before them, but all were standing idle with their hands across. The king asked, 'What is the matter?' They said the ship was ruined; for somebody had gone from stem to stern, and cut one deep notch after another down the one side of the planking. When the king came nearer he saw that it was so, and said with an oath, 'The man shall die who has thus ruined the ship out of malice, if he can be found,

Laing computes the tonnage of this ship at about nine hundred and forty-two tons, thus giving a length of about one hundred feet, which is nearly the size of a forty-two gun ship. By steam tonnage it would give a capacity of a little less than three hundred tons, and one hundred and twenty horse power. We apprehend, however, that the estimate is sufficiently large; yet we are not concerned to show any great capacity for the Icelandic ships. All the vessels employed in the early times on the American coasts were small. The Anna Pink, a craft that accompanied Lord Anson in his expedition around the world, measured only sixteen tons.[1] The vessels of the Northmen were every way adapted for ocean voyages.

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and I will give a great reward to him who finds him out.' 'I can tell you, king,' says Thorberg, 'who has done this piece of work.' 'I don't think that any one is so likely to find it out as thou art.' Thorberg says: 'I will tell you, king, who did it, I did it myself.' The king says, 'Thou must restore it all to the same condition as before, or thy life shall pay for it.' Then Thorberg went and chipped the planks until the deep notches were all smoothed and made even with the rest; and the king and all present declared that the ship was much handsomer on the side of the hull which Thorberg had chipped, and bade him shape the other side in the same way and gave him great thanks for the improvement."

[1] A few years ago two very ancient vessels, which probably belonged to the seventh century, were exhumed on the coast of Denmark, seven thousand feet from the sea, where they were scuttled and sunk. The changes in the coast finally left them imbedded in the sand. One vessel was seventy-two feet long, and nine feet wide amidships. The other was forty-two feet long, and contained two eight-sided spars, twenty-four feet long. The bottoms were covered with mats of withes for the purpose of keeping them dry. Among the contents was a Damascened sword, with runes, showing that the letter existed among the Northmen in the seventh century. See Horsford's notice of an ancient ship, *Address at the unveiling of the Statue of Leif Erickson*, p. 21. Also illustrations in *Narra-*

In nautical knowledge, also, they were not behind the age. The importance of cultivating the study of navigation was fully understood. The Raudulf of Oesterdal, in Norway, taught his son to calculate the course of the sun and moon, and how to measure time by the stars. In 1520 Olaus Magnus complained that the knowledge of the people in this respect had been diminished. In that noble work called *Speculum Regale*, "The Royal Mirror," the Icelander is taught to make an especial study of commerce and navigation, of the divisions of time and the movements of the heavenly bodies, together with arithmetic, the rigging of vessels and *morals*.[1] Without a high degree of knowledge they could never have achieved their many voyages.

THE SAGAS AND THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

We find that the Northmen were well acquainted with other parts of the world, and that they possessed all the means of reaching the Continent in the west. We come, therefore, to the question: Did the Northmen actually discover and explore the coast of the country now known as America? It is, however, already answered.

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tive and Critical History, I, 62-4. These two ships are preserved in the Museum at Christiania, Norway, and were inspected, with their contents, by the writer in 1892.

[1] The people of Iceland were always noted for their superiority in this respect over their kinsmen in Denmark and Norway. There is one significant fact bearing on this point, which is this: that, while a few of the people of Iceland went at an early period to engage in piratical excursions with the vikings of Norway, not a single pirate ship ever sailed from Iceland. Such ways were condemned altogether at an early day, while various European nations continued to sanction piracy down to recent periods. Again it should be remembered that in Iceland duelling was also solemnly declared illegal as early as 1011, and in Norway the following year; while in England it did not cease to be a part of the judicial process until 1818. See Sir Edmund Head's *Viga-Glum Saga*, p. 120.

No one can now say that the idea wears any appearance of *improbability;* for there was certainly nothing wonderful in the exploit. After conceding the fact that colonies of the Northmen existed in Greenland for at least four hundred years, we must prepare ourselves for something of this kind. Indeed it is well nigh, if not altogether unreasonable, to suppose that a sea-faring people like the Northmen could live for centuries within a short voyage of this Continent and never become aware of its existence. A belief like this implies a rare credulity. Whoever is capable of holding it must be capable of believing almost anything.

But on this point we are not left to conjecture. The decision, in the absence of proofs like those furnished by Greenland, turns upon a question of fact. The point is this: *Do the manuscripts which describe these voyages belong to the pre-Columbian age?* If so, then the Northmen are entitled to the credit of the discovery of America subsequently to the Irish period. That these manuscripts belong to the Pre-Columbian age is as capable of demonstration as the fact that the writings of Homer existed prior to the age of Christ. Before intelligent persons deny either of these points they must first succeed in blotting out numberless pages of well-known history. The manuscript in which we have versions of all the Sagas relating to America is found in the celebrated *Codex Flatoiensis*, a work that was finished in the year 1387, or 1395 at the latest. This collection, made with great care, is now preserved in its integrity [1] in the archives of

[1] Those who imagine that these manuscripts, while of pre-Columbian origin, have been tampered with and interpolated, show that they have not the faintest conception of the state of the question. The accounts of the voyages of the Northmen to America form the *framework* of Sagas which would actually be destroyed by the elimination of the narratives. There is only one question to be decided, and that is the *date* of the compositions.

Copenhagen. These manuscripts were for a time supposed to be lost, but were ultimately found safely lodged in their repository in the monastery library of the island of Flato, from whence they were transferred to Copenhagen with a large quantity of other literary material collected from the various localities. If these Sagas which refer to America were interpolations, it would have early become apparent, as abundant means exist for detecting frauds; yet most competent critics who have examined the whole question do not find any evidence that invalidates their historical statements. In the absence, therefore, of respectable testimony to the contrary, we accept it as a fact that the Sagas relating to America are the productions of the men who gave them in their present form nearly, if not quite, an entire century before the age of Columbus.

It might also be argued, if it were at all necessary, that, if these Sagas were post-Columbian compositions drawn up by Icelanders jealous of the fame of the Genoese navigator, we should certainly be able to point out something either in their structure, bearing, or style by which it would be indicated. Yet such is not the case. These writings reveal no anxiety to show the connection of the Northmen with the great land lying at the west. The authors do not see any thing remarkable or meritorious in the explorations, which were conducted for the purpose of gain. Those marks which would certainly have been impressed by a more modern writer forging a historical composition designed to show an occupation of the country before the time of Columbus, are wholly wanting. There is no special pleading or rivalry, and no desire to show prior and superior knowledge of the country to which the navigators had from time to time sailed. We discover only a straightforward, honest endeavor to tell the story of certain men's lives. This is done in a simple, artless way, and with every indication of a desire to mete out even-handed justice to all. Candid readers who come to the subject with minds free from prejudice will be powerfully impressed with the belief that they are reading authentic histories

written by honest men, who also freely concede the priority of the Irish.

THE LITERATURE OF ICELAND.

Before speaking particularly of the substance of the Sagas, it will be necessary to trace briefly the origin and history of Icelandic literature in general.

We have already mentioned the fact that Iceland was mainly settled by Norwegians of superior qualities. This superiority was always maintained, though it was somewhat slow in manifesting itself in the form of literature. Prior to the year 1000, the Runic alphabet had existed in Iceland, but it was generally used for the simplest purposes.[1] History and literature derived no advantage, as the runes were used chiefly for monumental inscriptions, and for mottoes and charms on such things as drinking cups, sacrificial vessels and swords. Yet the people were not without a kind of intellectual stimulus. It had long been the custom to preserve family and general histories, and recite them from memory as occasion seemed to warrant. This was done with a wonderful degree of accuracy and fidelity, by men more or less trained for the purpose, whose performances at times were altogether surprising. They also had their scalds or poets, who were accustomed both to repeat the old songs and poems and extemporize new ones. Every good fighter was expected to prove himself a poet when the emergency required it. The poet was strongly encouraged. When Eyvind Skialdespilder sang his great song in praise of Iceland every peasant in the island, it

[1] The word rune comes from *ryn*, a furrow. Odin has the credit of the invention of runes, yet they are probably of Phenician origin. They were sometimes used for poetical purposes. Halmund, in the Grettir Saga (see Sabing Baring-Gould's *Iceland*), says to his daughter: "Thou shalt now listen whilst I relate my deeds and sing thereof a song, which thou shalt afterward cut upon a staff." This indicates the training the memory must have undergone among the Northmen.

is said, contributed three pieces of silver to buy a clasp for his mantle of fifty marks' weight. These scalds were sometimes employed by the politicians, and on one occasion a satire so nettled Harold, king of Denmark, that he sent a fleet to ravage Iceland, and made the repetition an offense punishable with death. The Icelandic poets also went to England, to the Orkneys and to Norway, where, at the king's court they were held in the highest estimation, furnishing poetical effusions on every public or private occasion which demanded the exercise of their gifts. The degree to which they had cultivated their memories was surprising. Old Blind Skald Stuf could repeat between two and three hundred poems. The Saga-men had the same power of memory. This we know may be improved to a very great extent by cultivation. But with the advent of the Church came the Roman alphabet, which proved an easy method of expressing thought. Christianity, however, did not stop here. Its service was a reasonable service, and demanded of its votaries a high intelligence. The priest of Odin need do no more than recite a short vow, or mutter a brief prayer. He had no divine records to read and to explain. But the minister of the new religion came with a system that demanded broad learning and culture. His calling required the aid of books, and the very sight of books proved a mental stimulus to this hard-brained race. Besides, Christianity opened to the minds of the people new fields of thought. These rude sons of war began to understand that certain victories, not to be despised, might be gained through peace; and erelong letters came to be somewhat familiar to the public mind. The earliest written efforts very naturally related to the lives of the Saints, which on Sundays and holy days were read in public for the edification of the people. During the eleventh century these exercises shared the public attention with those of the professional Saga-man, who still labored to hand down the oral versions of the national history and traditions. In the beginning of the twelfth century the use of letters was extended, and at last the Saga-man found

his occupation gone, the national history now being gathered up by zealous students and scribes, and committed to the more lasting custody of the written page. Among the writers was Ari Frode, who began the compilation of the Icelandic *Dooms-day Book*, which contained a record of the early settlers. Scarcely less useful was Sæmund the Wise, who collected the poetical literature of the North and arranged it in a goodly tome. The example of these great men was followed, and by the end of the twelfth century all the Sagas relating to the pagan period of the country had been reduced to writing. This was an era of great literary activity, and the century following showed the same zeal. Finally Iceland possessed a body of prose literature superior in quantity and value to that of any other modern nation of its time.[1] Indeed the people of Europe at this period had no prose or other species of literature really worthy of the name; and, taken altogether, the Sagas formed the first prose literature in any modern language spoken by the people.[2] Says Sir Edmund Head, "No doubt there were translations in Anglo-Saxon from the Latin by Alfred, of an earlier date, but there was in truth no vernacular literature. I cannot name," he says, "any work in high or low German prose which can be carried back to this period. In France, prose writing cannot be said to have begun before the time of Villehardouin (1204), and Joinville (1202). Castilian prose certainly did not commence before the time of Alphonso X (1252). Don Juan Manvel, the author of the Conde Lucanor, was not born till 1282. The Cronica General de España was not composed till at least the middle of the thirteenth century. About the same time the language of Italy was acquiring that softness and strength which was

[1] For a list of many Icelandic works, see the Introduction of Laing's *Heimskringla*. See also Horn's *History of the Literature of the Scandinavian North*. Translated by Anderson, Chicago, 1884. Also the work of William and Mary Howitt.

[2] See Sir Edmuud Head's *Viga Glum Saga*, pp. viii and ix.

destined to appear so conspicuously in the prose of Boccaccio, and the writers of the next century."[1]

Thus, while some nations were backward in literature, the intellect of Iceland was in active exercise, and works like the Eddas and the Heimskringla, were conserved, being works inspired by a lofty genius that will rank with the writings of Homer and Herodotus while time endures.

In the beginning of the sixteenth century, however, the literature of Iceland reached the period of its greatest excellence and began to decline. Books continued to be written, but works of genius were wanting. Yet in Iceland there has never been an absence of literary industry, while during the recent period the national reputation has been sustained by Finn Magnussen and similar great names. One hundred years before the Plymouth colonists, following in the track of Thorwald Ericson, landed on the sands of Cape Cod, the people of Iceland had set up the printing press, and produced numerous works both in the native language and the Latin tongue.

It is to this people, whom Saxo Grammaticus points out as a people distinguished for their devotion to letters, that we are indebted for the narratives of the pre-Columbian voyages to America. Though first arranged for oral recitation, the Sagas, as we have seen, were afterward committed to manuscript, the earliest of which perhaps do not now exist, while the latest were those preserved in the celebrated Flatö collection nearly a century before the re-discovery of America by Columbus.

It is no longer necessary to spend time in this connection since the character and value of the Icelandic writings have come to be generally acknowledged, and especially since scholars and antiquaries like Humboldt and Max Muller have fully acknowledged their authenticity and authority.

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[1] Ibid. Of course there was more or less poetry, yet poetry is early developed among the rudest nations, while good prose proves that a people have become highly advanced in mental culture.

EARLY ENGLISH VOYAGES TO ICELAND.

It is proper to notice here the fact that not a few have imagined that the claims of the Northmen have been brought forward to detract from the fame of Columbus; yet, nothing could be farther from the truth, since no one denies that it was by the voyages of Columbus that the Continent became of great value to the Old World, though we must always remember that North America is chiefly indebted to the Cabots, who were Catholics sent out, like Columbus, by a Catholic king.

But nothing should deter us from inquiring into the relation held by Columbus to the pilots and geographers of the North,[1] especially since so many fancy that the northern regions were little visited at the period of his activity. We find, however, that in the fourteenth century the fisheries were commonly pursued around Iceland, whose people were in regular communication with Greenland. The English also knew Greenland at the time, though, in common with the people of Iceland and Norway, they did not appreciate the importance of this knowledge. In the fourteenth century, proof is found both in the Icelandic and English annals, of the connection between the two countries. The Icelandic contains indications of the arrival of English ships, but it is clear that their coming was so well known as to gain only a casual allusion, the interest standing connected with the news brought. The entries were made at the time, and are now set down in chronological order, in accordance with the language of the original. Let us, therefore, notice these entries.

In 1348, news reached Iceland that in England the mortality was so great that 200,000 persons had died.[2] The

[1] Bulletin de Géographie, 1858, p. 177. Are Frode in 1608, speaking of the visit paid to Iceland by Floke Vilgerderson, says that in those times men had no loadstone in the northern countries. The Bible Guyot, 1150, speaks of the loadstone as un pierre laida et brumiere.

[2] *Islenzkir Annálar,* Hafniæ, p. 276. The Icelandic is as

next year the death of English sailors at Bergen, in Norway opposite Iceland, was reported, and recorded in the Sagas.[1] This is all that we find at present in connection with the fourteenth century in Iceland; but the reference of the Saga to the great mortality in England is confirmed by Stow's "Annals," which state that the plague reached England in 1348, touching the seaports first. Thence, no doubt, the news was at once carried by fishermen to Iceland.[2] If the voyages of the English to Iceland had possessed greater interest, there would have been some more definite notice in the Sagas. We are free, however, to admit that, early in this century, the merchant trade may have been small, as in 1328 Edward III does not mention Iceland in his Pro Mercatoribus Extraneis. Nor does he mention Denmark or Norway, but these are included in the general language, Omnium aliarum Terrarum et locorum extranorunt.[3] Nevertheless, the mandate of Edward III, dated March 18, 1354, recognizes the fact that the king maintained a fleet for service in the "parts Boreal," John de Haddon being the Admiral.[4] It was probably designed to protect the fishermen and merchants from pirates around the north of Britain.

In the Icelandic annals of the fifteenth century, the first clear entry is that of 1407, when news was received of the death of the Archbishop of York.[5] In 1412, it was recorded that five English sailors had separated from their ship and wintered in the island.[6] In 1413, "thirty more fishing vessels came from England." Some of them were blown to the northern part of Iceland, and possibly to the Greenland coast.[7]

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follows: *Mannfall ógurlegt á Englendi svá at tvö hundred thousand datt nidr.*

[1] Ibid., 278.

[2] Stow's Annals, p. 245, Ed. 1631.

[3] Rymer's Foedera, IV, 361

[4] Ibid., v, 778.

[5] Annálar, p. 382.

[6] Ibid., p. 386.

[7] Ibid., p. 388.

In 1415, six English ships sailed to Iceland, and made their port in the Westmann Islands.[1] In 1416, six ships anchored in Hafnafiord, in the south-west of Iceland.[2] In 1419, many English ships were wrecked on the coast of Iceland, and a large number of lives were lost.[3] The "Annals," in the present compilation, end with the year 1430, and these six entries are all that we find. If carefully considered, however, it will appear that these mentions really form *memorabilia*. This will be seen by turning to the English annals for the corresponding period. The first reference to Iceland in the *Fœdera* is that of 1415, when Henry V, for the satisfaction of the King of Denmark, ordered that during the year none of his subjects should presume to visit any of "the coasts of the islands belonging to Denmark and Norway, and especially to the island of Iceland," for the purpose of fishing or trading, "otherwise than according to the ancient custom" (*aliter quam antiquitus fieri consuevit*).[4] This notice was served upon the authorities of the various seaports of England. Here, then, we learn, in connection with 1415, that in the ancient times voyages to Iceland had become frequent. It is clear from the complaint of the Danish king that the old rules respecting traffic had been broken habitually, and that they were now to be observed, at least for one year. Of the exact nature of the ancient law we cannot speak, but it would appear as though the prohibition related to the shore fisheries, which they were not to intrude upon, and hence, when the English went to Iceland, in 1415, they harbored off the coast of the Westmann Islands. The arrival of the ships, under the circumstances, formed a noticeable event, and for this reason it was recorded. The Icelandic

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[1] Ibid., p. 390.

[2] Ibid., p. 392.

[3] Ibid., p. 394.—In this connection the author employs material given by him in his *Inventio Fortunata*, devoted to the subject of Arctic Discovery.

[4] "*Fœdera*," IX, 322.

Annals add, immediately after mentioning their arrival, that "the ships brought letters from the King of England to the people and the chief men of Iceland."

There is, then, a complete agreement between the English and the Icelandic Annals, both showing that an English fleet visited Iceland in 1415 — a circumstance which should go very far to establish the general value and credibility of those records of a distant age.[1]

In 1416, the English were again in Iceland, but the *Fœdera* does not mention voyages until 1436, when Henry VI issued a license to John, the Icelandic Bishop of Holem, then in London, authorizing him to engage John May, with his ship "Catherine," for a voyage to Iceland, where May, evidently an old voyager, was to act as his attorney, and transact certain business for him, the Bishop himself not wishing to undertake the voyage.[2] In 1436, Richard Weston, of London, a "stockfishmonger," was well known by the Icelanders.[3] In 1440, Henry VI sent two ships to Iceland, with supplies. It was feared that without this aid from England, the sacraments even would be omitted, there being neither wine nor salt in the country, and only milk and water (*lac et aquam*).[4] Eight years later, we have seen, Pope Nicholas V was writing about the distressed condition of the Church in Greenland.

In connection with the year 1445, another voyage is indicated by the Admiralty "Black Book," action having been taken against William Byggeman, and two men of Lynn,

[1] This agreement between the English and Icelandic authorities was pointed out for the first time, in *Inventio Fortunata*.

[2] *Fœdera*, x, 645 and 659, Ed. 1877. With an Icelandic bishop residing for the time in London, the English must certainly have learned through him of Greenland and Vinland.

[3] Ibid., x, 762. These supplies were sent to the Bishop of Skalholt, who alone was authorized by the Synod of Denmark to supply the elements of the sacraments to the churches. See *Kirchengefchichte von Danemark und Norwegan* (Münter), III, 16.

[4] Ibid., x, 645.

who visited Icleand in a "dogger," called the "Trinity." They kidnapped a boy whom they brought to Swetesham and held in servitude, contrary to law.[1]

In 1450, a treaty was made between the Kings of Denmark and England, which prohibited trading in Iceland; but a special provision of Parliament exempted Thomas Canynges, Mayor of Bristol, from the prohibition, in consideration of his great services to Iceland. He was accordingly allowed to send two ships thither to load with fish or other commodities. His trade with Iceland was a matter of general knowledge, and throws additional light upon a certain remark by Columbus.

It should be remembered also, that the Zeno Brothers made their voyage to Greenland, and a part of the American coast called "Estotiland," and "Drogeo," in 1400. It suffices here to say: The Zeno Map, published with the narrative in 1558, shows that the Zeno family had a knowledge of Greenland that could have been obtained only during the pre-Columbian times.[2] Pope Innocent VIII may have heard of Greenland through Zeno.

In this connection the investigator must not overlook the voyage of Skolnus the Pole, which took place in 1476. Hakluyt says that this voyage is mentioned by Gemma

[1] Item quod Willelums Byggemane de Suetesham magister cujusdem navis vocatae le Trinyte, dictae vulgariter dogger, Johannis Pigot et Henrici Sorysbi de Lenna Episcopi, circa festum Exultacionis Sanctæ Crucis anno dicti regis vicesimo tertio, cepit unum pueram in partibus de Islandia, et ipsum duxit in dictu navi ad ibidem usque Suetsham, adsibi serviendum, contra statuta regia in hoc parte facta." — *Monumenta Juridicia* (Black Book), I, 273.

[2] On Zeno, see "The Sailing Directions of Henry Hudson," p. 5; "The Northmen in Maine," p. 30. Also a full discussion of the subject in the Hakluyt Society's edition of the voyage, edited by Major. The last unsuccessful attempt to invalidate the voyage of Zeno is that of Mr. Lucas, London, 1898. On this see notice in "The American Historical Review," July, 1899.

Frisius and Girava.[1] It is certainly referred to on an ancient globe of about 1540, preserved in Paris, and known as "The Rouen Globe," whereon, near the north-west coast of Greenland, is a legend declaring that Skolnus reached that point in 1476. This globe seems to antedate Gomara (1553).

Next attention should be directed to the voyage of Columbus to the North, of which the Genoese himself gives the following account:

"In the month of February, 1477, I sailed a hundred leagues beyond the island of Thyle, the southern part of which is distant from the equinoctial 73 degrees, and not 63, as some wish it to be; nor does it lie upon the line where Ptolemy's west begins, but much more toward the west. And to this island, which is as large as England, the English come for traffic, and especially those of Bristol. And at the time I was there the sea was not frozen, but in some places the tide rose 26 fathoms [feet], and fell the same."[2] Whoever wrote the life of the Admiral, there

[1] Hakluyt makes his reference in a general way, giving neither chapter nor page. Frisius published De Principius Astronomiæ & Cosmographiæ, &c., in 1530. The Cosmographiæ, of Hieronimo Girava was printed 1556. Gomara mentions Skolnus in his Historia, c. xxxvii, Ed. 1553. See "The Sailing Directions of Henry Hudson," p. 23, in connection with Wytfliet and Pontanus. For Hakluyt, see Maine Coll., S. 2, vol. II, p. 148.

[2] The Italian runs as follows "Io navigai l'anno 1477, nel mese di Febraio oltra Tile isola cento leghe, la ciu parte Australe è lontana dall' Equinottiale settantatre gradi, et non sessantra, come alcuni vogliono: ne giace dentro della linea, che include l'Occidente di Tolomeo, ma è molto piu Occidentale. Et a quest' isola, che è tanto grande come l'Inghilterra, vanno gl'Inglesi can le loro mercatantie, specialmente quelli di Bristol. Et al tempo, che io vi andai, non era congelelate il mare che in alcuni luoghi ascendena ventesi braccia, et discendena altro tanti in altezza." (*Historia del S. D. Fernando Colombo*, 1571, c. vi.) "Braccia" is evidently a clerical error

is no question but that he made the voyage. Finn Magnussen has pointed out an interesting confirmation of the statement of Columbus respecting the mild weather in 1477, where he shows from the "Annals," the remarkable fact, that, in 1477, snow had not been seen at Eyafjord, in the north of Iceland, as late as March.[1]

To this period belongs the voyage of Robert Alcock, of Hull, who, in 1478, was commissioned by Edward IV to send a ship of 240 tons to Iceland, which was "to reload with fish or other goods."[2] He was licensed again in 1483.

Chaucer in the prologue to the Canterbury Tales, shows by his "Shipman," something of the activity of the British sailor at this period.

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as the original Spanish will doubtless show, if ever found. That Columbus was familiar with the map in the Ptolemy of 1486, showing the northern regions, with Greenland as an extension of Europe, can hardly be doubted. His remark respecting Thyle appears to be intended almost as a correction of that map, on which the Orcades and Thyle are laid down north of Scotland, Thyle being in 63° N., while it apears again further north as "Islandia." This double representation of Iceland on the map was a blunder, the island being laid down first according to Ptolemy, and then according to the prevailing ideas of the day. This peculiarity of the map entitles it to interest as a Columbian map, though the feature referred to does not appear to have been remarked upon hitherto by any except the writer.

[1] The fact was produced from the Annals by Finn Magnussen, in Nordisk Tidskrift for Olkyndighed, vol. 11, p. 128. It has been suggested, though without reason, that the voyage of Columbus was made in 1467. See Barrow's Chronological History, p. 26. Columbus gives the wrong latitudes for the places visited, but this may be the fault of the editor; while Humboldt says that they were not the result of his own observations during a rough wintry voyage. See *Examen Critique*, II, 115, and v, 214, n. In 1550 a Bristol ship was lost at Iceland. See Barrett's Bristol.

[2] Fœdera, XII, 94.

An indication more to our present purpose is found in the poem on "The Policie of Keeping the Sea," which belongs to the middle of the fifteenth century. At that time the northern region was so well known that the author of the poem disposes of the subject briefly:

> "Of Island to write is little nede,
> Save of stockfish; yet forsooth, indeed,
> Out of Bristowe, and *costes many one*,
> Men have practiced by needle and stone
> Thider wardes within a little while
> Within twelve yere, and without perill
> Gon and come, *as men were wont of old*
> Of Scarborough unto the costes cold."[1]

Thus, at the time when the poet wrote, Bristol had revived her old enterprise. The maritime enterprise of this period is greatly underrated by Mr. Froude. The sketch now given of voyages toward the north, especially during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, is quite general. It would be easy to swell the citations from various sources, among which may be mentioned the voyages to the west of Ireland so well known to Columbus, as his biography proves. Yet enough has been said to show the real character of the period. The times, both before and after the general date assigned to the voyage of Columbus, were marked by great activity, and expeditions to the north were so common that neither the English nor the Icelanders took the trouble to mention them, except when they stood connected with circumstances of particular interest. The intercourse between Iceland and England was so frequent, that sailors like John May, who served as the representative of the Bishop of Holem, must have acquired a fair knowledge of the language spoken in that distant isle. Indeed, at one time, under the Normans, the Icelandic tongue gave a person the advantage at the courts of both England and France.[2]

But enough has been said to prove that the voyage of

[1] Hakluyt, vol. I, p. 201. Ed. 1599 1600.

[2] Laing's *Heimskringla*, vol. 1, chap. viii, p. 61.

Columbus, in 1477, formed no novelty. His actions take their place with entire naturalness in the annals of his age. Yet all the while the English voyagers did not, so far as we now know, touch Greenland.

Columbus had the most ample opportunities for learning of the voyages of the Northmen. He could not associate with the English sailors without hearing more or less about Iceland, and presumably of Greenland. He knew that voyages were made to the west, though he did not appreciate the importance of the information and failed to put it to use. He argued, that the land at the west visited by the Icelanders, was not the Indies, of which he was in search.[1] This led him to take the Southern route across the Atlantic.[2] In this connection, however, the author has no interest in the work of lessening the deserved fame of Columbus. That Columbus knew of the westward voyages of the Icelanders is sufficiently evident. He

[1] When at the western end of Cuba on his second voyage, so certain was Columbus that he had reached the eastern coast of Asia that he required his officers, under oath, to declare that Cuba was not an island but the continent, under penalty of 10,000 maravedis, and having their tongues cut out. See document in Navarrete's *Collecion*, vol. II, p. 155. See, also, Gravier's translation of the Author's Treatise on the Lenox Globe, *Le Globe Lenox de* 1511. *Traduit de Anglaise par Gabriel Gravier*, Rouen, 1880, p. 25.

[2] See the author's "Columbus and the Geographers of the North." Hartford, 1872. Those who are interested in belittling the great work of Columbus can consult Goodrich's "Life of Columbus." See, also, "An Inglorious Columbus," by Ed. P. Vining, New York, 1885, a somewhat remarkable book; together, with "America not Discovered by Columbus. An Historical Sketch of the Discovery of America by the Norsemen, in the Tenth Century, by Rasmus B. Anderson, A. M., with an Appendix on the Historical, Linguistic and Scientific Value of the Scandinavian Languages. New and Improved Edition. Chicago, 1877." On the routes across the Atlantic, see "Narrative and Critical History," III, 172.

clearly believed, as the Northmen did, namely, that Greenland lay west of Norway, and that Vinland stood contiguous. What he desired was to reach the eastern coast of Asia.[1] Vinland did not interest him.

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE DISCUSSION.

About sixty years have passed since the publication of Rafn's work on the Antiquities of America, which gives the Icelandic text of the Sagas, accompanied by translations in Latin and Danish. The appearance of that remarkable work excited surprise in many intelligent circles, though a general knowledge of the Icelandic voyages had long been in the possession of a class of scholars, especially through the writings of Torfæus. The volume was favorably reviewed by Edward Everett, and, both in America and Europe, at once commanded the attention of historians and antiquaries.[2] While some of the more enthusiastic conclusions of Prof. Rafn have been disallowed, his main proposition has steadily gained favor, it being conceded that voyages were made by the Northmen to New England in the eleventh century.

On this subject Humboldt speaks most emphatically, saying with regard to "the undoubted first discovery of

[1] The author does not find evidence of any desire on the part of the authorities of the Roman Church to suppress knowledge of the Icelandic voyages, in order to exalt Columbus. When invited to canonize Columbus, the body to which the subject was referred reported adversely, one reason being that they had "grave doubts" concerning the private character of Columbus, a subject that historical writers are not called to concern themselves about. Besides, in this country, Catholic writers use the establishment of the Icelanders in New England as a ground of their own ecclesiastical priority. See Roman Catholic writers in general, and especially Dr. John Gilmary Shea and Dr. Clarke. On this point see the work of Marie A. Brown on the Northmen, and the four numbers of her Journal, "Leif Ericson," as examples of decadence.

[2] "North American Review."

America, in its northern portion by the Northmen," that, "whilst the Caliphate still flourished under the Abassides at Bagdad, and Persia was under the dominion of Samanides, whose age was so favorable to poetry, America was discovered in the year 1000 by Leif, son of Eric the Red, by the northern route and as far 41° 30′ north latitude."[1]

Turning to our own country we have the testimony of a laborious and painstaking investigator like Palfrey, who examined the whole subject, and gives us as his final conclusion respecting the Sagas, that "their antiquity and genuineness appear to be well established, nor is their any thing to bring their credibility into question beyond the general doubt which always attaches to what is new or strange."[2]

As the result, historical writers in general accept the Sagas as authority, and usually locate Leif Ericson's settlement in New England.[3]

A large proportion of the American school histories give the voyages of the Northmen to America, and there is now being raised up a generation that will be free from that old bias, which formerly gave Columbus the field, to the exclusion not only of the Irish, the Zeno Brothers and Northmen, but of the Cabots, who saw the American Continent before Columbus could have done so.[4]

In New England the study of the Icelandic Sagas has resulted in the erection of a statue to Leif Ericson in the City of Boston. This was not accomplished without opposition, the movement having been opposed by a class of men, small in numbers, but whose general attainments

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[1] *Cosmos*, vol. II, p. 603. Also *Examen Critique.*

[2] "History of New England," vol. II, p. 53.

[3] See such works as the Bryant-Gay "History of the United States."

[4] See author's article on the claim of Cabot in the *Independent*, and Dr. Deane's discussion of the Cabot question, "Narrative and Critical History," vol. III, and, separate, Cambridge, 1888.

and devotion to the study of historical subjects entitle any opinion they may present to respectful consideration. They represent what, in some respects, may, perhaps, be regarded as a skeptical element, an element of value in connection with historical study, even as when joined to politics and sociology. It often, however, misses its aim, and helps forward, rather than hinders, the progress of a new line of thought. Certain it is in the present case, that opposition has stimulated investigation and advanced the influence of the Sagas as historical documents. It is, therefore, in vain that those to whom reference is made undertake to declare, that "There is the same sort of reason for believing in the existence of Leif Ericson that there is for believing in the existence of Agamemnon; they are both traditions accepted by later writers." Both have been vindicated.

It is sufficiently evident that local feeling, which often vitiates the studies of the most accomplished men, enters into this singular declaration. It serves no special purpose, beyond proving a feeling of irritation on the part of those accustomed to have every utterance received with deference, but who have discovered their inability to control public opinion in connection with historical monuments. The scholars have moved on, and left them behind. But, notwithstanding this opposition, the study of the whole subject of Pre-Columbian Discovery is indebted to their efforts, and the student of the Sagas should regard it as fortunate, that the opposition came from an influential source, since, in the future, it may prove a source of satisfaction to know that the veracity of the old Icelandic chronicler was established in the face of persevering and determined organized opposition.[1] The future

[1] Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings," December, 1887. The opinion of so distinguished an Icelandic scholar as Professor Dasent alone would be accepted in critical circles as disposing of any opinion propounded by the Committee responsible for the above statement.

of the Icelandic Sagas relating to America is plain. Their simple, unaffected statements, all uncolored either by personal vanity or national ambition, will more and more win the confidence of historians, who find in these statements, committed to writing, as all the testimony proves, in Pre-Columbian times, convincing and unanswerable proof of the fact that Leif Ericson and other adventurers found America and visited New England during the times and under the circumstances described.[1]

After this exhibition of the subject it would perhaps prove a reflection upon the intelligence of the reader to argue further. It may, nevertheless, be observed, that the discovery of the Papal letters in the Vatican Library afford additional proof of the belief that the period in which the Sagas originated was dominated by a true historical spirit, and that the Sagas take their proper place in the Northern school of genuine historical composition. The literary spirit prevailed in all the countries on the North Atlantic. Like the Irish, who for nearly two thousand years have proved themselves a literary people, the Icelanders have shown their devotion to intellectual efforts along legitimate lines. Their work cannot be taken out of its true connection with the literary history of the Irish, the Welsh, the Danes and Norwegians. Much less can it now be viewed apart from

[1] Pp. 76-132, vol. I, "Narrative and Critical History," contain a large amount of matter relating to this subject, and the contribution is one of much value; though it is to be regretted that the labor should be employed, largely, it would seem, for the purpose of belittling the voyages. Yet, with unequalled facilities at the editor's command, it cannot be said that the authority of the Sagas has been shaken. We find, substantially, opinion arrayed against argument, and the wealth of bibliography and illustration simply renders more apparent the weakness of the Editor's cause. Adverse criticism cannot grapple successfully with the subject, and has now done its worst, while unfortunately the attempt leaves behind on the pages of a noble work what in the future will be recognized not so much as a useful and stimulating contribution, but as a scar.

the fact that Iceland, Greenland and Vinland stood connected with Italy, and, in particular, with Rome. Mr. George Bancroft deliberately dropped his early charge, though repeated in many editions, that the Sagas were of a mythological character. He had never read the Sagas at the time the charge was made, and knew them only by garbled reports. The Sagas, as the reader will perceive, are not mythological, either in form or substance, but are cast in the old Norwegian form of genuine historical writing. The Sagas were composed at a time when the countries treated of were well known, a fact that must have saved them from an infusion of the imagination. The people and the Church in the new lands were also perfectly known and there was no field open to romance. Bishops and priests, and laymen of all professions and degrees, were travelling between Italy and the western world. The Scandinavian gods were dead. A Christian realism pervaded Icelandic society and gave character to Icelandic composition. The mythic theory, as applied to the Sagas, is itself dead, and common sense and fidelity to history demand that it should now be buried out of sight.

THE ICELANDIC NARRATIVES.

It now remains to give the reader some general account of the contents of the narratives which relate more or less to the discovery of the Western continent. It may be well first, however, to notice an attempt at criticism made in the North American Review,[1] which assumes that the Sagas are simply reductions of old ballads, because Sturleson admits that a part of his "Heimskringla" was so produced. As it happens, however, the Vinland Sagas contain only four poetical fragments, while in the Heimskringla they abound. A few verses are also found in Landanama, in its second part, the origin of which is absolutely known. The first part was composed in the eleventh century and the second in the fourteenth, when the ballad theory becomes positively absurd. This work like-

[1] July, 1869, pp. 265-72.

wise contains two more extracts from the poem "Havgerdinger," which is also quoted in the Saga relating to the first voyage of Biarne to America, proving clearly that it was a well-known and popular song, quoted by the different writers just as parts of Shakespere are quoted to-day. Sometimes, too, these quotations have no real relation to the subject, having been introduced on the principle which governs the introductions of songs and hymns on oratorical occasions in our times.

Nevertheless empty theories like this were devised, showing that the critic has no proper conception of the nature of Icelandic literature, either in prose or verse.[1]

In speaking of these records the order followed will be that which is indicated by the table of contents at the beginning of the volume.

The first extracts given are very brief. They are taken from the Landanama Book, and relate to the report in general circulation, indicating one Gunnbiorn as the discoverer of Greenland, an event which has been fixed at the year 876. These fragments also give an account of a voyage to what was called Gunnbiorn's Rocks, where the adventurers passed the winter, and found in a hole or excavation, a sum of money, which indicated the class of people who frequented the place before them, colonists fleeing from pirates.

The next narrative relates to the re-discovery of Greenland by the outlaw, Eric the Red, in 983, who there passed two years in exile, and afterward returned to Iceland. About the year 986, he brought out to Greenland a considerable colony of settlers, who fixed their abode at Brattahlid, in Ericsfiord.

Then follow two versions of the voyage of Biarne Heriulfson, who, in the same year, 986, when sailing for Greenland, was driven away during a storm, and saw a

[1] The critic in question was replied to by the author in "Notes on a Review of the Pre-Columbian Discovery of America by the Northmen." Charlestown, Mass., 1869.

new land at the southward, which he did not visit. He was complained of, because he did not describe it carefully, with the result that Leif had only the most vague reports for his guidance in following voyage.

Next we have three separate accounts of the voyage of Leif, son of Eric the Red, who, in the year 1000, sailed from Brattahlid, in Greenland, to find the land which Biarne saw. Two of these accounts are hardly more than notices of the voyage, but the third is of considerable length, and details the successes of Leif, who found and explored this new land, where he spent the winter, returning to Greenland the following spring. With his descriptions we find ourselves on solider ground than in the case of the voyage of Biarne.

After this follows the voyage of Thorvald Ericson, brother of Leif, who sailed to Vinland from Greenland, which was the point of departure in all these voyages. This expedition was begun in 1002, and it cost him his life, as an arrow from one of the natives pierced his side.

Thorstein, his brother, went to seek Vinland, with the intention of bringing home his body, but failed in the attempt, and was driven back, passing the winter in a part of Greenland remote from Brattahlid, where he died before the spring fully opened.

The most distinguished explorer was the great Thorfinn Karlsefne, an Icelander whose genealogy runs back in the old Northern annals, through Danish, Swedish, and even Scotch and Irish ancestors, some of whom were of royal blood. In the year 1006 he went to Greenland, where he met Gudrid, widow of Thorstein, whom he married. Accompanied by his wife, who urged him to the undertaking, he sailed for Vinland in the spring of 1007, with three vessels and one hundred and sixty men. He remained in Vinland three years. Here his son Snorre was born. This Snorre afterwards became the founder of a great family in Iceland, which gave the island several of its earlier bishops. Thorfinn finally left Vinland because he found it difficult to sustain himself against the attacks of the

natives. He seems to have spent the most of the time in the vicinity of Mount Hope Bay in Rhode Island. Of this expedition we have three narratives, all of which are given.

The next to undertake a voyage was a wicked woman named Freydis, sister of Leif Ericson, who went to Vinland in 1011, where she lived for a time with her two ships' crews in the same places occupied by Leif and Thorfinn. Before returning she caused the crew of one ship to be cruelly murdered, assisting in the butchery with her own hands.

After this we have what are called the Minor Narratives, which are not perhaps essential, yet they are given, that the reader may be in possession of all that relates to the subject. The first of these refers to a voyage of Are Marson to a land south-west of Ireland, called Hvitrammana-land, or Great Ireland. This was prior to Leif's voyage to Vinland, or New England, taking place in the year 983. Biorn Asbrandson is supposed to have gone to the same place in 999. The voyage of Gudleif, who went thither, is assigned to the year 1027. The narrative of Asbrandson is given for the sake of the allusion at the close.

Finally we have a few scraps of history which speak of a voyage of Bishop Eric to Vinland in 1121, of the re-discovery of Helluland (Newfoundland) in 1285, and of a voyage to Markland (Nova Scotia) in 1347, whither the Northmen came to cut timber. With such brief notices the accounts come to an end.

THE TRUTHFULNESS OF THE NARRATIVES.

The reader will occasionally find in these narratives instances of a marvelous and supernatural character, but there is nothing at all mythological, as persons ignorant of their nature have supposed. Besides there are multitudes of narratives of a later date, to be found in all languages, which afford as many statements of a marvelous nature as these Sagas, which, nevertheless, contain a substantial ground-work of truth. All early histories abound in the marvelous, and these things are so well known that illus-

trations are hardly needed. The relation of prodigies in nowise destroys the credibility of historical statement. If this were not so, we should be obliged to discard the greater portion of well-known history, and even suspect plain matters of fact in the writings of such men as Dr. Johnson, because the great scholar fully believed in the apparition known in London as the Cock-Lane Ghost. The Sagas are as free from superstition and imagination as most other narratives of that age, and are just as much entitled to belief.

There will also in certain cases be found contradictions. The statements of the different narratives do not always coincide. The disagreements are, however, neither very numerous nor remarkable. The discrepancies are exactly what we should expect to find in a series of narratives written at different times and by different hands. The men who recorded the various expeditions to New England in the eleventh century agree, on the whole, quite as well as the writers of our own day, who, with vastly greater advantages, undertake to narrate the events of the colonization of America in the seventeenth century.[1]

Therefore these marvelous statements and occasional contradictions in nowise detract from the historic value of the documents themselves, which, even in their very truth-

[1] The liability of the best historians to fall into error is illustrated by Paley, who shows the serious blunders in the accounts of the Marquis of Argyle's death, in the reign of Charles II: "Lord Clarendon relates that he was condemned to be *hanged*, which was performed the *same* day; on the contrary, Burnet, Woodrow, Heath and Echard concur in stating that he was *beheaded*, and that he was condemned upon Saturday and executed on Monday." — "Evidences of Christianity," part III, chap. i. So Mr. Bancroft found it impossible to give with any accuracy the location of the French colony of St. Saviour, established on the coast of Maine, by Saussaye, in 1613. Bancoft tells us that it was on the north bank of the Penobscot, while it is perfectly well known that it was located on the island of Mount Desert, a long way off, on the edge of the ocean.

fulness to the times, give every evidence of authenticity and great worth. To this general appearance of truthfulness we may, however, add the force of those undesigned coincidences between writers widely separated and destitute of all means of knowing what had been already said. The same argument may be used with the Sagas which had been so powerfully employed by Paley and others in vindicating the historical character of the New Testament.[1] In these narratives, as in those of SS. Paul and John, it may be used with overwhelming effect. Yet we should not fear to dispense with all auxiliary aids. We are willing to *rest the whole question of the value of these narratives upon their age;* for if the Sagas date back to a period long prior to the voyage of Columbus, then the Northmen are entitled to the credit of having been among the first Europeans to land upon these shores. But the date of these narratives has now been settled beyond reasonable question. The doubts of the ablest critical minds, both in Europe and America, have been effectually laid to rest, and at the end of all the years that have passed since the first edition of this work came from the press, we are obliged to repeat that the reply now given to the Northern Antiquary is often some feeble paragraph pointed with a sneer.

We need not, therefore, appear before the public to cry, "Place for the Northmen!" They win their own place as they did of old. They are as strong to-day in ideas, as anciently in arms.

MONUMENTS AND REMAINS.

That the Northmen left no pronounced architectural remains in New England may be true. Professor Rafn

[1] This is the language held in the first edition of the work, though one might infer from the language employed by Diman, in his review of the book in the *North American Review* (July, 1869), that the author was at that time wholly unacquainted with the fact. Our language seems to have escaped the attention of the reviewer.

supposed that he found in the celebrated Dighton Rock[1] and the stone mill at Newport, evidences of the Icelandic occupation. Any efforts to identify the Dighton inscription and the Newport Mill with the age of the Northmen can only serve to injure a good cause. If Professor Rafn

[1] Dighton Rock, known as the Writing Rock, is situated six and a half miles south of Taunton, Mass., on the east side of Taunton river, formed by Assonnet Neck. It lies in the edge of the river, and is left dry at low water. It is a boulder of fire graywack, twelve feet long and five feet high, and faces the bed of the river. Its front is now covered with chiseled inscriptions of what appear to be letters and outlines of men, animals and birds. As early as the year 1680, Dr. Danforth secured a drawing of the upper portion; Cotton Mather made a full copy in 1712; and in 1788, Professor Winthrop, of Harvard College, took a full sized impression on prepared paper. Various other copies have been made at different times, all of which present substantially the same features. Yet in the interpretation of the inscription there has been little agreement. The old rock is a riddle. A copy of the inscription was shown to a Mohawk chief, who decided that it was nothing less than the representation of a triumph of Indians over a wild beast, which took place on this spot. Mr. Schoolcraft also showed a copy to Chingwank, an Algonquin well versed in picture-writing, who gave a similar interpretation. The Roman characters in the central part of the composition he was finally induced to reject, as having no connection with the rest. Whoever compares this inscription with those of undeniably Indian origin found elsewhere, cannot fail to be impressed with the similarity. Nevertheless, members of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, to whose notice it was brought by the Rhode Island Historical Society, felt strongly persuaded that the rock bore evidence of the Northman's visit to these shores. Mr. Laing, the accomplished translator of the *Heimskringla*, in discussing the thories in regard to the inscription, says, that the only resemblance to letters is found in the middle of the stone, in which antiquaries discover the name of Thorfinn, that is, Thorfinn Karlsefne, the leader of the expedition which

had seen these memorials he would doubtless have been among the first to question the truth of the theory which he set forth.

In regard to the structure at Newport, Professor Rafn says that he is inclined to believe "that it had a sacred

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came to New England in 1007. Just over these letters is a character, supposed to be Roman also, which may signify NA, or MA, the letter A being formed by the last branch of M. Now MA in Icelandic is used as an abbreviation of *Madr*, which signifies the original settler of a country. Close to these two letters are several numerals, construed to mean one hundred and fifty-one. According to the account of the voyage, Thorfinn lost nine of the one hundred and sixty men with whom it is presumed he started, and therefore one hundred and fifty-one would exactly express the number with him at the time he is supposed to have cut the inscription. This, then, would mean altogether, that Thorfinn Karlsefne established himself there with one hundred and fifty-one men. Yet, as the testimony of this rock is not needed, we may readily forego any advantage that can be derived from its study. Besides, the history of similar cases should serve to temper our zeal. In the time of Saxo Grammatticus (1160), there was a stone at Hoby, near Runamoe, in the Swedish province of Bleking, which was supposed to be sculptured with runes. At a late day copies were furnished the antiquary, who came to the conclusion, as Laing tells us, that it was a genuine inscription, referring to the battle of Braaville, fought in the year 680. It afterward turned out that the apparent inscription was made by the disintegration of veins of a soft material existing in the rock. Yet the Dighton inscription is beyond question the work of man. Mr. A. E. Kendal, writing in 1807, says that there was a tradition that Assonnet Neck, on which tongue of land the rock is situated, was once a place of banishment among the Indians. He states, further, that the Indians had a tradition to the effect that in ancient times some *white* men in a *bird* landed there and were slaughtered by the aborigines. They also said thunder and lightning issued from the bird, which fact indicates that this event, if it occurred at all, must be re-

destination, and that it belonged to some monastery or Christian place of worship of one of the chief parishes in Vinland. In Greenland," he says, "there are to be found ruins of several round buildings in the vicinity of the churches. One of this description, in diameter about twenty-six feet, is situated at the distance of three hundred feet to the eastward of the great church in Igalliko; another of forty-four feet in diameter, at the distance of four hundred and forty feet to the eastward of the church in Karkortok; . . . a third, of thirty-two feet in diameter amongst the ruins of sixteen buildings at Kanitsok."[1] He supposes that these ancient remains of the Icelanders, seen in Greenland to-day, are baptisteries, similar to those of Italy.

According to this view, there must have been a considerable ecclesiastical establishment in Vinland, which is not indicated by the Sagas, from which we learn no more than the simple fact that Bishop Eric sailed on a voyage to this place in the year 1121. But is it probable that the North-

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ferred to the age of gunpowder, suggesting the visit made by Verrazano to New England, but very likely pointing to some later navigator. Mr. Kendal mentions the story of a ship's anchor having been found there at an early day. In former years the rock was frequently dug under by the people, in the hope of finding concealed treasures. It is said that a small rock once existed near by, which also bore marks of human hands. The Portsmouth and Tiverton Rocks, described by Mr. Webb (*Antiquitates Americanæ*, pp. 355-71), are doubtless Indian inscriptions; while that on the island of Monhegan, off the coast of Maine, may perhaps be classed with the rock of Hoby. After all, it is possible that the *central* portion of the inscription on the Dighton Rock may be the work of the Northmen. That two distinct parties were concerned in making the inscription is clear from the testimony of the Indians, who did not pretend to understand that portion thought to refer to Karlsefne. For the full discussion, see *Antiquitates Americanæ*, p. 378 *et seq.*

[1] *Mémoirs des Antiquaires du Nord*, 1839–9, p. 377.

men would have erected a baptistery like this, and, at the same time, left no other monument? It seems hardly reasonable. Besides, whoever examines this ancient structure must be impressed by its modern aspect, so especially apparent in the mortar, which has been analyzed and found to be substantially the same as the mortar used in some of the early structures of Newport.[1]

[1] See Mag. American History, vol. III, p. 541. The Old Mill at Newport stands on an eminence in the center of the town, being about twenty-four feet high, and twenty-three feet in diameter. It rests upon eight piers and arches. It has four small windows, and, high up the wall, above the arches, was a small fireplace. It is first distinctly mentioned in the will of Governor Benedict Arnold, of Newport, where it is called, "my stone-built wind mill." It is known that during the eighteenth century it served both as a mill and powder-house. Edward Pelham, who married Governor Arnold's grand-daughter, in 1740, also called it "an old stone mill." Peter Easton, who early went to live in Newport, wrote in 1663, that "this year we built the first windmill;" and August 28, 1675, he says, "a storm blew down our windmill." What Easton relates occurred before Governor Arnold writes about his stone windmill, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that when the one spoken of by Easton was destroyed he built something more substantial. Yet we cannot say that this was actually the case. Some old tower may have been adapted by him for the purposes of a mill, when the one used by Easton was destroyed. The family of the Governor is said to have come from Warwickshire, England. One of his farms was called the Leamington Farm, as is supposed, from the place by that name near Warwick. In addition to this, in the Chesterton Parish, three miles from Leamington, there is an old windmill similar in construction to that at Newport. It is supposed that it was erected on pillars for pneumatic reasons, and, also, that carts might thus go underneath to be loaded and unloaded with greater ease. It has been suggested that *if* Governor Arnold came from Warwickshire, of which proof is not given, and *if* the Chesterton mill was standing at the time of his departure for New England, he might

In Greenland the evidences of the Northmen's occupation are abundant, because they were regularly established on the ground for generations, and formed their public and private edifices of the only material at hand, which was well nigh imperishable. But their visits to New England were comparatively few, and were scattered over many years. Owing to the weakness of their numbers, they may have found permanent colonies impracticable. Thorfinn Karlselfne deliberately gave up the attempt at the end of a three years' experiment, saying that it would be impossible to maintain the position against the numerous bands of natives. So far as we know the various companies that came into Vinland, occupied huts or booths, like Leif's booths, and simply added others similar to them when they afforded insufficient quarters. To ask for monumental proofs of the occupation of the Northmen is, therefore, unreasonable, since their huts and timber crosses must soon have disappeared. The memorial we have a right to expect is some relic, a coin or amulet, perhaps, that chance may yet throw in the antiquary's way,[1] or some excava-

have built a mill at Newport after the same model. Yet this is something we know little about. Whence came the Chesterton Mill itself? There was a *tradition* that it was built after a design by Inigo Jones, but this is only a tradition. That structure also might have belonged to the class of Towers, of which one at least was probably built by Northmen in Greenland. It will not help the Northmen to class this Newport relic with their works. See Palfrey's New England, vol. I, pp. 57-59. *Scribner's Monthly*, March, 1879. The windmill is now out of the story.

[1] Some have fancied that "the skeleton in armor," dug up near Fall River, was a relic of the Northmen, being the remains of one of those men killed by the natives in the battle with Karlsefne. But it would be far more reasonable to look for traces of the Northmen among the Indians of Gaspe, who, at an early day, were distinguished for an unusual degree of civilization. Malte Brun tells us that they worshiped the sun, knew the points of the compass, observed the position of some

tion, it may be a trench, conduit, cellar or incipient fortress. In the meanwhile, among scholars, the Icelandic narratives are steadily winning their way to unquestioned belief. This is all the more gratifying in an age like the

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of the stars, and traced maps of their country. Before the French missionaries went among them it is said they worshiped the figure of the cross, and had a tradition that a venerable person once visited them, during an epidemic, curing many by the use of that symbol. See Malte Brun's *Geography* (English edition), vol. v, p. 135. Malte Brunn's authority is Father Leclerc's *Nouvelle Relation de la Gaspesie.* Paris, 1672. See on "The Skeleton in Armour," Mass. Hist. Coll. 1837; also Williamson, "The Northmen in Maine," Hist. Mag. Jan. 1869, p. 30. At Pittston, Me., trees three feet in diameter and with six hundred annular rings, were found associated with brick work, which, so far as appearances went, antedated the trees. See in opposition, *Mass. Hist. Proceedings*, 2 series, vol. v, p. 337.

Attention may be called to the writings of the late Prof. Eben N. Horsford, a most remarkable series of monographs on the subject, containing maps of great value and unique interest. The volumes were printed at the Riverside Press, in the following order: "Discovery of America by the Northmen," etc., 1888; "The Problem of the Northmen," 1889; "Discovery of the Ancient City of Norombega," 1890; "Watertown the Site of Norombega," 1890; "A Reply to Olson's Review," etc., 1890; "The Defences of Norombega," 1891; "Sketch of the Norse Discovery," etc., 1891; "The Landfall of Leif Erickson," 1892; "Leif's House in Vinland," 1893.

These works have been followed by others from the pen of Prof. Horsford's accomplished daughter, Miss Cornelia Horsford, as follows:

"Graves of the Northmen," 1893; "An Inscribed Stone," 1895; "Dwellings of the Saga Time in Iceland, Greenland and Vinland," 1898; "Vinland and Its Ruins," 1899; "Ruins of the Saga-time by Thorstein Erlingsson, Report of the Expedition sent to Iceland, by Cornelia Horsford, published by the

present, in which portions of history are being dismissed to the realms of hoary fable, and all the annals of the past are being studied in a critical spirit, with true aims and a pure zeal.

PRE-COLUMBIAN DISCOVERY.

I. FRAGMENTS FROM LANDANAMA BOOK.

The following extracts from the Landanama,[1] give us the earliest information on record, in regard to the westward movements of the Icelanders. The men referred to

Viking Club of London," 1899. These works are carefully prepared and indicate a broad vision. They support the view of Prof. Horsford, who held that remains found on the Charles date from the times of the Northmen, and presumably belong to the eleventh century. The present writer locates Norombega on the Penobscot in Maine, yet however that may be, the modern character of the remains on the Charles is not proven. What is called the "Fort of Norombega, thus far has no reasonable explanation on the theory that it is a recent work. The remains of the house uncovered by Miss Horsford may be the ruins of an Icelandic structure, yet Leif's booth is placed by the writer in Rhode Island. These questions, however, do not affect the historical character of Leif's narrative, parts of which, like many writings of our day, are obscure. Miss Horsford has laid students of history under indebtedness by her contributions to the subject, in all of which she wins much praise for her loyalty to the memory and work of her father, who did so much to advance study.

[1] The Landanama-bok. This is probably the most complete record of the kind ever made by any nation. It is of the same general character as the English Doomsday Book, but vastly superior in interest and value. It contains the names of three thousand persons and one thousand four hundred places. It gives a correct account of genealogies of the first settlers,

were well known, and the mention of their names and exploits in this great work, than which no higher authority could be produced, is gratifying. These extracts, which are given in the order in which they stand in vol. I, of Grönland's Historiske Mindesmœrker, "The Historical Monuments of Greenland," the greater portion of which work is the labor of Finn Magnussen, have probably never appeared before in English dress. The first extract simply mentions Gunnbiorn and his Rocks; the second shows that Eric the Red obtained at least a portion of his knowledge of Greenland through this person; the third again gives the name of Gunnbiorn; while the fourth furnishes a brief account of an early voyage to the Rocks. It appears from these references, that, previous to the sailing of Eric the Red, the existence of land at the west was well understood. The report of Gunnbiorn's adventure was quite generally circulated amongst the people. Are Marson's voyage to the West, we shall see, was 983, or three years earlier.

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1. There was a man named Grimkel [A. D. 876], son of Ulf Hreiparson, called Krage, and brother to Gunnbiorn,[1] after whom Gunnbiorn's Rocks[2] are named. He

with brief notices of their achievements. It was commenced by the celebrated Frode the Wise, who was born 1067, and died 1148, and was continued by Kalstegg, Styrmer and Thordsen, being completed by Hauk Erlendson, Lagman, or Governor of Iceland, who died in the year 1334.

[1] Gunnbiorn appears to have been a Northman who settled in Iceland at an early day. Nothing more is known of him.

[2] Torfæus says that these rocks lie six sea miles out from Geirfuglesker, west from Reikiavik, and twelve miles south of Gardar in Greenland, yet they cannot now be found. It is not too much to suppose that they have been sunk by some of those fearful convulsions which have taken place in Iceland; yet it is quite as reasonable to conclude that these rocks were located elsewhere, probably nearer the east coast, which was formerly

took possession of that piece of land that extends from Berevigs Röin to Ness Röin, and to around the point of the cape. He lived on Saxahval. He drove away Saxe, a son of Alfarin Valeson, and he lived on the Röin of Saxahval. Alfarin Valeson had first taken possession of the cape between Berevigs Roin and Enne.

2. Eric Red [A. D. 983] said that he intended to find the land that was seen by Gunnbiorn,[1] Ulf Krage's son, when he was driven by a storm west from Iceland, and found Gunnbiorn's Rocks. [A. D. 876.] At the same time he said if he did not find the land he would return to his friends.

3. Two sons of Gunnbiorn, Ulf Krage's son, after whom Gunnbiorn's Rocks were named, were called Gunstein and Haldor. They took possession of Skotufiorden, Loigardelen and Ogursvigen to Mjorfiord. Berse was Haldor's son, father to Thormod Kalbrunarskald.

4. Snæbiorn (Holmstein's son), called Galte, owned a ship [A. D. 970], that lay in the mouth of Grimsar (in Borgafiorden). Rolf, from Rodesand, bought a half of the ship. Each of the parties mustered twelve men. With Snæbiorn was Thorkel and Sumarlide, sons of Thorgier Red, son of Einar, from Stafholdt.

Snæbiorn also took Thorod from Thingness, his step-

more accessible than now. In the version of the account of Greenland by Ivar Bardson (Antiquitates Americanæ, p. 301), given from a Faroese Manuscript, and curiously preserved by Purchas, "His Pilgrimage," vol. III, p. 518, we read as follows: "Item, men shall know that between Island and Greenland, lyeth a Risse called Gornbornse-Skare. There were they wont to haue their passage for Gronland. But as they report there is Ice upon the same Risse, come out of the Long North Bottome, so that we can not use the same old Passage as they thinke." See "Sailing Directions of Henry Hudson."

[1] Torfæus says (Greenlandia, p. 73) that "Eric the Red first lived in Greenland, but it was discovered by the man called Gunnbiorn. After him Gunnbiorn's Rocks are called" (2d ed. 1755).

father and his five sons, and Rolf took Stærbiorn. The last named recited the following verse, after he had a dream:

Both ours
dead I see;
all empty
in Northwestern Sea;
cold weather
great suffering,
I expect
Snæbiorn's death.[1]

They sought Gunnbiorn's Rocks and found land. Snæbiorn would not permit any one to go ashore in the night. Stærbiorn landed, notwithstanding, and found a purse[2] with money in an earth hole, and concealed it. Snæbiorn hit him with an axe so that the purse dropped.

They built a cabin to live in, and it was all covered with snow. Thorkel Red's son found that there was water on a shelf that stood out of the cabin window. This was in the month of Goe.[3] They shoveled the snow away.

[1] The translation is literal, or nearly so, and the sense is obscure.

[2] The place of concealment appears to have been an excavation covered with stone or wood. That the people were sometimes accustomed to hide money in this way is evident. This was hidden there by Irishmen or Icelanders who may have been on their way to Greenland. We read in the Saga of Eric the Red, that Eric at first intended to go with his son, Leif, on his voyage to discover the land seen by Heriulf, which Leif named Vinland. On his way to the ship, Eric's horse stumbled, and he fell to the ground seriously injured, and was obliged to abandon the voyage. He accepted this as a judgment for having, as one preparation for his absence, buried his money, where his wife, Thorhild, would not be able to find it.

[3] This is believed to have been about February, affording one of many indications that the climate of that region has become more rigorous than formerly. The fact that water did not freeze indicates mild weather, which we might infer

Snæbiorn rigged the ship; Thorod and five of his party were in the hut, and Stærbiorn and several men of Rolf's party. Some hunted.[1] Stærbiorn killed Thorod, but both he and Rolf killed Snæbiorn. Red's sons and all the rest were obliged to take the oath of allegiance to save their lives. They arrived on their return at Helgeland, Norway, and later at Vadil in Iceland.[2]

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from the fact of their rigging their vessels, and from the preparation made for sea. In regard to the term "Goe," *Gronland's Historiske Mindesmærker* (vol. I, p. 7), says: "This name was before used in Denmark, which Etatsraad Werlauf has discovered on the inscription of a Danish Rune-Stone."

[1] The facts that they engaged in hunting, and that they built a cabin to live in, might at first lead some to suppose that the place contained a forest or more or less trees, to supply wood. Yet this does not follow, as driftwood supplied all wants for building purposes where they could not obtain or use stone. Regarding driftwood, Crantz says, in speaking of Greenland: "For as He had denied this frigid, rocky region the growth of trees, He has bid the storms of the ocean convey to its shores a great deal of wood, which accordingly comes floating thither, part without ice, but the most part along with it, and lodges itself between the islands. Were it not for this, we Europeans should have no wood to burn there. . . . Among this wood are great trees torn up by the roots, which by driving up and down for many years and dashing and rubbing on the ice, are quiet bare of branches. A small part of the driftwood are willows, alder and birch trees, which come out of the bays in the south; also large trunks of aspen trees, . . . but the greatest part is pine and fir. We find, also, a good deal of a sort of wood, finely veined, and with few branches; this, I fancy, is larchwood. . . . There is also a solid, reddish wood of a more agreeable fragrancy than the common fir, with visible cross veins, which I take to be the same species as the beautiful silver firs, or zirbel, that have the smell of cedar, and grow on the high Grison hills, and the Switzers wainscoat their rooms with them."— *History of Greenland*, vol. I, p. 37.

[2] If any confirmation were needed of the truth of this narra-

II. THE COLONIZATION OF GREENLAND.

The first document relating to the settlement of Greenland by the Northmen, is taken from the Saga of Eric the Red, as given in Professor Rafn's *Antiquitates Americanæ*. Besides the history of Eric and his sons, that Saga contains notices of other voyages. The following are simply extracts. The whole Saga does not necessarily apply to the subject under examination — the Discovery of America. The second extract, which gives more of the particulars, is from *Grönland's Historiske Mindesmærker*, vol. 11, p. 201. The third is also taken from the same great historical depository.

FIRST NARRATIVE.

There was a man named Thorvald, son of Osvald, son of Ulf-Oexna Thorerisson. Thorvald and his son were obliged to leave Jardar[1] and go to Iceland, on account of manslaughter. At that time Iceland was generally colonized.[2] They first lived in Drangey, where Thorvald died. Then Eric married Thorhild, daughter of Jorund and Thorbiarg Knarrabringa, whom afterward Thorbiorn of Haukdale married. Eric moved from the north, and fixed his abode in Ericstad opposite Vatshorn. The son of Eric and Thorhild was named Leif. But after Eyulf Soers and Holm-Gang Rafn's murder, Eric was banished from Haukdale. Eric went westward to Breidafiord and lived at Oexney in Ericstad. He lent Thorgest his seat-posts,[3] and he could not get them again. He then demanded them. Then came disputes and hostility between him and Thorgest,

tive, or of the killing of Snaebiorn and Thorod, we might look or it in the equally well-known fact, that after the return of the voyagers to Iceland, the death of these two men was fearfully revenged by their friends.

[1] South-west of Norway.

[2] See Colonization of Iceland, in the Introduction.

[3] See notes to Introduction.

which is told in the history of Eric. Styr Thorgrim's son, Eyulf of Svinoe, the sons of Brand of Aptelfiord and Thorbiorn Vifilsson plead the cause of Eric; Thorder Gellurson and Thorgeir of Hitardale plead for Thorgest. Eric was declared outlawed by the king, and prepared his ship for sea in Eric's Bay. Styr and the others went with him beyond the island. [A. D. 982.] Then Eric declared it to be his resolution to seek the land which Gunnbiorn, Ulf Krage's son, saw [A. D. 876] when driven into the Western Ocean, where he found Gunnbiorn's Rocks, saying, that if he did not find the land he would return to his friends. Eric set sail from Snæfellsjokul, and found land which from its height he called Midjokul, now called Blæserk. Thence he sailed along the shore in a southerly direction, seeking for the nearest habitable land. The first winter he passed in Ericseya,[1] near the middle of the east district. The following year he came into Ericsfiord, where he fixed his seat.

The same summer he explored the western desert, and gave names to many places. The following winter he passed on a holm opposite Rafnsgnipa, and the third year he came into Iceland and brought his ship into Breidafiord. The land which he found, he named Greenland, saying that men would be persuaded to go to a land with so good a name.[2] Eric stayed in Iceland that winter, and the summer after he went over to the land which he had found, and fixed his abode in Brattahlid in Ericsfiord. [A. D. 986.] Men acquainted with affairs, say that this same

[1] It is now difficult to identify these localities. The old view, that what is called the East-bygd, or District, was on the eastern coast of Greenland, is now abandoned. It is probable that no settlement was ever effected on the east coast, though formerly it was evidently more approachable than now. See Graah's *Expedition*.

[2] As we certainly know that Christianity was established in Iceland in the year A. D. 1000, the final settlement of Eric and his followers must have taken place during the year assigned viz., 985.

summer in which Eric went to settle in Greenland, thirty-five ships sailed from Breidafiord and Bogafjord, of which only fourteen arrived, and the rest were driven back or lost. This event took place fifteen winters [1] before the Christian religion was established in Iceland. The same summer, Bishop Frederick and Thorvold Kodranson went from Iceland.[2] Among those who emigrated with

[1] See *Antiquitates Americanæ*, p. 15, note *a*.

[2] Evidently an error. See *Antiquitates Americanæ*, p. 15, note 3. On the state of society in Greenland at this period the reader may consult Prof. Keyser, from whose work on the Religion of the Northmen we may give the following, which is a translation of a part of the Saga of Eric that is given in Rafn's work:

"At that time there was great famine in Greenland. Those who had gone to the wild districts (hunting and fishing) had met with little success, on account of the storms and bad paths. Some had never returned. There was a woman living in the settlement, whose name was Thorbjörg; she was a Spae-wife, and was called the little Valla or Prophetess. She had nine sisters, of whom she was the only survivor. Thorbjörg was in the habit of going around to the festivals, and she was invited chiefly by those who wished to learn their fate and the coming seasons. As Thorkel was the best man of the settlement, it seemed to be incumbent upon him to gain some information when the prevailing famine should cease. Thorkel, therefore, invites the Spae-wife to his house and prepares for her a good reception, such as was customary when a woman of her standing was expected. A cushion was prepared for her; it had to be stuffed with hen feathers. It was laid upon a high seat in the evening, when she came in with the man who had been sent out to receive her. She was dressed on this occasion as follows: She wore a blue cloak with fastenings of cords, set with stones around the border from top to bottom. Around her neck she had glass beads; upon her head a black lambskin hood, lined with white catskin. She carried a staff mounted with brass, with the head inlaid with stones. She was girded with a young bearskin belt, and to this hung a large pouch in

Eric and established themselves, were Heriulf Heriulfsfiord who took Heriulfsness, and abode in Heriulfsness, Ketil Ketilsfiord, Rafn Rafnsfiord, Solvi Solvidale, Helgi Thorbrandson Alptafiord, Thorbjornglora Siglefjord, Einar Einarsfiord, Hafgrim, Hafgrimsfiord and Vatnahver, Arnlaug, Arnlaugsfiord and other men went to the west district.

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which she kept the instruments of magic belonging to her occupation. On her feet she wore shaggy calfskin shoes with long, heavy thongs, on the ends of which were large brass buttons. She had catskin gloves upon her hands, white within, and shaggy. When she entered, every one felt it a duty to greet her with reverence; she returned their salutations, according to what she thought of each individually. Thorkel took the wise woman by the hand, and conducted her to the seat prepared for her. He requested her to cast her eyes over his herds, and property and house. She said but little concerning this. In the evening the tables were set, and now it shall be told what dishes were made ready for the Spae-wife. There were groats made of goat's milk; but her food was prepared from the heart of every animal in the neighborhood. She had a brass spoon and a knife of copper with a shaft of walrus tooth, and a double sheath, the point of which was broken off. When the tables were cleared Thorkel Bondi goes up to Thorbjörg and asks what she thinks of the house and the appearance of the people, and also how soon she will have a revelation concerning the things he has asked her about and which the people are all anxious to know. She answers that she cannot make this known before morning, after she has slept there over night. Early in the morning all the arrangements were made for her which belong to the incantation of Seidr. She then asked them to furnish her with women who knew the magic formulas of that ceremony, and who are called *Vardlokur*, *e. i.*, the watch-guard; but none could be found who knew it, although inquiry was made at the neighboring houses. Then Gudrid, a young girl who was present, said, 'I am not skilled in magic, nor any wise woman; but my foster-mother in Iceland taught me a formula, which she called *Vardlokur*.' Thorkel

The Baptism of Leif the Fortunate.

When the sixth winter had passed [A. D. 999], since Eric Red went to live in Greenland, Leif, son of Eric, went over from Greenland to Norway, and in the autumn arrived in Throndheim, and came north to King Olaf Trygvesson,[1] from Hegeland. He brought his ship to Nidaros and went at once to King Olaf. The king commanded Leif

said, 'Thou art wiser than I thought.' Gudrid answered, ' This formula and the proceedings connected with it are of such a character that I cannot be present to assist with them; for I am a Christian.' Thorkel replied, Thou couldst help us in this matter without harming thyself thereby; I should be glad to furnish Thorbjörg what is necessary.' He then persuaded Gudrid so long that she at length promised to fulfill his wishes. Now Thorbjörg sat upon the witch seat, and the women formed a circle around her. Gudrid sang the song so beautifully and well that no one of the bystanders thought they had ever heard a fairer song. Even the Spae-wife thought the song was beautiful to hear, and thanked her for it when done. 'Now, says Thorbjörg, ' I have reflected upon the matter, how it will be both with the sickness and the seasons; and much has now been made clear to me that before was hidden from me and from others.' She then foretold that the famine and sickness, that were raging, should both disappear in the spring. To Gudrid she prophesied, in return for the services she had rendered, a very happy fate in the future, and also that a renowned family should be descended from her. Afterward, all the company went one after another to consult her about the future matters that they wished to know, and she gave them definite answers. Soon afterward she was invited to another house, and went hither; and her prophesies concerning the coming events of the year were entirely fulfilled." " The Religion of the Northmen," by Rudolph Keyser, p. 292.

[1] This king propagated Christianity by physical force, and marked the course of his tours by fire and blood; which might have been expected from a barbarian just turned from the worship of Odin and Thor.

and some other pagan men to come to him. They were exhorted to accept religion, which the king easily arranged with Leif, when he and all his sailors were baptized, and passed the winter with the king, being liberally entertained.

SECOND NARRATIVE.

Thorvold the son of Usvold, son of Ulf, son of Oexne-Thorer, and his son, Eric Red, left Jardar, in Norway, on account of manslaughter, and took possession of a piece of land on Hornastrand [Iceland], and lived there at Drangey. There Thorvold died. Eric then married Thorhild, daughter of Jorund Atleson and Thorbiarg Knarrabringa, whom Thorbiorn of Haukdale afterward married. Then Eric went from the north and ploughed the fields in Haukdale. Then he lived in Ericstadt by Vatshorn. There his thralls [1] let a piece of rock tumble down

[1] These thralls were slaves, though slavery in Iceland assumed peculiar features. The following, from the "Saga of Gisli the Oulaw," shows the relation that slaves held to freemen. We read, that on one occasion, Gisli had borrowed a famous sword of Koll, and the latter asked to have it back, but Gisli in reply asks if he will sell it, receiving a negative reply. Then he says: "I will give thee thy freedom and thy goods, so that thou mayst fare whither thou wilt with other men." This is also declined, when Gisli continues: "Then I will give thee thy freedom, and lease, or give thee land, and besides I will give thee sheep, and cattle and goods, as much as thou needest." This he also declines, and Kol, when Gisli asks him to name a price, offering any sum of money, besides his freedom, and "a becoming match, if thou hast a liking for any one." But Kol refused to sell it at any price, which refusal led to a fight, and in the first onset, the slave's axe sank into Gisli's brain, while the disputed sword, Graysteel, clove the thick skull of Kol. See the Saga of Gisli the Outlaw, p. 6, Edinburgh, 1886. Also the Saga of Eric the Red, where Thorbiorn thinks it an indignity that Einar should ask for the hand of his daughter in marriage, Einar being the son of a slave.

over Valthiof's house in Valthiosfstadt. But his relation, Eyulf Söirs, killed the thralls at Kneide-Brinke above Vatshorn. For this cause, Eric killed Eyulf Söirs. He also killed Holm-Gang Rafn at Leikskaale. Geirstein and Odd at Jorund. Eyulf Söirs' relations brought a suit against the slayer. Eric was then banished from Haukdale and took possession of the islands, Brokö and Oexno, but lived in Todum at Sydero, the first winter. Then he loaned Thorgest his seat-posts. Eric moved to Oexno and lived in Eriestadt. Then he demanded his seat-posts, but did not get them. Eric took them thereafter from Bredobolstad, but Thorgest followed him. They fought near the house at Drangey. Two sons of Thorgest fell, and some other men. Thereafter they both kept their followers with them. Styr, Eyulf of Svino, Thorbrand's sons of Alptefiord, and Thorbiorn Vifilsson, were of Eric's party. But Thord Gelleirson, Thorgeir from Hitardale, Aslak of Langedale, and Illuge's son helped Thorgest. Eric and his party were sentenced to be banished at Thorsness Thing. He fitted out a ship in Ericsfiord, but Eyulf concealed him in Dimonsvaag, while Thorgest and his men sought after him on the highlands. Thorbiorn, Eyulf and Styr followed with Eric out to sea beyond the islands. He said that he meant to seek the land Gunnbiorn, Ulf Krage's son, saw [A. D. 876] when he was driven by a storm west from Iceland and found Gunnbiorn's Rocks; though he said at the time that if he discovered the land he would return to his friends. [A. D. 982.] Eric laid his course to the west from Snæfieldness, and approached [Greenland] from the sea to land at Midjokul, in that place that is called Blæsark.[1] From thence he went along the coast to the south, to see if the land was fit to live in. The first year he stayed all winter in Eircksö, nearly in the middle of the west bygd. The next spring [A. D. 983] he went to Eriesfiord and there found a dwelling. Next summer he went to the west bygd and gave

[1] Blue shirt.

certain names to many places. The second winter he lived in Ericsholm, at Hvarfo Fiedspidæ, and at the third summer [A. D. 984] he went north to Snæfield, inside of Rafnsfiord. He thought then that the place where Ericsfiord bent was opposite the place where he came. He then returned and spent the third winter in Ericksö opposite the mouth of Ericsfiord. The next summer [A. D. 985] he went to Iceland and landed at Breidafiord. The next winter he stayed at Holmstater with Ingolf. Next spring he fought with Thorgest and lost the battle. That summer [A. D. 986], Eric began to settle the land which he had discovered and which he called Greenland, because he said that the people would not like to move there if the land did not have a good name.[1] Learned men say that twenty-five ships went that summer to Greenland from Breidafiord and Borgafjord, but only fourteen arrived. Of the rest, some were driven back and others were wrecked. This happened fifteen winters before Christianity was introduced into Iceland.

THIRD NARRATIVE.

The land some call Greenland was discovered and settled from Iceland. Eric the Red was the name of the Breidafiord man who [A. D. 986] went from here [Iceland] to there, and took possession of that part of the land which later was called Ericsfiord. He named the land and called it Greenland,[2] and said it would encourage people to come there if the land had a good name. They found there, both east and west, ruins of houses and pieces of boats, and begun stonework.[3] From which it is to be seen what kind of people have lived in Vinland, and which the Greenlanders call Skraelings, and who had been there. He [Eric] began to settle the land fourteen or fifteen years before the introduction of Christianity in Iceland. Afterward this

[1] Ante, p. 38.

[2] Cartier in the Gulf of St. Lawrence gave names that had been used before.

[3] The stonework points to Europeans, say the Irish.

was told of Greenland to Thorkel Gelleirson, by a man who had himself followed Eric Red.

III. THE VOYAGE OF BIARNE.

The voyage of Biarne to Greenland was attended by many hardships. His vessel was blown away from the course during a storm, at which time he saw the shores of the American Continent, yet he made no attempt to land. Of this voyage we have two versions. The first is a translation of a passage from Codex Flatöiensis, given in Antiquitates Americanæ, p. 17. The second is taken from Gronland's Historiske Mindesmærker, or Greenland's Historical Monuments, I, 180-1. The date of this voyage is fixed by the fact that Biarne sailed the same season that his father settled in Greenland, which, as we learn from the narrative of Eric, was in the year 985. There is a complete agreement, in the main points, between this account and the preceding.

FIRST NARRATIVE.

Heriulf was the son of Bard, Heriulf's son, who was a relation of Ingolf the Landnamsman.[1] Ingolf gave Heriulf land between Vog and Reikianess. Heriulf dwelt first at Dropstock. His wife was called Thorgird, and their son was called Biarne.[2] He was a promising young man. In his earliest youth he had a desire to go abroad, and he soon gathered property and reputation; and was by turns a year abroad, and a year with his father. Biarne was soon in possession of a merchant ship of his own. The last winter [A. D. 985] while he was in Norway, Heriulf prepared to go to Greenland with Eric, and gave up his dwelling. There was a Christian man belonging to the

[1] Original settler or freeholder whose name and possessions were recorded in the Landanama book.

[2] Bear.

Hebrides along with Heriulf, who composed the Lay called the Hafgerdingar [1] Song, in which is this stave:

> May he whose hand protects so well
> The simple monk in lonely cell,
> And o'er the world upholds the sky,
> His own blue hall, still stand me by.[2]

Heriulf settled at Heriulfness [A. D. 985] and became a very distinguished man. Eric Red took up his abode at Brattahlid, and was in great consideration, and honored by all. These were Eric's children: Leif, Thorvold, and Thorstein; and his daughter was called Freydis. She was married to a man called Thorvald, and they dwelt at Gardar, which is now a bishop's seat.[3] She was a haughty, proud woman; and he was but a mean man. She was much given to gathering wealth. The people of Greenland were heathen at this time. Biarne came over the same summer [A. D. 985] with his ship to the strand [4] which his father

[1] This poem no longer exists. Its subject, the Hafgerdingar, is described as a fearful body of water, "which sometimes rises in the sea near Greenland in such a way that three large rows of waves inclose a part of the sea, so that the ship, inside, is in the greatest danger."—Grönland's Historiske Mindismærker, vol. I, p. 264. There does not appear to be any better foundation for this notion of the Hafgerdingar than for the old accounts of the Maelstrom, once supposed to exist on the coast of Norway. The Hafgerdingar may have originated from seeing the powerful effect of a cross sea acting on the tide.

[2] To this translation may be added another in metre, by Beamish:

> O thou who triest holy men!
> Now guide me on my way;
> Lord of the earth's wide vault, extend
> Thy gracious hand to me.

This appears to be the earliest Christian prayer thus far found in connection with this period of American history.

[3] See later on this subject.

[4] Æyrar. This is not the name of a place — for Heriulf dwelt in Iceland at a place called Dropstock — but of a natural

had sailed abroad from in the spring. He was much struck with the news, and would not unload his vessel. When his crew asked him what he intended to do, he replied that he was resolved to follow his old custom by taking up his winter abode with his father. "So I will steer for Greenland if ye will go with me." They one and all agreed to go with him. Biarne said, "Our voyage will be thought foolish, as none of us have been on the Greenland sea before." Nevertheless they set out to sea as soon as they were ready, and sailed for three days, until they lost sight of the land they left. But when the wind failed a north wind with fog set in, and they knew not where they were sailing to; and this lasted many days. At last they saw the sun, and could distinguish the quarter of the sky; so they hoisted sail again, and sailed a whole day and night, when they made land. They spoke among themselves what this land could be, and Biarne said that, in his opinion, it could not be Greenland. On the question, if he should sail nearer to it, he said, "It is my advice that we sail up close to the land." They did so; and they soon saw that the land was without mountains, was covered with woods, and that there were small hills inland.[1] They left the land on the larboard side, and had their sheet on the land side. Then they sailed two days and nights before they got sight of land again. They asked Biarne if he thought this would be Greenland; but he gave his opinion that the land was no more Greenland than the land they had seen before. "For on Greenland, it is said, there are great snow mountains." They soon came near

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feature of ground *eyri*, still called an ayre in the Orkney Islands, being a flat sandy tongue of land, suitable for landing and drawing up boats. All ancient dwellings in those islands, and probably in Iceland also, are situated so as to have the advantage of this kind of natural wharf, and the spit of land called an ayre, very often has a small lake or pond inside of it, which shelters boats. — *Laing*.

[1] The "Markland" of Leif.

to the land, and saw that it was flat and covered with trees.[1] Now, as the wind fell, the ship's people talked of its being advisable to make for the land; but Biarne would not agree to it. They thought that they would need wood and water; but Biarne said: "Ye are not in want of either." The men blamed him for this. He ordered them to hoist the sail, which was done. They now turned the ship's bow from the land, and kept the sea for three days and nights, with a fine breeze from south-west. Then they saw a third land, which was high and mountainous, and with snowy mountains. Then they asked Biarne if he would land here; but he refused altogether: "For in my opinion this land is not what we want."[2] Now they let the sails stand and

[1] This we accept as Labrador, and in the account we notice that in this Saga the inland elevations are not considered mountains, though Leif in his account as we shall see speaks of them as "large snowy mountains of the country." The main feature of a high region characterizes both accounts, and this undesigned coincidence will have more effect upon the mind than the narratives would have afforded, if both had used the same language. Besides we are not to suppose that Biarne and Leif saw the land in the same place, and at the same point the inland hills would deserve the name of mountains more than others. Leif's narrative incorrectly calls this the last point visited by Biarne before reaching Greenland. Helluland the "Great" and the "Little" were names applied to Labrador and Newfoundland. The Sagas furnish the correction. See the notes on the voyages of Lief which follow. Still it must be confessed that the statements are obscure, like even many English narrations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

[2] The details of this voyage are very simple, yet whoever throws aside his old time predjuices, and considers the subject with the care it deserves, cannot otherwise than feel persuaded that Biarne was driven upon this Continent, and that the land seen was the coast of that great territory which stretches between Massachusetts and Newfoundland, for there is no other land to answer the description. Of course no particular merit can be claimed for this discovery. It was also accidental. Yet Biarne's discovery soon led to substantial results.

kept along the land and saw it was an island.[1] Then they turned from the land and stood out to sea with the same breeze; but the gale increased, and Biarne ordered a reef to be taken in, and not to sail harder than the ship and her tackle could easily bear. After sailing three days and nights, they made, the fourth time, land; and when they asked Biarne if he thought this was Greenland or not, Biarne replied: "This is most like what has been told me of Greenland; and here we shall take to the land." They did so, and came to the land in the evening, under a ness, where they found a boat. On this ness dwelt Biarne's father, Heriulf; and from that it is called Heriulfness. Biarne went to his father's, gave up sea-faring, and after his father's death, continued to dwell there when at home.

SECOND NARRATIVE.

A man named Heriulf, son of Bard, son of Heriulf,[2] a relation to Landnamsman Ingolf, who gave the last-named Heriulf the piece of land that lies between Vaag and Reikianess. The younger Heriulf went to Greenland, when Eric Red began to settle there, and on his ship was a Christian man from the South Islands [the Hebrides] who was the author of the poem, *Havgerdingar*, in which was the following verse:

> I to the monk's protector pray
> That he will give my voyage luck!
> The heaven's great Ruler
> Save me from danger.

Heriulf took possession of Heriulfsfiord, and became one of the chief men. Eric Red took to himself Ericsfiord, and lived in Brattahlid, and Leif, his son, after his death. Those men who at the same time went away with Eric took possession of the following pieces of land: Heriulf

[1] The present Island of Disco, called in the Saga of Karlsefne, "Biarney."

[2] This piece makes no reference to the voyage of Biarne, but confirms important statements in the first narrative.

Heriulfsfiord, and he lived in Heriulfness, Ketil Ketilsfiord, Rafn Rafnsfiord, Sölve Sölvedale, Snorro Thorbrandson Alptefiord, Thorbiornglora Siglefiord, Einar Einarsfiord, Havgrim Havgrimsfiord and Vatnahverfe, Arnlaug Arnlaugfiord; but some went to the west bygd. A man named Thorkel Farserk, cousin to Eric Red on their mother's side, went to Greenland with Eric, and took possession of Hvalsofiord, together with the greater part of the piece of land between Eyolfsfiord and Einarsfiord, and lived in Hvalosofirde. From him came the Hvalsofiord people. He was very strong. Once Eric Red visited him, and he would welcome his guest in the best way possible, but he had no boats at hand which he could use. He had to swim out to Hvalso, and get a full-grown sheep,[1] and carry it on his back home to his house. It was a good half mile. Thorkel was buried in a cave in the field of Hvalsofiord.

IV. LEIF'S VOYAGE TO VINLAND.

This voyage is recorded in the *Flatö Manuscript*, and is given in *Antiquitates Americanæ*, pp. 26-40. It contains the account of the voyage of Leif, son of Eric the Red, who, following out the hints of Biarne, sailed to dis-

[1] Considerable has been said at various times in opposition to these accounts, because cattle and sheep, and sometimes horses, are mentioned in connection with Greenland. Some have supposed that, for these reasons, the Saga must be incorrect. Yet, in more modern times, there has been nothing to prevent the people from keeping such animals, though it has been found better to substitute dogs for horses. Crantz says, that in "the year 1759, one of our missionaries brought three sheep with him from Denmark to new Herrnhuth. These have so increased by bringing some two, some three lambs a year, that they have been able to kill some every year since, to send some to Lichtenfels, for a beginning there, and, after all, to winter ten at present. We may judge how vastly sweet and nutritive the grass is here from the following tokens: that tho' three lambs come from one ewe, they are larger, even in autumn,

cover the new land which he called Vinland, on account of the quantity of vines that he found growing wild. Several extracts are appended, because of interest in connection with the subject. The Saga of Eric was written in Greenland, a fact not to be overlooked, that of Thorfinn having been composed in Iceland.[1]

[A. D. 984.] It is next to be told that Biarne Heriulfson came over from Greenland to Norway, on a visit to Earl Eric, who received him well. Biarne tells of this expedition of his, in which he had discovered unknown land; and people thought he had not been very curious to get knowledge, as he could not give any account of those countries, and he was somewhat blamed on this account. [A. D. 986.] Biarne was made a Court man of the earl, and the summer after he went over to Greenland; and afterward there was much talk about discovering unknown lands. Leif, a son of Eric Red of Brattahlid, went over[2] to Biarne Heriulfson, and bought the ship from him, and manned

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than a sheep of a year old in Germany." He says that in the summer they could pasture two hundred sheep around New Herrnhuth; and that they formerly kept cows, but that it proved too much trouble.—*History of Greenland*, vol. I, p. 74.

[1] There are discrepancies between the Saga of Eric and his Son's and those relating to Thorfinn, of such a nature as to leave no doubt that they must have come to us from two wholly distinct sources. Torfæus was the first to direct attention to these discrepancies, at the same time remarking that they were of a nature to confirm rather than to disprove the statements. The Eric Sagas were evidently composed in Greenland, while those relating to Thorfinn had their origin in Iceland. The discrepancies are in themselves of very little consequence, but they serve to establish the important fact that the Sagas of Eric and of Thorfinn must be received as two independent authorities." *North American Review*, vol. CXIX, pp. 265-72. See *ante*, p. .

[2] He must have gone over to Greenland from Norway then, as in the year 1000, he returned and introduced Christianity into Greenland. The language used is indefinite.

the vessel, so that in all, there were thirty-five men on board. Leif begged his father Eric to go as commander of the expedition; but he excused himself, saying he was getting old, and not so able as formerly to undergo the hardship of a sea voyage. Leif insisted that he among all their relations was the most likely to have good luck on such an expedition; and Eric consented, and rode from home with Leif, when they had got all ready for sea; but as they were getting near the ship,[1] the horse on which Eric was riding, stumbled, and he fell from his horse[2] and hurt his foot. "It is destined," said Eric, "that I should never discover more lands than this of Greenland on which we live; and now we must not run hastily into this adventure."[3] Eric accordingly went back to Brattahlid, but Leif, with his comrades, in all thirty-five men, rigged out their vessel. There was a man from the south country called

[1] One recension of the Saga of Eric the Red, states that he went with Leif on his voyage to Vinland. Finn Magnussen says that the error arose from a change of one letter in a pair of short words. See *Gronland's Historiske Mindesmoerker*, vol. I, p. 471. In a similar way the change may have been made which incorrectly represents Leif as coming *first* to the *last* point visited by Biarne.

[2] Horses could be kept in Greenland now, only with much expense. It appears that anciently it was not so. Undoubtedly there has been more or less change in the climate, during the last thousand years by the procession of the equinox. Geologists find evidence that at one period a highly tropical climate must have existed in the northern regions. Fossil figs and tropic trees are among the wonders of Greenland.

[3] Superstition was the bane of the Northman's life. He was also a firm believer in Fate. The doctrines of Fate held the finest Northern minds in a vice-like grasp, so that in many cases their lives were continually overshadowed by a great sorrow. One of the saddest illustrations of this belief may be found in the Saga of *Grettir the Strong* (given in Baring-Gould's work on Iceland), a Saga in which the doctrine appears with a power that is well-nigh appalling.

Tyrker,[1] with the expedition. [A. D. 1000.] They put the ship in order, and went to sea when they were ready. They first came to the land which Biarne had last [first] discovered,[2] sailed up to it, cast anchor, put out a boat and went on shore; but there was no grass to be seen. There were large snowy mountains[3] up the country; but all the way from the sea up to these ridges, the land was one field of snow, and it appeared to them a country of no advantages. Leif said: "It shall not be said of us, as it was of Biarne, that we did not come upon the land; for I will give the country a name, and call it Helluland.[4] Then they went on board again and put to sea, and found another land. They sailed in toward it, put out a boat and landed. The country was flat, and overgrown with wood; and the strand far around, consisted of white sand, and low toward the sea. Then Leif said: "We shall give this land a name according to its kind, and called it Markland.[5] Then

[1] Some suppose that he was a German, others claim that he was a Turk, as his name might indicate.

Ante, p. 89.

[3] Snowy mountains, *Jöklar miklir*, such as Chappell mentions having been seen on the coast, June 14, 1818.

[4] Helluland, from Hella, a flatstone, an abundance of which may be found in Labrador and the region round about. But it should be noted that the country between the sea and the mountains or hills was level. *Ante*, p. 92, note 2.

[5] This agrees with the general features of Nova Scotia. The North American Pilot describes the land around Halifax, as "low in general, and not visible twenty miles off; except from the quarter deck of a seventy-four. Apostogon hills have a long, level appearance, between Cape Le Have and Port Medway, the coast to the eastward being level and low, and the shores with white rocks and low barren points; from thence to Shelburne and Port Roseway, are woods. Near Port Haldiman are several barren places, and thence to Cape Sable, which makes the south-west point into Barrington Bay, a low and woody island." *Antiquitates Americanæ*, p. 423. Markland is therefore supposed, with great reason, to be Nova Scotia, so well described, both in the Saga, and in the Coast Pilot.

they hastened on board, and put to sea again with the wind from the north-east, and were out for two days and made land. They sailed toward it, and came to an island [1] which

Markland means woodland. Two days' sail thence, brought them in view of Cape Cod, though very likely the sailing time is not correctly given.

[1] This island has given the interpreters considerable trouble, from the fact that it is said to lie to the northward of the land. Professor Rafn, in order to identify the island with Nantucket, shows that the north point of the Icelandic compass lay toward the east. But this does not fairly meet the case. There would, perhaps, have been no difficulty in the interpretation if the northern antiquaries had been acquainted with the fact, that in early times an island existed northward from Nantucket, on the opposite coast of Cape Cod. This island, together with a large point of land, which now has also disappeared, existed in the times of Gosnold, who sailed around Cape Cod, in 1602. At one time some doubt existed in regard to the truthfulness of the accounts of this island, for the reason that those portions of land described, no longer existed. Yet their positions were laid down with scientific accuracy; the outer portion of the island being called Point Care, while the other point was called Point Gilbert. Neither Archer nor Brereton in their accounts of Gosnold's voyage, give any name to the island; but Captain John Smith, in 1614, calls it "Isle Nawset." Smith's History of Virginia, vol. II, p. 183. This island was of the drift formation, and as late as little more than half a century ago a portion of it still remained, being called Slut Bush. The subject has been very carefully gone over by Mr. Otis, in his pamphlet on the Discovery of an Ancient Ship on Cape Cod. Professor Agassiz, writing December 17, 1863, says: "Surprising and perhaps incredible as the statements of Mr. Amos Otis may *appear*, they are nevertheless the direct and natural inference of the observations which may be easily made along the eastern coast of Cape Cod. Having of late felt a special interest in the geological structure of that remarkable region, I have repeatedly visited it during the past summer, and in company with Mr. Otis, examined, on one occasion,

lay on the north side of the land, where they disembarked[1] to wait for good weather. There was dew upon the grass;

with the most minute care, the evidence of the former existence of Isle Nauset and Point Gilbert. I found it as satisfactory as any geological evidence can be. Besides its scientific interest," he adds, "this result has some historical importance. At all events it fully vindicates Archer's account of the aspect of Cape Cod, at the time of its discovery in 1602, and shows him to have been a truthful and accurate observer." But possibly the vindication may extend back even to the Northmen, whom the learned professor and his co-laborers did not have in mind; especially as this discovery will help very materially to explain their descriptions. Now, in the accounts of Thorfinn Karlsefne's passage around this part of Vinland, it is said that they called the shore *Wonder-strand*, "because they were so long going by." Any one in sailing past the coast to-day will be struck with its length. But by glancing at a reconstructed map of Cape Cod, the reader will find that the coast line is greatly increased, so that in order to pass around the cape, the navigator must sail a longer distance than now. Comparing the distance traveled with the distance gained, the Northmen might well grow weary, and call it "Wonder-strand." Our knowledge of this island quite relieves the difficulty that was felt by Professor Rafn, who labored to show that the island in question was Nantucket, notwithstanding the fact that it lay too far east. For a fuller knowledge of Isle Nauset, see New-England Historical and Genealogical Register, vol. xviii, p. 37; and Massachusetts Historical Collections, vol. viii, series iii, pp. 72-93. "Webb's Island," which existed at the close of the last century, was the remains of Gosnold's "Point Gilbert." The people of Nantucket formerly used to cut wood there. See Morse's Universal Gazeteer, vol. i, p. 357, Ed. 1783. Capt. Vetch anchored under Webb's Island Nov. 16, 1701. See O'Callaghan's interesting monograph "The voyage of the Sloop Mary," Munsell, Albany, 1866. O'Callaghan says that "it has since been swallowed up by the sea." "Sloop Mary," pp. ix and 27, also Mass Mag. (111-151), which says, "The water is six fathoms deep on this spot."

[1] In speaking of the immediate vicinity of *Wonder-strand*, the second account of Thorfinn's expedition, says: "There

and, having accidentally gotten some of the dew upon their hands and put it in their mouths, they thought that they had never tasted any thing so sweet as it was.[1] Then they went on board and sailed into a sound[2] that was between the island and a ness[3] that went out northward from the land, and sailed westward[4] past the ness. There was

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were places without harbors," which has always been the case, this coast being dangerous; yet it is said *above* that "they landed to wait for good weather." This would be impracticable *now*, except at Chatham; yet at that day, notwithstanding the absence of harbors, they would find accommodation for their small vessel somewhere between the island and the mainland. From Bradford's *History*, p. 217, we learn that in 1626-7 there was at this place "a small blind harbore" that "lyes aboute ye middle of Manamoyake Bay," which to-day is filled up by recently formed sandy wastes and salt meadows. This "blind harbore," had at its mouth a treacheous bar of sand. If this harbor had existed in the days of the Northmen, they would not of necessity discover it; and hence while Leif might have landed here and found protection, Thorfinn in his much larger ship, might have found it needful to anchor, as he appears to have done, in the grounds between Isle Nauset and Point Gilbert, while explorations were being made on the land.

[1] "Honey dew," says Dr. Webb, "occurs in this neighborhood." — *Antiquitates Americanæ*, p. 443.

[2] This sound may have been the water between Point Gilbert and Isle Nauset. Modern explorations on the Atlantic coast have often given as much trouble as these Icelandic Narratives. The voyage of Pring in 1603 was long a case in hand.

[3] Archer says in his account of Gosnold's voyage: "Twelve leagues from (the end of) Cape Cod, we descried a point (Point Gilbert) with some breach, a good distance off." It is said that the ness, or cape, went out *northward* but we must remember that *eastward* is meant.

[4] This is precisely the course they would steer after doubling that ness or cape which existed in Gosnold's day, and which he named Point Gilbert. The author does not agree with Professor Rafn, in making this point to be at the east-

very shallow[1] water in ebb tide, so that their ship lay dry; and there was a long way between their ship and the water. They were so desirous to get to the land that they would not wait till their ship floated, but ran to the land, to a place where the river comes out of a lake. As soon as their ship was afloat they took the boats, rowed to the ship, towed her up the river,[2] and from thence into the lake,[3] where they cast anchor, carried their beds out of the ship, and set up their tents. They resolved to put things in order for wintering there, and they built a large house. They did not want for salmon,[4] both in the river and in the lake; and they thought the salmon larger than any they had ever seen before. The country appeared to them of so good a kind, that it would not be

ern entrance to Buzzard's Bay. If he had known of the existence of the Isle Nauset, he would not have looked for the ness in that neighborhood. At that time Cape Malabar probably did not exist, as we know how rapidly land is formed in the vicinity; yet it would not have attracted notice in comparison with the great broad point mentioned by Archer.

[1] After passing Point Gilbert shoal water may almost anywhere be found which appears to have been the case anciently.

[2] The river may have been Seaconnet passage and Pocasset river.

[3] This lake is thought to answer Mount Hope Bay. The writer of the Saga passes over that part of the voyage immediately following the doubling of the ness. The tourist in traveling that way by rail will at first take Mount Hope Bay for a lake.

[4] Salmon were formerly so plenty in this vicinity, that it is said a rule was made, providing that masters should not oblige their apprentices to eat this fish more than twice a week. Still I may repeat a quotation from Henry V (1st A., sc. 4, 5): "I warrant you shall find in the comparisons between Macedon and Monmouth that the situation, look you, is both alike. There is a river at Macedon, and there is also moreover a river at Monmouth; it is called Wye at Monmouth, but it is out of my prains what is the name of the other river,

necessary to gather fodder for the cattle for winter.[1] There was no frost in winter,[2] and the grass was not much withered. Day and night were more equal than in Greenland and Iceland; for on the shortest day the sun was in the sky between Eyktarstad[3] and the Dagmalastad. Now

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but 'tis all one; 'tis alike as my fingers is to my fingers, and there is salmon in both." The authenticity of the Sagas does not depend upon any of these identifications.

[1] It is well known that cattle in this vicinity can pass the winter with little or no shelter, and the sheep on Nantucket, can, when necessary, take care of themselves.

[2] This is an exaggeration, or, possibly the writer, who was not with the expedition, meant to convey the idea that there was no frost, compared with what was experienced in Greenland and Iceland. The early narrator of the voyage unquestionably tried to make a good impression as regards the climate. In so doing, he has been followed by nearly all who have come after him. Eric the Red told some almost fabulous stories about the climate of Greenland; and yet, because his accounts do not agree with facts, who is so foolish as to deny that he ever saw Greenland? With as much reason we might deny that Leif came to Vinland. With equal reason, too, we might deny that Morton was ever at Merry Mount; for he tells us, in his *New English Canaan*, that coughs and colds are unknown in New England. Leutenant-Governor Dudley of Massachusetts complained of false representations in his day. See "Footprints of Miles Standish," p. 24.

[3] This passage was misunderstood by Torfæus, the earliest writer who inquired into these questions. He was followed by Peringskiold, Malte-Brun and others, who, by their reckonings, made the latitude of Vinland somewhere near Nova Scotia. Yet the recent studies of Rafn and Finn Magnussen, have elucidated the point: "The Northmen divided the heavens or horizons into eight principal divisions, and the times of the day according to the sun's apparent motion through these divisions, the passage through each of which they supposed to occupy a period of three hours. The day was therefore divided into portions of time corresponding with these eight divi-

when they were ready with their house building, [A. D. 1001] Leif said to his fellow travelers: "Now I will divide the crew into two divisions and explore the country.

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sions, each of which was called an *eykt*, signifying an eighth part. This *eykt* was again divided, like each of the grand divisions of the heavens, into two smaller and equal portions, called *stund* or *mal*. In order to determine these divisions of time, the inhabitant of each place carefully observed the diurnal course of the sun, and noted the terrestrial objects over which it seemed to stand. Such an object, whether artificial or natural, was called by the Icelanders *dagsmark* (daymark). They were also led to make these daymarks by a division of the horizon according to the principal winds, as well as by the wants of their domestic economy. The shepherd's rising time, for instance, was called *Hirdis rismal*, which corresponds with half-past four o'clock, A. M., and this was the beginning of the natural day of twenty-four hours. Reckoning from *Hirdis rismal* the eighth *stund* or eighth half *eykt* ended at just half-past four P. M., and therefore this particular period was called καῖ' ἐξοχήν, EYKT. This *eykt* strictly speaking, commenced at three o'clock P. M., and ended at half-past four P. M., when it was said to be in *eyktarstadr* or the termination of the *eykt*. The precise moment that the sun appeared in this place indicated the termination of the artificial day (*dagr*) and half the natural day (*dagr*) and was therefore held especially deserving of notice; the hours of labor, also, are supposed to have ended at this time. Six o'clock A. M., was called *midr morgun;* half-past seven A. M., *Dagmal;* nine A. M., *Dagverdarmal*. Winter was considered to commence in Iceland about the seventeenth of October, and Bishop Thorlacius, the calculator of the astronomical calendar, fixes sunrise in the south of Iceland on the seventeenth of October at half-past seven A. M. At this hour, according to the Saga, it rose in Vinland on the shortest day, and set at half-past four P. M., which date fix the latitude of the place at 41° 43′ 10″ being nearly that of Mount Hope Bay." See *Mem. Antiq. du Nord*, 1836–7, p. 165. Rafn's calculations make the position 41° 24′ 10″. It is based on the view that the observation was made

Half shall stay at home and do the work, and the other half shall search the land; but so that they do not go farther than they can come back in the evening, and that they do not wander from each other." This they continued to do for some time. Leif changed about, sometimes with them and sometimes with those at home. Leif was a stout and strong man and of manly appearance, and was, besides, a prudent and sagacious man in all respects.

It happened one evening that a man of the party was missing, and it was the south countryman, Tyrker. Leif was very sorry for this because Tyrker had long been in his father's house, and he loved Tyrker in his childhood. Leif blamed his comrades very much, and proposed to go with twelve men on an expedition to find him; but they had only gone a short way from the station when Tyrker came to meet them, and he was joyfully received. Leif soon perceived that his foster father[1] was quite merry.

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in Vinland when only the upper portion of the disc had appeared above the horizon. The difference, of course, is not important. Thus we know the position of the Icelandic settlement in New England. See *Antiquitates Americanae*, p. 436. Also a different view in Cleasby's Icelandic Dictionary, p. 135.

[1] In those turbulent times children were not brought up at home, but were sent to be trained up in the families of trusty friends. This was done to preserve the family line. Often, in some bloody feud, a household would be destroyed, yet the children being out at foster, would be preserved, and in due time come to represent the family. In Leif's day heathenism and lawlessness were on the decline. We have a true picture given us by Dasent, of the way in which children were treated in the heathen age. He says: "With us an old house can stand upon a crooked as well as upon a straight support. But in Iceland, in the tenth century, as in all the branches of that great family, it was only healthy children that were allowed to live. The deformed, as a burden to themselves, their friends, and to society, were consigned to destruction by exposure to the violence of the elements. This was the father's stern right, and though the mothers of that age were generally blest

Tyrker had a high forehead, sharp eyes, with a small face, and was little in size, and ugly; but was very dexterous in all feats.[1] Leif said to him, "Why art thou so late,

with robust offspring, still the right was often exercised. As soon as it was born, the infant was laid upon the bare ground, and, until the father came and looked at it, heard and saw that it was strong in lung and limb, took it up in his arms and handed it over to the nurse, its fate hung in the balance and life or death depended upon the sentence of its sire. That danger over, it was duly washed, signed with the Thunderer's (Thor's) holy hammer — the symbol of all manliness and strength — and solemnly received into the family as the faithful champion of the ancient gods. When it came to be named there was what we should call the christening ale. There was saddling, mounting and riding among kith and kin. Cousins came in bands from all points of the compass; dependents, freedmen and thralls all mustered strong. The ale is broached, the board is set, and the benches are thronged with guests; the mirth and revelry are at the highest, when in strides into the hall a being of awful power, in whom that simple age set full faith. This was the Norne, the wandering prophetess, sybil fortune teller, a woman to whom it was given to know the weirds of men, and who had come to do honor to the child, and tell his fortune. . . . After the child was named, he was often put out to foster with some neighbor, his father's inferior in power, and there he grew up with the children of the house, and contracted those friendships and affections which were reckoned better and more binding than the ties of blood."

[1] There is nothing in this to indicate that Tyrker was intoxicated, as some have absurdly supposed. In this far off land he found grapes, which powerfully reminded him of his own country, and the association of ideas is so strong, that when he first meets Leif, he breaks out in the language of his childhood, and, like an ordinary epicure, expresses his joy, which is all the more marked on account of his grotesque appearance. Is not this a stroke of genuine nature, something that a writer, framing the account of a fictitious voyage, would not dream of? Similar cases are found in literature.— *Antiquaires du Nord*, 1859, pp. 8–9.

my foster father? and why didst thou leave thy comrades?" He spoke at first long in German, rolled his eyes and knit his brows; they could not make out what he was saying. After a while, and some delay, he said in Icelandic, "I did not go much further than they; and yet I have something altogether new to relate, for I found vines and grapes."[1] "Is that true, my foster father?" said Leif. "Yes, true it is," answered he, "for I was born where there was no scarcity of grapes." They slept all night, and the next morning Leif said to his men, "Now we shall have two occupations to attend to, and day about; namely, to gather grapes or cut vines, and to fell wood in the forest to lade our vessel." This advice was followed. It is related that their stern boat was filled with grapes, and then a cargo of wood was hewn for the vessel.[2] Toward spring they made ready and sailed away, and Leif gave the country a name from its products, and called it Vinland.[3] They now sailed into the open sea and had a fair

[1] Grapes grow wild almost everywhere on this coast. They may be found on Cape Cod ripening among the scrub oaks, almost within the reach of the open spray, where the author has gathered them in Truro. On the contrary grapes were not really found in Nova Scotia.

[2] In Peringskiold's *Heimskringla*, which Laing has followed in translating Leif's voyage for his appendix, this statement of the cutting of wood is supplemented by the following statement: "There was also self-sown wheat in the fields, and a tree which is called massur. Of all these they took samples; and some of the trees were so large that they were used in houses." It is thought that the massur wood was a species of maple. Others have declared that it must have been mahogany, and therefore that the account of Leif's discovery is false. They forgot that even George Popham, in writing home to his patron from Sagadahoc, in 1607, says that among the productions of the country are "nutmegs and cinnamon." Yet shall we infer from this that Popham never saw New England?

[3] Adam of Bremen, who wrote 1075, after he had made a ivsit to the king of Denmark, at whose court he heard of the

wind until they came in sight of Greenland and the land below the ice mountains. Then a man put in a word and said to Leif, "Why do you steer so close on the wind?" Leif replied: "I mind my helm and tend to other things too; do you notice any thing?" They said that they saw nothing remarkable. "I do not know," said Leif, "whether I see a ship or a rock." Then they looked and saw that it was a rock. But he saw so much better than they, that he discovered men upon the rock. "Now I will," said Leif, "that we hold to the wind, that we may come up to them if they should need help; and if they should not be friendly inclined, it is in our power to do as we please and not theirs." Now they sailed under the rock, lowered their sails, cast anchor, and put out another small boat which they had with them. Then Tyrker asked who their leader was. He said his name was Thorer, and that he was a Northman;[1] "But what is your name?" said

exploits of the Icelanders, says: "Besides it was stated by the King that a region had been discovered by many in that [Western] ocean which was called Winland, because vines grow there spontaneously, making excellent wine; for that fruits, not planted grow there of their own accord, we know not by false rumors, but by the certain testimony of the Danes." See also, Rafn's *Antiquitates*, etc., p. 319.

[1] These were evidently Norwegian traders who were shipwrecked while approaching the coast and sailing for the Greenland ports. Here attention may be called to the truthful description of the Sagas as one proof of their authenticity and historical value. We employ the well-considered words of Henry Cabot Lodge, who says;

"The Sagas may then be accepted as authentic historical records. A detailed examination of them would result in almost complete proof of Norse visits to America. Such an examination would be impossible within the limits of a notice, but some of the most striking portions are worthy of attention If one takes a map of North America, it will be seen at once that a vessel starting from Cape Farewell and steering almost due south would make the coast of Newfoundland, possibly

he. Leif told his name. "Are you the son of Eric the Red of Brattahlid?" he asked. Leif said that was so. "Now I will," said Leif, "take ye and all on board my ship, and as much of the goods as the ship will store." They took up this offer, and sailed away to Ericfiord with the cargo, and from thence to Brattahlid, where they unloaded the ship. Leif offered Thorer and his wife,

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Labrador. The first land made by the Northmen after leaving Greenland was Helluland, distinguished by its rocky appearance, like the northern Newfoundland coast. Further to the south, the next shores would be that of Nova Scotia, a thickly wooded country, and called by the Northmen Markland. Several days of open water and Cape Cod or Cape Kiarlarness would be reached The description of the cape in the Sagas, where it is frequently mentioned, corresponds perfectly with Cape Cod. The features of the shore are accurately described, long stretches of flats and sand dunes rising up behind them. To the south of this cape a bay was entered by the Norsemen, and named from its numerous currents, for which Buzzard's Bay is remarkable. The large island covered with the eggs of sea-birds lies in the southern part of the bay. The long beaches of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket are famous to-day, as in the tenth century, for large quantities of sea-fowl's eggs. In this country wild grapes grew in great profusion. Even supposing great changes of climate, this fact may be fairly taken to exclude Greenland and Labrador, in both of which countries wild grapes would be an anomaly. Grapes do grow, however, in Rhode Island. Examples might be multiplied. It is a very strong case of cumulative evidence. Vinland must have been some portion of the eastern coast of the American Continent. Nothing then is more likely than that the Norsemen visited New England. The description of the Sagas coincide exactly with the south-eastern coast of Rhode Island and Massachusetts. The Sagas are in the main certainly accurate and truthful. If these premises are admitted, and it seems impossible to deny them, the visits of the Norsemen are sufficiently well proved.' *North American Review*, vol. cxix, p. 177.

Gudrid, and three others, lodging with himself, and offering lodging elsewhere for the rest of the people, both of Thorer's crew and his own. Leif took fifteen men from the rock, and thereafter was called Leif the Lucky. After that time Leif advanced greatly in wealth and consideration. That winter sickness came among Thorer's people, and he himself, and a great part of his crew, died. The same winter Eric Red died. This expedition to Vinland was much talked of, and Leif's brother, Thorvald, thought that the country had not been explored enough in different places. Then Leif said to Thorvald, "You may go, brother, in my ship to Vinland if you like; but I will first send the ship for the timber which Thorer left upon the rock." So it was done.

SECOND NARRATIVE.

The same spring King Olaf, as said before, sent Gissur and Hialte[2] to Iceland. The king also sent Leif to Greenland to proclaim Christianity there. The king sent with him a priest and some other religious men, to baptize the people and teach them the true faith. Leif sailed the same summer to Greenland; he took up out of the ocean the people of a ship who were on a wreck completely destroyed, and in a perishing condition. On this same voyage he discovered Vinland the Good,[3] and came at the close of sum-

[1] Gissur, called the White, was one of the greatest lawyers of Iceland. We read that "there was a man named Gissur White, he was Teit's son, Kettlebiarne the Old's son, of Mossfell (Iceland). Bishop Isleif was Gissur's son. Gissur the White kept house at Mossfell, and was a great Chief." Saga of *Burnt Nial*, vol I, p. 146.

[2] Hialte was doubtless the same person who entered the swimming match with King Olaf. See Saga of Olaf Tryggvesson.

[3] This is an error, unless the writer means that the voyage to Vinland, afterward undertaken, was a part of the same general expedition. Leif went to Greenland first, as we have already seen.

mer to Brattahlid, to his father Eric. After that time the people called him Leif the Fortunate; but his father Eric said that these two things went against one another; that Leif had saved the crew of the ship, and delivered them from death, and that he had [brought] that bad man into Greenland, that is what he called the priest; but after much urging, Eric was baptized,[1] as well as all the people of Greenland.

THIRD NARRATIVE.

The same winter, Leif, the son of Eric the Red, was in high favor with King Olaf, and embraced Christianity. But the summer that Gissur went to Iceland, King Olaf sent Leif to Greenland, to proclaim Christianity. He sailed the same summer for Greenland. He found some men in the sea on a wreck, and helped them; the same voyage,[2] he discovered Vinland the Good, and came at harvest time to Greenland. He brought with him a priest and other religious[3] men, and went to live at Brattahlid with his father Eric. He was afterward called, Leif the Fortunate. But his father Eric said, that these two things were opposed to one another, because Leif had saved the crew of the ship, and brought evil men to Greenland, meaning the priests.

V. THORVALD ERICSON'S EXPEDITION.

The greater portion of this voyage appears to have been performed during two summers, the expedition, after visiting the Bay of Boston, finally returning to Greenland on account of the death of their leader. The narrative is taken from *Codex Flatöiensis* as given in *Antiquitates Americanae.*

[1] These pagans did not always yield even so readily as Eric. Some in Norway died for the faith of Odin. See Saga of *Olaf Tryggvesson* (*passim*) in vol. I, of *Heimskringla.*

[2] See note to foregoing account.

[3] These appear to have been members of some Order.

Now Thorvald [A. D. 1002] made ready for his voyage with thirty men, after consulting his brother Leif. They rigged their ship, and put to sea. Nothing is related of this expedition until they came to Vinland, to the booths put up by Leif, where they secured the ship and tackle, and remained quiet all winter and lived by fishing. In the spring [A. D. 1003] Thorvald ordered the vessel to be rigged, and that some men should proceed in the long-boat westward along the coast, and explore it during the summer.[1] They thought the country beautiful and well wooded, the distance small between the forest and the sea, and the strand full of white sand. There were also many islands and very shallow water. They found no abode for man or beast, but on an island far toward the west, they found a corn barn constructed of wood.[2] They found no other traces of human work, and came back in autumn to Leif's booths. The following spring [A. D. 1004] Thorvald, with his merchant ship, proceeded eastward, and toward the north along the land. Opposite to a cape[3] they

[1] Assuming that the expedition was located in Rhode Island, this westward exploration would indicate a movement along the shore of Connecticut, which answers well enough to the description.

[2] A building of this character would point to Europeans, possibly Irish, who, according to the minor narratives, preceded the Icelanders in America, possibly Ireland the Great.

[3] This cape was not Point Gilbert, but the terminus of Cape Cod, known as "Race Point," a dangerous place for navigation. It would seem that this was the locality referred to, for the reason that the next place mentioned is the shore near Plymouth, which is readily seen from the end of Cape Cod in a clear day. Here there is a hiatus in the narrative. It was the vicinity of Race Point that they called "Kialarness," or Keel Cape. From Cape Cod it would seem they crossed to Plymouth, whose heights were in view of the cape in clear weather. and then worked along eastward, though the passage across the mouth of Cape Cod Bay is not mentioned, reaching the mouth of Boston Harbor, where Thorvald said, "Here

met bad weather, and drove upon the land and broke the keel, and remained there a long time to repair the vessel. Thorvald said to his companions: "We will stick up the keel here upon the ness, and call the place Kialarness;" which they did. Then they sailed away eastward along the country, entering the mouths of the bays, to a point of land which was everywhere covered with woods. They moored the vessel to the land, laid out gangways to the shore, and Thorvald, with all his ship's company, landed. He said, "Here it is so beautiful, and I would willingly set up my abode here." [1] They afterward went on board, and saw three specks upon the sand within the point, and went to them and found there were three skin boats with three men under each boat. They divided their men and took all of them prisoners, except one man, who escaped with his boat. They killed eight of them, and then went to the point and looked about them. Within this bay they saw several eminences, which they took to be habitations. Then a great drowsiness came upon them and they could not keep themselves awake, but all of them

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it is beautiful," even as John Smith wrote of it as "the Paradise of all these parts," and where evidently the French had been before him. Indeed every thing goes to prove, that from the time of Allefonsce, 1542, down to Bellinger, 1583, the French often resorted thither. If we are correct in this view, Boston is a singularly appropriate place for a monument to the Northmen. Afterward they speak of "the bay" and habitations, all of which is in keeping with Boston Harbor. Whoever takes the trouble to analyze the language, will discover by the occasional hiatus that the writer speaks from a fullness of knowledge, and that he could have added many particulars, showing that he was writing about actual events.

[1] Here, *Antiquitates Americanæ*, p. 42, is followed, instead of Peringskiold, whose version does not mention the point of land. This place is regarded as Point Alderton, below Boston Harbor. Thorvald evidently sailed along the shore to this point, which is the most remarkable on the east coast.

fell asleep.[1] A sudden scream came to them and they all awoke; and mixed with the scream they thought they heard the words: "Awake, Thorvald, with all thy comrades, if ye will save your lives. Go on board your ship as fast as you can, and leave this land without delay." In the same moment an innumerable multitude, from the interior of the bay, came in skin boats and laid themselves alongside. Then said Thorvald, "We shall put up our war screens[2] along the gunwales and defend ourselves as well as we can, but not use our weapons much against them." They did so accordingly. The Skrællings[3] shot

[1] Nothing supernatural is here intended, simply the result of fatigue

[2] These screens were made of planks which could be quickly arranged above the bulwarks, thus affording particular protection against arrows and stones.

[3] These people are sometimes called Smællingar, or small men. Others deduce their name from *skraela*, to dry, alluding to their shriveled aspect; and others from *skraekia* to shout. It is evident from the accounts of Egede and Crantz, that they formerly inhabited this part of the country, but were gradually obliged to go northward. It is well known that in other parts of America, these migrations were common. They were more likely to take refuge in Greenland than even the Northmen themselves. Critics have been concerned to know how it comes that the people met by the Northmen in New England appeared to be Esquimaux, and not Red Indians. This is because the Red Indians had not then become masters of the coast, which was held by a littoral people who once occupied the coast from Florida to Greenland, being the descendants of what may be called the "glacial man." The Indian who said that the Great Spirit gave him the country, simply wrested it from the Skrællings, whose stone implements are now, perhaps, those found in the Trenton gravels. See author's *Glacial Man in America; Pop. Science Review*, vol. XVIII, p. 31. The skin boats of the Skrællings were in keeping with habits of a littoral people. The Red man who followed used bark, or fashioned canoes out of solid logs, as described by Sebastian Cabot, Verrazano and Lescarbot.

at them for a while, and then fled away as fast as they could. Then Thorvald asked if anyone was wounded, and they said nobody was hurt. He said: "I have a wound under the arm.[1] An arrow flew between the gunwale and the shield under my arm; here is the arrow and it will be my death wound. Now I advise you to make ready with all speed to return; but ye shall carry me to the point which I thought would be so convenient for a dwelling. It may be that it was true what I said, that here would I dwell for a while. Ye shall bury me there, and place a cross at my head and one at my feet, and call the place Crossness." Christianity had been established in Greenland at this time;[2] but Eric Red was dead [3] before Christianity was introduced. Now Thorvald died, and they did everything as he had ordered. Then they went away

[1] The conduct of Thorvald indicates magnanimity of character, thinking first of his men, and afterward of himself.

[2] Christianity was re-introduced into Greenland by Leif, Thorvald's brother, in 1001-2, *ante*, p. .

[3] This is evidently an error, for the Catholic Religion was introduced by Leif, *before* he sailed on his voyage to Vinland. Errors like this abound in all early annals, and why should Icelandic chronicles be free from them? Every such case will be impartially pointed out. The treatment of this passage by Smith, in his *Dialogues on the Northmen*, p. 127, is far from being candid. He translates the passage thus: "But Eric the Red had died without professing Christianity," and refers the English reader to the Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefne, *Antiquitates Americanæ*, pp. 119-20, as if he would there find a reason for his rendering of the text, which is unequivocal, and is translated literally above. On turning to the authority in question, we find nothing more said than that "Eric was slow to give up his (pagan) religion," and that the affair caused a separation between him and his wife. That he was *slow* to give up his pagan belief would seem to indicate that he *did* give it up eventually. Moreover we have the direct statement that he was baptized. See second Narrative of Leif, *ante*, p. 109.

in search of their fellow-voyagers,[1] and they related to each other all the news. They remained in their dwelling all winter, and gathered vines and grapes,[2] and put them on board their ships. Toward spring, they prepared to return to Greenland, where they arrived with their vessel, and landed at Ericsfiord, bringing heavy tidings to Leif.

VI. THORSTEIN ERICSONS' ATTEMPT TO FIND VINLAND.

This version is from *Codex Flatöiensis*, and is given in *Antiquitates Americanæ*, pp. 47-55. The expedition was wholly unsuccessful, and the leader finally died without reaching the desired land. One cannot help believing, notwithstanding the marvelous events recorded, that the basis of this account is formed of solid fact. The narrative is not one likely to have been invented by an impostor, especially as there was no motive suggesting imposture.

In the meantime it had happened in Greenland that Thorstein of Ericsfiord had married and taken to wife [A. D. 1005] Gudrid,[3] the daughter of Thorbiorn, who had been married, as before related, to Thorer, the Eastman.[4] Thorstein Ericson bethought him now that he would go to Vinland for his brother Thorvald's body. He rigged out the same vessel and chose an able and stout crew. He had with him twenty-five men and his wife Gudrid,

[1] That is, they returned around Cape Cod to the rendezvous in Rhode Island.

[2] Gathering and drying them, evidently.

[3] This Gudrid who was rescued from the rock in the sea by Leif Ericson, is now married the second time, and as we shall see later on, was married a third time, and became the head of a most important family, afterward going to Rome.

[4] Norway lay east of Iceland, and hence the people of that country were sometimes called Eastmen.

and as soon as they were ready he put to sea. They quickly lost sight of the land. They drove about on the ocean the whole summer without knowing where they were,[1] and in the first week of winter [2] they landed at Lysifiord in Greenland, in the western settlement. Thorstein looked for lodgings for his men and got his whole ship's crew accommodated, but not himself and wife, so that for some nights they had to sleep on board. At that time Christianity was but recent in Greenland. One day, early in the morning, some men came to their tent and the leader asked them what people were in the tent? Thorstein replies, "Two; who is it that asks?" "Thorstein," was the reply, "and I am called Thorstein the Black, and it is my errand here to offer thee and thy wife lodging beside me." Thorstein said he would speak to his wife about it, and as she gave her consent he agreed to it. "Then I shall come for you to-morrow with my horses,[3] for I do not want means to entertain you; but few care to live in my house; I and my wife live lonely, and I am very gloomy. I have also a different religion[4] from yours, although I think the one you have the best." Now the following morning he came for them with horses, and they took up their abode with Thorstein Black, who was very friendly toward them. Gudrid had a good outward appearance and was knowing, and understood well how to behave with strangers. Early in the winter a sickness prevailed among Thorstein Ericson's people, and many of his ship-men died. He ordered that cof-

[1] If Vinland had been situated in Labrador, it would be rather idle to suppose that they could have lost the summer in trying to find it. This expedition aimed at reaching the place called "Crossaness," Cape of the Holy Cross, near the Bay of Boston.

[2] Winter began October 17.

[3] They probably had, at least, diminutive horses or ponies in Greenland like those of Iceland to-day.

[4] Thorstein Black was a pagan, who nevertheless saw the superior value of the new Faith.

fins should be made for the bodies of the dead and that they should be brought on board and stowed away carefully, for he said, "I will transport all the bodies to Ericsfiord in summer."[1] It was not long before sickness broke out in Thorstein Black's house, and his wife, who was called Grimhild, fell sick first. She was very stout and as strong as a man, but yet she could not bear up against the illness. Soon after Thorstein Ericson also fell sick and they both lay ill in bed at the same time; but Grimhild, Thorstein Black's wife, died first. When she was dead, Thorstein went out of the room for a skin to lay over the corpse. Then Gudrid said, "My dear Thorstein, be not long away," which he promised. Then said Thorstein Ericson, "Our housewife is wonderful, for she raises herself up with her elbows, moves herself forward over the bed-frame, and is feeling for her shoes." In the same moment, Thorstein the Goodman, came back, and instantly Grimhild laid herself down, so that it made every beam that was in the house crack. Thorstein now made a coffin for Grimhild's corpse, removed it outside, and buried it. He was a stout and strong man, but it required all his strength to remove the corpse from the house. Now Thorstein Ericson's illness increased upon him, and he died, which Gudrid, his wife, took with great grief. They were all in the room, and Gudrid had set herself upon a stool before the bench on which her husband Thorstein's body lay. Now Thorstein the Goodman took Gudrid from the stool in his arms, and set himself with her upon a bench just opposite to Thorstein's body,[2] and spoke much with her. He consoled her, and promised to go with her in summer to Ericsfiord, with her husband Thorstein's corpse, and those of his crew. "And," said he, "I shall take with me many servants to console and assist." She thanked him for this.

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[1] See *The Graves of the Northmen, Church Monthly*, 1865.

[2] We here must remember the simplicity of manners, which then (as now) prevailed among the Icelanders. It is said that, the tourist in Iceland is surprised by the absence of prudery.

Thorstein Ericson then raised himself up and said, "Where is Gudrid?" And thrice he said this; but she was silent. Then she said to Thorstein the Goodman, "Shall I give answer or not?" He told her not to answer. Then went Thorstein the Goodman across the room, and sat down in a chair, and Gudrid set herself on his knee; and Thorstein the Goodman said: "What wilt thou make known?" After a while the corpse replies, "I wish to tell Gudrid her fate beforehand, that she may be the better able to bear my death; for I have come to a blessed resting place. This I have now to tell thee, Gudrid, that thou wilt be married to an Iceland man, and ye will live long together and from you will descend many men, brave, gallant and wise, and a well-pleasing race of posterity. Ye shall go from Greenland to Norway, and from thence to Iceland, where ye shall dwell. Long will ye live together, but thou wilt survive him; and then thou shalt go abroad, and go southward,[1] and shall return to thy home in Iceland. And there must a church be built, and thou must remain there and be consecrated a nun, and there end thy days."[2]

[1] That is, visit Italy, and especially Rome.

[2] Whoever inclines to dismiss this narrative as an idle fiction, must remember that all history is more or less pervaded by similar stories. The Rev. Cotton Mather, in his *Magnalia of New England*, gives the account of a great number of supernatural events of the same character as this related in the Saga. Some are ludicrous in the extreme, and others are horrible, both in their inception and end. Among other stories, is that of Mr. Phillip Smith, deacon of the church at Hadley, Mass., and a member of the General Court, who appears to have been bewitched. He was finally obliged to keep his bed. Then it is said that the people "beheld fire sometimes on the bed; and when the beholders began to discourse of it, it vanished away. Divers people acually felt something often stir in the bed, at a considerable distance from the man; it seemed as big as a cat, but they could never grasp it. Several trying to lean on the bed's head, tho' the sick man lay wholly still, the bed would shake so as to knock their heads uncomfortably.

And then Thorstein sank backward, and his corpse was put in order and carried to the ship. Thorstein the Goodman did all that he had promised. He sold in spring [A. D. 1006] his land and cattle, and went with Gudrid and all her goods; made ready the ship, got men for it, and then went

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A very strong man could not lift the sick man, to make him lie more easily, tho' he apply'd his utmost strength unto it; and yet he could go presently and lift the bedstead and a bed, and a man lying on it, without any strain to himself at all. Mr. Smith dies. . . . After the *opinion* of all had pronounc'd him dead, his countenance continued as lively as though he had been alive. . . . Divers noises were heard in the room where the corpse lay; as the clattering of chairs and stools, whereof no account could be given." — *Magnalia*, ed. 1853, vol. I, p. 455. The account is vouched for by the author, who was one of the most learned divines of his day. Another is given, among the multitude of which he had the most convincing proof. He writes: "It was on the 2d day of May, in the year 1687, that a most ingenious, accomplish'd and well-dispos'd young gentleman, Mr. Joseph Beacon by Name, about 5 o'clock in the morning, as he lay, whether sleeping or waking he could not say (but he judged the latter of them), had a view of his brother, then at London, although he was himself at our Boston, distanc'd from him a thousand leagues. This his brother appear'd to him in the morning (I say) about 5 o'clock, at Boston, having on him a Bengale gown, which he usually wore, with a napkin ty'd about his head; his *countenance* was very pale, ghastly, deadly, and he had a bloody wound on the side of his forehead. 'Brother,' says the affrighted Joseph, 'Brother,' answered the apparition. Said Joseph, 'What's the matter, Brother? how came you here?' The apparition replied, 'Brother, I have been most barbarously and inhumanly murdered by a debauch'd fellow, to whom I never did any wrong in my life.' Whereupon he gave a particular description of the murderer; adding, 'Brother, this fellow, changing his name, is attempting to come over to New England in *Foy* or *Wild;* I would pray you on the arrival of either of these, to get an order from the governour to seize the person whom I now have describ'd, and then

to Ericsfiord. The body was buried at the church.[1] Gudrid went to Leif's at Brattahlid, and Thorstein the Black took his abode in Ericsfiord, and dwelt there as long as he lived; and was reckoned an able man.

VII. THORFINN KARLSEFNE'S EXPEDITION TO VINLAND.

This was in many respects the most important expedition to New England, both as regards the numbers engaged, and the information and experience derived. We have three different accounts of the expedition. The first is from the somewhat lengthy Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefne, in the *Arnæ-Magnæan* Collection; the second is from the Saga of Eric the Red, being called "The Account of Thorfinn;" while the third is a briefer relation from *Codex Flatöiensis*. The first two may be found in Rafn's *Antiquitates Americanæ*, pp. 75-200; while the last is also given in the same work, on pp. 55-64.

The Saga of Karlsefne is occupied largely at the beginning with accounts of various matters connected with social life; yet, as such subjects are not essential to the treatment of the voyage, they are all omitted, except the account

do you indict him for the murder of your brother.' And so he vanished." Mather then adds an account, which shows that Beacon's brother was actually murdered as described, dying within the very hour in which his apparition appeared in Boston. He says that the murderer was tried, but, with the aid of his friends, saved his life. Joseph himself, our author says, died "a pious and hopeful death," and gave him the account written and signed with his own hand. While New England history affords marvelous stories like this, men incline to question an Icelandic writer, because he occasionally indulges in things of the same sort. Rather should we look for them as authentic contemporary signs, like the well-attested marvels that disturbed the Wesley family.

[1] Thorhild's Church. See *Antiquitates Americanæ*, p. 119.

of Thorfinn's marriage with the widow of Thorstein Ericson.

The notes to the narrative of Leif's expedition, which precede this Saga in the chronological order, do away with the necessity of treating a number of important points suggested again in the present narrative.

It is believed that the principal manuscript of Thorfinn Karlsefne is an autograph by one of his descendants, the celebrated Hauk Erlandson, the Governor or Lagman of Iceland, in 1295, who also was one of the compilers of the *Landnama-bok*. Erlandson was the ninth in descent from Thorfinn. Torfæus, who supposed that this manuscript was lost, knew it only through corrupt extracts in the collection of Biorn Johnson.

There will be found a substantial agreement between the different accounts, notwithstanding they may not have been composed by eye witnesses. The differences are evidently such as would not appear in the case of three writers who had banded together for the purpose of carrying out a historical fraud. The Saga of Thorfinn, we may again remind the student, was written in Iceland, while that of Eric was composed in Greenland. The account from the *Flatö Manuscript* was probably written in the island which bears that name, and is extremely brief, wanting many essential particulars. It is time, however, that we had done talking about fraud in connection with the work of the Icelanders, who knew no spirit of rivalry and were not competing with any foreign claimants.

NARRATIVE OF THORFINN KARLSEFNE.

There was a man named Thord who dwelt at Hofda, in Hofda-Strand. He married Fridgerda, daughter of Thorer the Idle, and of Fridgerda, the daughter of Kiarval, King of the Irish. Thord was the son of Biarne Butter[1]-Tub, son of Thorvald, son of Aslak, son of Biarne Ironsides, son of Ragnar Lodbrok. They had a son named

[1] *Byrdusmjor.*

Snorre, who married Thorhild the Partridge, daughter of Thord Geller. They had a son named Thord Horsehead. Thorfinn Karlsefne[1] was his son, whose mother's name was Thoruna. Thorfinn occupied his time in merchant voyages and was thought a good trader. One summer he fitted out his ship for a voyage to Greenland, attended by Snorre Thorbrandson of Alptafiord, and a crew of forty men. There was a man named Biarne Grimolfson of Breidafiord, and another named Thorhall Gamlason of Austfiord. These men fitted out a ship at the same time to voyage to Greenland. They also had a crew of forty men. This ship and that of Thorfinn, as soon as they were ready, put to sea. It is not said how long they were on the voyage; it is only told that both ships arrived at Ericsfiord in the autumn of that year. Leif[2] and other people rode down to the ships and friendly exchanges were made. The captains requested Leif to take whatever he desired of their goods. Leif, in return, entertained them well and invited the principal men of both ships to spend the winter with him at Brattahlid. The merchants accepted his invitation with thanks. Afterward their goods were moved to Brattahlid, where they had every entertainment that they could desire; therefore their winter quarters pleased them much. When the Yule feast began, Leif

[1] "Karl" is the equivalent of the Anglo-Saxon "Carl," signifying a "Man." "Efni" finds its equivalent in the Latin *Materia*, signifying "Stuff." "Mannsefni" stood for a "promising man," and "Karlsefni" for a "real" or "sterling" man. The name was often used in the sense of a nickname, and indicated that the person to whom it was applied was made of "good stuff." See *infra*, p. 148, n. 1.

[2] Throughout this narrative of Thorfinn, the name of Eric occurs where that of Leif should be given. Eric died five years before Thorfinn came over to Greenland. This account having been written in Iceland, the author made a very natural mistake in supposing that Eric was still at the head of the family. The proper change has been made in the translation to avoid confusion.

was silent and more depressed than usual. Then Karlsefne said to Leif: "Are you sick, friend Leif? you do not seem to be in your usual spirits. You have entertained us most liberally, for which we desire to render you all the service in our power. Tell me what it is that ails you." "You have received what I have been able to offer you," said Leif, "in the kindest manner and there is no idea in my mind that you have been wanting in courtesy; but I am afraid lest when you go away it may be said that you never saw a Yule[1] feast so meanly celebrated as that which draws near at which you will be entertained by Leif of Brattahlid." "That shall never be the case, friend," said Karlsefne, "we have ample stores in the ship; take of these what you wish and make a feast as splendid as you please." Leif accepted this offer and the Yule began. So well were Leif's plans made, that all were surprised that such a rich feast could be prepared in so poor a country. After the Yule feast, Karlsefne began to treat with Leif, as to the marriage of Gudrid, Leif being the person to whom the right of betrothal belonged. Leif gave a favorable reply, and said she must fulfill that destiny which fate had assigned,[2] and that he had heard of none except a good report of him; and in the end it turned out that Karlsefne married Gudrid, and their wedding was held at Brattahlid, this same winter.

[A. D. 1007.] The conversation often turned at Brattahlid, on the discovery of Vinland the Good, and they said

[1] *Yule* was a pagan festival held originally in honor of Thor, the God of War, at the beginning of February, which was the opening of the Northman's year. But as Christianity had been established in Greenland for five years, the festival was now probably changed to December, and held by the Church in honor of Christ.

[2] *Ante*, p. 118. Widow of Thorstein Ericson. Rafn thinks, as she is mentioned in this Saga by two names, Gudrid and Thurid, that one was her name in childhood, and the other in her maturer years, when Christianity came to have a practical bearing. Her father's name was Thorbiorn, derived from

that a voyage there had great hope of gain.[1] After this Karlsefne and Snorre made ready for going on a voyage there the following spring. Biarne and Thorhall Gamlason, before mentioned, joined him with a ship. There was a man named Thorvald, who married Freydis, natural daughter of Eric the Red, and he decided to go with them, as did also Thorvald, son of Eric.[2] Thorhall, commonly called the Hunter, who had been the huntsman of Eric in the summer, and his steward in the winter, also went. This Thorhall was a man of immense size and of great strength, and dark complexion and taciturn, and when he spoke it was always jestingly. He was always inclined to give Leif evil advice. He was an enemy to Christianity. He knew much about desert lands; and was in the same ship with Thorvord and Thorvald. These used the ship which brought Thorbiorn from Iceland. There were in all, forty men and a hundred.[3] They sailed to the West district [of Greenland], and thence to Biarney;[4] hence

Thor. It was supposed that those who bore the names of gods would find in these names a charm or special protection from danger.

[1] It was gain, not glory. They never boasted of their voyages.

[2] This is a mistake, Eric's son was dead and buried at Crossaness in Vinland. It must have been another Thorvald.

[3] The Northmen had two ways of reckoning a hundred, the short and the long. The long hundred was a hundred and twenty. We read in Tegner's *Frithiof's Saga:*

"But a house for itself was the banquet hall, fashioned in fir wood;
Not five hundred, though told *ten dozen* to every hundred,
Filled that chamber so vast, when they gathered for Yule tide carousing."

American ed., chap. III, p. 13.

Professor Rafn infers that the long hundred was here meant, because he thinks that the central inscription on Dighton Rock indicates CLI., the number of men Karlsefne had with him, after losing nine. But are we sure that the Rock bears any Runic letters?

[4] The present island of Disco, also called by the Northmen Biarney, or Bear Island.

they sailed south a night and a day. Then land was seen, and they launched a boat and explored the land; they found great flat stones, many of which were twelve ells broad. There were a great number of foxes there. They called the land Helluland.[1] Then they sailed a day and a night in a southerly course, and came to a land covered with woods, in which there were many wild animals. Beyond this land to the south-east, lay an island on which they slew a bear. They called the island Bear island,[2] and the land, Markland. Thence they sailed long south by the land and came to a cape. The land lay on the right [starboard] side of the ship, and there were long shores of sand. They came to land, and found on the cape, the keel of a ship, from which they called the place Kiarlarness,[3] and the shores they also called Wonder-strand, because it seemed so long sailing by.[4] Then the land became indented with coves, and they ran the ship into a bay,[5] whither they directed their course. King Olaf Trygg-

[1] The northern coast of America was called Helluland the Great, and Newfoundland, Helluland, or Little Helluland.—*Antiquitates Americanæ*, p. 419. The sailing time is put too short.

[2] Supposed to be the Isle of Sable, but probably not.

[3] Thorvald had left the keel of his vessel here on the point of this cape, which was Cape Cod. In calling it by this name, they simply followed his example, as in the case of Helluland and Markland.

[4] *Ante*, p. 99, *n*.

[5] If correct in regard to the general situation, this bay was probably the bay then situated between Point Gilbert and Isle Nauset, which Professor Agassiz proves to have existed. The writers do not mention this island in either of the accounts of Thorfinn's voyage; but it has been shown that Isle Nauset lay close to the shore, so that they might not know that it *was* an island without particular examination; and, if they were aware of its existence, it was not necessary to speak of it. Leif landed upon it, and therefore, it was mentioned by the author who wrote the account of his voyage. Yet Thorfinn's chron-

vesson had given Leif two Scots,[1] a man named Haki and a woman named Hekia; they were swifter of foot than wild animals. These were in Karlsefne's ship. When they had passed beyond Wonder-strand, they put these Scots ashore, and told them to run over the land to the south-west, three days, and discover the nature of the land, and then return. They had a kind of garment that they called kifal, that was so made that a hat was on top, and it was open at the sides, and no arms; fastened between the legs with a button and strap, otherwise they were naked. When they returned, one had in his hand a bunch of grapes, and the other a spear of wheat. They went on board and afterward the course was obstructed by another bay. Beyond this bay was an island,[2] on each side of

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iclers help to prove its existence, by showing that beyond Wonder-strand there was a bay where they rode at anchor for three days. It must be noticed that the events are not set down in their exact order, for, after the writer gets the vessels into the bay, he goes back to speak of the landing of the Scots, which is often the case where a writer is full of his subject. Gosnold anchored in the same place in the night, and in the morning he remarked the number of coves, or as he calls them "breaches," in the land. The Saga mentions the same thing, saying, that the land "became indented with coves." These coves have now disappeared, yet the testimony of Gosnold seems to show how accurately the Northmen observed this part of the coast. Like Gosnold, they found it convenient and safe to lie here for awhile. See *Ante*, p. 99, on "Sloop Mary."

[1] This is the first we hear of slaves in Vinland. We have already seen that among the proud Northmen, slavery, "thralldom," was a reality. One of the near relations of Ingolf, the first Northman who settled in Iceland, was murdered by his Scotch (Irish) slaves. See on their dress, Rafn *Antiquitates*, p. 140, *note a*. The grain found was called "Hveiti," wheat, or in general language "corn," not meaning the Indian maize.

[2] This, if we are correct, was Nantucket or Martha's Vineyard, then perhaps united, forming one island. Great changes have taken place in that entire region.

which was a rapid current, that they called the Isle of Currents.[1] There was so great a number of eider ducks[2] there, that they could hardly step without treading on their eggs. They called this place Stream Bay.[3] Here they brought their ships to land, and prepared to stay. They had with them all kinds of cattle. The situation of the place[4] was pleasant, but they did not care for any thing, except to explore the land. Here they wintered without sufficient food. The next summer [A. D. 1008], failing to catch fish, they began to want food. Then Thorhall the Hunter disappeared.

They found Thorhall, whom they sought three days, on the top of a rock, where he lay breathing, blowing through his nose and mouth, and muttering. They asked why he had gone there. He replied that this was nothing that concerned them.[5] They said that he should go home with them, which he did. Afterward a whale was cast ashore[6] in that place; and they assembled and cut it up, not knowing what kind of a whale it was. They boiled it with water and ate it, and were taken sick. Then Thorhall said: "Now you see that Thor[7] is more prompt

[1] *Straumey*, or Straum Isle, which indicates the powerful currents in this region.

[2] The gull, or some similar bird is here referred to.

[3] Buzzard's Bay. See note to p. 101.

[4] The shore opposite Martha's Vineyard.

[5] It would appear from what follows that he was engaged in a heathen invocation. This is the only instance on record of honor being paid to this heathen god on the shores of New England, yet we unwittingly recognize him every time we say "Thursday," that is, "Thor's Day."

[6] In olden times a certain portion of every whale cast ashore on Cape Cod, formed a perquisite of the clergy. Drift whales were set apart to swell the fund in aid of building Trinity church New York.

[7] Literally the Red-beard, as Thor, the Thunderer, was supposed to have had a beard of that color. The principal deity of the Northmen was Odin, a king who died in his bed in

to give aid than your Christ. This was cast ashore as a reward for the hymn which I composed to my patron Thor, who rarely forsakes me."[1] When they knew this they cast all the remains of the whale into the sea, and commended their affairs to God. After which the air became milder, and opportunities were given for fishing. From that time there was an abundance of food; and there were beasts on the land, eggs in the island, and fish in the sea

They say that Thorhall desired to go northward around Wonder-strand to explore Vinland, but Karlsefne wished to go along the shore south. Then Thorhall prepared him-

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Sweden, and was afterward apotheosized. He was called the "Terrible god." The souls of men slain in battle were received by him into the hall of the gods. Next was Frey, considered a god of earth. Thor the Red-beard was synonymous with Jupiter. These three composed the supreme council of the gods. Afterward came the good and gentle Balder, with him came Brage, patron of eloquence and poetry, and his wife Iduna, charged with the care of certain apples. Also Heimdal the porter of the gods and builder of the rainbow, and Loke, a kind of Satan or evil principle aided by his children, the Wolf Fenris, the Serpent Midgard, and Hela or Death. The American red-breasted Robin is sacred to the red-bearded Thunderer; which explains the belief in some quarters, that whoever injures a robin will be struck by lightning.

[1] The Saga has already stated (*ante*, p. 124) that Thorhall "knew much about desert lands." He appears as a stubborn and pronounced character, full of his own opinions. Now, therefore, we have an illustration of the man. The critic should place the man's character and attainments in connection with this performance, and note how thoroughly they are in keeping. These statements are of the nature of undesigned coincidences, and show here, as a multitude of instances elsewhere demonstrate, that the writer was treating well-known characters in connection with a well-known voyage. These are the points which should be dwelt upon by the student.

self at the island,[1] but did not have more than nine men in his whole company, and all the others went in the company of Karlsefne. When Thorhall was carrying water to his ship, he sang this verse:

'People said when hither I
Came, that I the best
Drink would have, but the land
It justly becomes me to blame;
I, a warrior, am now obliged
To bear the pail;
Wine touches not my lips,
But I bow down to the spring."

When they made ready and were about to sail, Thorhall sang:

"Let us return
Thither where [our] countrymen rejoice,
Let the ship try
The smooth ways of the sea;
While the strong heroes
Live on Wonder-strand
And there boil whales,
Which is an honor to the land."[2]

Afterward he sailed north to go around Wonder-strand and Kiarlarness, but when he wished to sail westward, they were met by a storm from the west and driven to Ireland, where they were beaten and made slaves. As merchants[3] reported, there Thorhall died.

[1] This is obscure about the "island," but the statement when duly considered proves again that we are reading a genuine narrative, and that there was a well-known island at this point. Every hiatus in the narrative must prove suggestive to the critical mind.

[2] This is Thorhall's sarcasm.

[3] The period of the Danish invasion of Ireland, which lasted during two centuries, was nearly drawing to its close, and this party of Scandinavians, speaking the language of the invaders, fell upon the coast of Ireland in evil times, and were fortunate in saving their lives, being recognized as foes of Ireland. This is quite an unexpected evidence of the historic character

It is said that Karlsefne, with Snorre and Biarne and his comrades, sailed along the coast south. They sailed long until they came to a river flowing down from the land through a lake into the sea, where there were sandy shoals, where it was impossible to pass up, except with the highest tide. Karlsefne sailed up to the mouth of the river with his folk, and called the place Hop.[1] Having come to the land, they saw that where the ground was low corn[2] grew, and where it was higher, vines were found. Every river was full of fish.

They dug pits where the land began, and where the land was highest; and when the tide went down, there were sacred fish in the pits.[3] There were a great number

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of the Saga, which lands Thorhall at the right time to receive the welcome due to invaders who had filled Ireland with fire and blood for generations.

[1] This may correspond to Mount Hope Bay. The Taunton river runs through it, and thence flows to the sea by Pocasset river and Seconnet passage. Hop is from the Icelandic *I Hopi*, to recede, hence to form a bay. The coincidence in the name is curious. The fact that there is no lake here has been pointed out by one who appeared to have a fair equipment for criticism; but who, nevertheless, failed to recognize the fact that words equivalent to "Lake" were applied by Scandinavians to arms and branches of the sea, as well to waters entirely enclosed by land. In Scotland, where the Northmen colonized, and so generally employed their own nomenclature, the popular usage is that of the Scandinavians, arms of the sea being, like the lakes, designated as "Lochs," while the Irish have the word "Lough." The Icelandic, in this case, is "vatn," generally meaning "water," but in the present connection it means a lake, like the English "Derwent Water." Rafn translates it *lacus*.

[2] Wheat. *Sialfsana hveitiakrar.*

[3] In Iceland the halibut is called the Sacred Fish. Pliny uses the same name, which indicates that the water is safe where they were found. The halibut and most of the flat fish such as flounders, abound in that vicinity. The flounders are

of all kinds of wild beasts in the woods. They stayed there half a month and enjoyed themselves, and did not notice any thing; they had their cattle with them. Early one morning, when they looked around, they saw a great many skin boats, and poles were swung upon them, and it sounded like reeds shaken by the wind, and they pointed to the sun.' Then said Karlsefne, "What may this mean?" Snorre Thorbrandson replied, "It may be that this is a sign of peace, so let us take a white shield and hold it toward them." They did so. Thereupon they rowed toward them, wondering at them, and came to land. These people were swarthy and fierce, and had bushy hair on their heads; they had very large eyes and broad cheeks. They stayed there for a time, and gazed upon those they met, and afterward rowed away southward around the ness.

Karlsefne and his people had made their houses above the lake, and some of the houses were near the lake, and others more distant. They wintered there, and there was no snow, and all their cattle fed themselves on the grass.[2]

easily taken, and those who know how, often find them in very shoal water, burrowing just under the surface of the sand like a king crab. The Icelandic name of the fish is *Helgis fiskar* and the Danish, *Heleflyndre*, which Rafn exhibits as *Pleornectes Hippoglossus*. Professor Horsford points out what he believes to have been ancient pits to catch fish, on the Charles river.

[1] Davis, speaking of the natives of Greenland, in his voyage of 1585, says, that, to indicate peaceful intentions, they pointed to the sun with their hands, after striking their breasts, refusing to trust themselves to the English until they had done the same, through one of their number appointed for the purpose, "who stroke his breast and pointed to the sunne after their order." This pointing to the sun in token of peace, taken with the description of the people, shows conclusively that the people seen by Karlsefne and Davis may have been the same tribe or race, formerly occupying a more southern locality.

[2] This is language that might be employed by an Icelander, to indicate the difference between the new country and his

But when spring came [A. D. 1009] they saw one morning early, that a number of canoes rowed from the south around the ness; so many, as if the sea were sown with coal; poles were also swung on each boat. Karlsefne and his people then raised up the shield, and when they came together they began to trade. These people would rather have red cloth; for this they offered skins and real furs. They would also buy swords and spears, but this, Karlsefne and Snorre forbade. For a whole fur skin, the Skrællings took a piece of red cloth, a span long, and bound it around their heads. Thus went on their traffic for a time. Next the cloth began to be scarce with Karlsefne and his people, and they cut it up into small pieces, which were not wider than a finger's breadth, and yet the Skrællings gave just as much as before, and more.

It happened that a bull which Karlsefne had ran out of the wood and roared aloud; this frightened the Skrællings, and they rushed to their canoes and rowed away toward the south. After that they were not seen for three whole weeks. But at the end of that time, a great number of Skrælling's ships were seen coming from the south like a rushing torrent, all the poles turned from the sun, and they all yelled very loud. Then Karlsefne's people took a red[1] shield and held it toward them. The Skrællings leaped out of their vessels, and after this, they went against each other and fought. There was a

own. It may have been an intentional exaggeration, similar to those of Eric in describing Greenland. Yet even if it were a serious attempt at history, it could not be regarded as farther from the truth than Dr. Cotton Mather's description of the climate of New England, where he tells us, in his Christian Philosopher, that formerly water, tossed up in the air, came down ice; and that in one place in Massachusetts it actually snowed wool, some of which he preserved in a box in his study. See his "Christian Philosopher." Of late years the snow on lower Cape Cod has failed to appear as formerly.

[1] The red shield was the sign of war, and the white, of peace.

hot shower of weapons, because the Skrællings had slings.[1] Karlsefne's people saw that they raised upon a pole a very large ball, something like a sheep's paunch, and of a blue color; this they swung from the pole over Karlsefne's men, upon the ground, and it made a great noise as it fell down.[2] This caused great fear with Karlsefne and his men, so that they only thought of running away; and they retreated along the river, for it seemed to them that the Skrællings pressed them on all sides. They did not stop until they came to some rocks where they made a bold stand. Fredyis came out and saw that Karlsefne's people fell back, and she cried out, "Why do you run, strong men as you are, before these miserable creatures whom I thought you would knock down like cattle? If I had arms, methinks I could fight better than any of you." They gave no heed to her words. Freydis would go with them, but she was slower because she was pregnant; still she followed after them in the woods. She found a dead man in the woods; it was Thorbrand Snorreson, and there

[1] Davis mentions their slings, and his general description of the people agrees with that of the Icelanders. See *Inventio Fortunata*.

[2] This can be explained. These people, doubtless, had their own ideas of the best method of conducting a fight. They were evidently Esquimaux, and formerly, according to Crantz, appear to have lived on this coast before it was occupied by the Indians, who, being a superior race, soon drove them away. But by referring to Schoolcraft's work on the Indians (vol. I, p. 83,) we find that such an instrument was actually employed in this country at a very early period. Schoolcraft says that many generations ago the natives used to sew up a round boulder in the skin of an animal and hang it upon a pole which was borne by several warriors, and when brought down suddenly upon a group of men produced consternation and death. This mode of warfare, learned perhaps by the Indians from the Skrællings, has not been practised for the last three hundred years, but prevailed at the period when the Northmen were in America.

stood a flat stone stuck in his head; the sword lay naked by his side. This she took up and made ready to defend herself. Then came the Skrællings toward her; she drew out her breasts from under her clothes and dashed them against the naked sword. By this the Skrællings became frightened and ran off to their ships and rowed away.[1] Karlsefne and his men then came up and praised her courage. Two men fell on Karlsefne's side, but a number of the Skrællings. Karlsefne's band was overmatched. Next they went home to their dwellings and bound up their wounds, and considered what people that was that pressed upon them from the land side. It now seemed to them that it could have hardly been real men from the ships, but that these must have been optical illusions. The Skrællings also found a dead man and an axe lay by him; one of them took up the axe and cut wood with it, and then one after another did the same and thought it was a fine thing and cut well. After that one took it and cut at a stone so that the axe broke, and then they thought that it was of no use because it would not cut stone, and they cast it away.[2]

[1] In the Irish Saga of Cuchalain light is thrown upon the action. It was considered by the Irish *geis*, or tabu, to behold the exposed breast of a woman, yet the ladies of Emania resorted to this course in order to restrain the king when rushing upon his destiny. It is said, "He is the first of whom it is recounted that women uncovered before him their bosoms." See Hyde's *Literary History of Ireland*, pp. 301-348. It would appear that the idea prevailed among the Icelanders also, and that Freydis used this means as a last resort, thinking that the enemy would be intimidated.

[2] The narrator goes back to mention what appeared to him curious incidents. These Skrællings were still in the Stone Age, and evidently did not know the use of iron. Stone was their standard of excellence, and when the iron would not cut the stone they threw it away. From the third account of Karlsefne's expedition we shall see that the man killed was a Skrælling. Abbott's researches show, beyond question, that

Karlsefne and his people now thought they saw, that although the land had many good qualities, they still would always be exposed to the fear of attacks from the original dwellers. They decided, therefore, to go away and to return to their own land. They coasted northward along the shore[1] and found five Skrællings clad in skins, sleeping near the sea. They had with them vessels containing animal marrow mixed with blood.[2] Karlsefne's people thought that these men had been banished from the land; they killed them. After that they came to a ness, and many wild beasts were there, and the ness was covered all over with dung from the beasts which had lain there during the night. Now they came back to Straumfiord, and there was a plenty of everything that they wanted to have. [It is thus that some men say that Biarne and Gudrid stayed behind and one hundred men with them, and did not go farther; but that Karlsefne and Snorre went southward and forty men with them, and were no longer in Hop than barely two months, and the same summer came back.][3] Karlsefne then went with one ship to seek Thorhall the Hunter, but the rest remained behind, and they sailed northward past Kiarlarness, and thence westward, and the land was upon their larboard hand. There were wild woods over all, as far as they could see, and scarcely any open places. When they had sailed long a river ran out of the land east and west. They sailed into the mouth of the river, and lay by its bank.[4]

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the Indian was preceded by a people like the Esquimaux, whose stone implements are found in the Trenton gravel, large numbers of which are shown in the Peabody Museum, Cambridge. See Abbott's work on "The Trenton Valley Stone Implements."

[1] This may have been a short exploration up Narragansett Bay.

[2] The ancient Mexicans mixed human blood with bread offered on the altar of their deities.

[3] The lines inclosed in brackets, convey what the writer understood to be a mere rumor. This report was evidently untrue, yet it shows his honest intentions.

[4] They appear to have sailed around Cape Cod, then steered

It chanced one morning that Karlsefne and his people saw opposite in an open place in the woods, a speck which glittered in their sight, and they called out towards it, and it was a Uniped,[1] which thereupon hurried down to the bank of the river, where they lay. Thorvald Ericson stood at the helm, and the Uniped shot an arrow into his

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across to Plymouth, coasted up the shore and entered Boston harbor, or some other river mouth.

[1] *Einfoetingr*, from *ein*, one, and *fotr*, foot. This term appears to have been given by some old writers, to one of the African tribes, on account of a peculiarity of dress, which Wormskiold describes as a triangular cloth, hanging down so low, both before and behind, that the feet were concealed. In an old work called *Rimbigla*, a tribe of this class, dwelling in Blaland, Ethiopia, are thus described. — *Beamish*, p. 101. We do not say how far the Saga writer employs his fancy on the Uniped, yet he is quite excusable, considering the weakness of modern writers. In 1634, Hans Egede wrote as follows about a hideous monster: "July 6, a most hideous sea monster was seen, which reared itself so high above the water, that its head overtopped our mainsail. . . . Instead of fins, it had broad flaps like wings; its body seemed to be overgrown like shell work. . . . It was shaped like a serpent behind, and when it dived, . . . raised its tail above the water, a whole ship's length."— Egede's *Greenland*, p. 85; Crantz's *Greenland*, vol. III, p. 116. Hudson even describe a mermaid. St. Augustine in one place refers to Unipeds.

The Rev. Dr. Cotton Mather, who has before been quoted, gives among other notable facts in his *Magnalia*, the statement, that in June, 1682, Mary Hortado, of Salmon Falls, was going with her husband "over the river in her canoe, when they saw the head of a man, and about three feet off, the tail of a cat swimming before the canoe, but no body to join them. . . . A stone thrown by an invisible hand after this, caus'd a swelling and a soreness in her head; and she was *bitten* on both arms black and blue, and her breast scratched. The impression of the teeth, which were like a man's teeth, were seen by many."— *Magnalia*, vol. I, p. 454.

bowels. Thorvald drew out the arrow and said: "It has killed me! To a rich land we have come, but hardly shall we enjoy any benefit from it." Thorvald soon after died[1] of his wound. Upon this the Uniped ran away to the northward. Karlsefne and his people went after him, and saw him now and then, and the last time they saw him, he ran out into a bay. Then they turned back, and a man sang these verses:

The people chased
A uniped
Down to the beach.
Behold he ran
Straight over the sea —
Hear thou, Thorfinn!

They drew off to the northward, and saw the country of the Unipeds, but they would not then expose their men any longer. They looked upon the mountain range that was at Hop, and that which they now found,[2] as all one, and it also appeared to be of equal length from Straumfiord to both places. The third winter they were in Straumfiord. They now became much divided by party feeling, and the women were the cause of it, for those who were unmarried would injure those who were married, and hence arose great disturbance. There was born the first autumn, Snorre, Karlsefne's son, and he was three years old when they went away. When they sailed from Vinland they had a south wind, and then came to Markland,

[1] Evidently this name is wrongly given; Thorvald Ericson had been killed in a previous expedition. The second narrative of Karlsefne says that this Thorvald was a relation of Eric.

[2] Probably the Blue Hills of Milton, which are considered as extending almost if not quite, to Mount Hope, in Rhode Island. The distance is given conjecturally, but it shows that the writer was describing a veritable voyage, reminding one of some of the statements with regard to hills in Weymouth's voyage to Kennebec. Some critics demand form the Northmen more exact descriptions of the coast than are given by many navigators of the seventeenth century.

and found there five Skrællings, and one was bearded; two were females, and two boys; they took the boys, but the others escaped, and the Skrællings sank down in the ground.[1] These boys they took with them; they taught them the language, and they were baptized. They called their mother Vathelldi, and their father, Uvæge. They said that two kings ruled over the Skrællings, and that one was named Avalldania, but the other Valldidia.[2] They said that no houses were there. People lived in caves or in holes. They said there was a land on the other side, just opposite their country, where people lived who wore white clothes, and carried poles before them, and to these were fastened flags, and they shouted loud; and the people think that this was White-man's land, or Great Ireland.[3]

Biarne Grimolfson was driven with his ship into the Irish ocean, and they came into a worm sea,[4] and soon the ship began to sink under them. They had a boat which was smeared with oil, for the worms do not attack that.

[1] That is, they fled into hiding places or got into underground abodes.

[2] If we are correct in supposing that there was a glacial man, and that the Skrællings were descendants of such a glacial man, it follows that we have in the Sagas four of his words, which may be the oldest known words of human speech: Vathelldi, Uvæge, Avalldania, and Valldidia, the names of the parents of the Skrælling boys, and of the two kings. At least, in a recent note addressed to the writer, Prof. Max Muller says, that there is nothing in the language of the Esquimaux to prevent us from assigning it to an antiquity as high as that of the supposed glacial man. See "Glacial Man," etc. Popular S. Rev., xviii, p. 39.

[3] The location of this place will be discussed in the minor narratives.

[4] This was the teredo, which is often so destructive, and which caused Columbus to abandon a ship at *Puerto Bello*, because he could not keep her afloat. See Irving's *Columbus*, p. 287.

They went into the boat, and then saw that it could not hold them all. Then said Biarne: "As the boat will not hold more than half of our men, it is my counsel that lots should be drawn for those to go in the boat, for it shall not be according to rank." This, they all thought was so generous an offer, that no one would oppose it. They then did so that lots were drawn, and it fell to Biarne to go in the boat, and the half of the men with him, for the boat had not room for more. But when they had gotten into the boat, an Icelandic man that was in the ship, and had come with Biarne from Iceland, said: "Dost thou mean, Biarne, to leave me here?" Biarne said: "So it seems." Then said the other: "Very different was the promise to my father, when I went with thee from Iceland, than thus to leave me, for thou said that we should both share the same fate." Biarne said, "It shall not be thus; go down into the boat, and I will go up into the ship, since I see that thou art so anxious to live."[1] Then Biarne went up into the ship, and this man down into the boat, and after that they went on their voyage, until they came

[1] This was truly in accordance with the noble spirit of the great Northmen, who had no fear of death, which to heroes, is the shining gate of Valhalla. Biarne joined Karlsefne with a ship. *Ante*, p. 122. There may be some confusion here so far as relates to the statement that the survivors reached Dublin. Thorhall the Hunter, we are elsewhere told, was driven to Ireland, but Biarne was not with him. The first narrative states distinctly that he remained with Thorfinn Karlsefne, and only two ships are mentioned, his own and Biarne's. It appears, however, that there was a third, probably a small one, in which Thorhall, the Hunter, went northward around Vinland. It may be perfectly true, that two parties from Karlsefne's expedition finally brought up in Ireland, as the annals of shipwreck furnish multitudes of most curious and remarkable incidents which outdo the creations of romance. See the recent case of the woman carried alone in a small fishing vessel from the coast of England in a severe gale, and cast upon the coast of Norway.

to Dublin, in Ireland, and there told these things; but it is most people's belief that Biarne and his companions were lost in the worm sea, for nothing was heard of them after that time.

THE ACCOUNT OF THORFINN.

That same winter [A. D. 1006-7], there was much discussion about the affairs of Brattahlid; and they set up the game of chess, and sought amusement in the reciting of history,[1] and in many other things, and were able to pass life joyfully. Karlsefne and Snorre resolved to seek Vinland, but there was much discussion about it. It turned out that Karlsefne and Snorre prepared their ships to seek Vinland the following summer. [A. D. 1007.] In this enterprise Biarne and Thorhall joined as comrades with their own ship and crew, who were their followers. There was a man named Thorvald, a relation[2] of Eric. Thorhall was called the Hunter. He long had hunted with Eric in summer, and had the care of many things. Thorhall was of great stature, large and swarthy face, of a hard nature, taciturn, saying little of affairs, and nevertheless crafty and malicious, always inclined to evil, and opposed in his mind to the Christian religion, from its first introduction into Greenland. Thorhall indulged in trifling, but nevertheless Eric was used to his familiarity. He went in the ship with Thorvald, and was well acquainted with uninhabitable places. He used the ship in which Thorbiorn came; and Karlsefne engaged comrades for the expedition; and the best part of the sailors of Greenland were with him. They carried in their ships forty and a hundred men. Afterward they sailed to West bygd and Biarney-isle. They sailed from Biarney-isle with a north wind, and were on the sea a day and night, when they found land, and, sending a boat to the shore,

[1] Here we have a distinct evidence of the fact that history was cultivated in Greenland.

[2] Here, the writer is correct. See *ante*, p. 124, n.

explored the land, where they found many flat stones of such great size, that they exceeded in length the size of two men. There were foxes there. They gave the land a name, and called it Helluland. After this they sailed a night and a day with a north wind. They came to a land in which were great woods and many animals. South-west, opposite the land, lay an island. Here they found a bear, and called the island Bear island.[1] This land, where there were woods, they called Markland. After a voyage of a day and a night, they saw land, and they sailed near the land and saw that it was a cape; they kept close to the shore with the wind on the starboard side, and left the land upon the right side of the ship. There were places without harbors, long shores and sands. When they went to the shore with a boat, they found the keel of a ship, and they called the place, Kiarlarness;[2] and they gave the shore a name, and called it Wonder-strand, because they were so long going by. Then another bay extended into the land, and they steered into the bay.[3] When Leif was with King Olaf Tryggvesson, he sent him to establish the Christian religion in Greenland; then the king gave him two Scots-folk, a man named Hake, and a woman named Hekia. The king told Leif to take them with his men, if he would have his commands done quickly,

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[1] Disco.

[2] See on all these passages, *ante*, p. 111. It is rather absurd to suppose that the Northmen would have stayed three years at a point only three days' sail from Greenland, which is the time given to the Keel Cape, without communicating with home. We must extend the distance.

[3] The same bay referred to in the previous account, and which lay between Point Gilbert and Isle Nauset. Archer, in his account of Gosnold's voyage, says, that when they rounded Point Care, the extremity of Isle Nauset, "We bore up again with the land, and in the night, came with it anchoring in eight fathoms, the ground good." Here it will be seen that the Northmen lay safely for three days. *Ante*, p. 125.

as they were swifter than beasts. These folk, Leif and Eric gave to Karlsefne, as followers. When they were come opposite Wonder-strand, they put the Scots on the shore, and told them to run southward and explore the county, and return before the end of three days. They were thus clothed, having a garment called a Biafal;[1] it was made so that a hat was on top, open at the sides, without arms, buttoned between the legs, and fastened with a button and a strap; and the rest was bare.

They came to anchor and lay by until the three days passed,[2] when they returned, one having in his hand a vine, and the other, self-sown wheat. Karlsefne said that they had found a fruitful land. Afterward they were received into the ship, and they went on their way until a bay intersected the land. They steered the ship into the bay. On the outside was an island,[3] and there was a great tide around the island. This they called Straumey.[4] There was a great number of birds, and it was scarcely possible to find a place for their feet among the eggs. Then they steered into a long bay which they called Straumfiord, where they landed from their ships and began to prepare habitations.[5]

[1] In the first account it is called a Kiafal.

[2] The Sloop Mary delayed under similar circumstances. *Ante*, p. 99, note.

[3] The agreement with the first account is substantial.

[4] This island may have been the modern Nantucket. See *ante*, p. 108, n.

[5] The identification of particular localities may be interesting, but it is not essential, so long as we are able to show the general agreement of a description with some unmistakable region. Torfæus found, in the various accounts, a region which he expressed by a drawing, showing a large promontory extending northward similar to Cape Cod, the general features of which, in connection with the coast south and south-west are well delineated in all the Saga descriptions of "Vinland." The temperature and productions of the country likewise agree, and though the sailing distance in reaching the Keel Cape (*Kiarlarness*) may be too short, we can easily understand how

They brought with them all kinds of cattle, and they found sufficient pasturage. There were mountains and the prospect was pleasant; but they cared for nothing except to explore the land; there was a great abundance of grass. Here they wintered, and the winter was severe, and they did not have stores laid up; they began to be in want of food and failed to catch fish. So they sailed over to the island,[1] hoping that they might find means of subsistence either on what they could catch or what was cast ashore. But they found but little better fare, though the cattle were better off. [A. D. 1008.] Afterward they prayed to God to send them food, which prayer was not answered as soon as desired. Then Thorhall disappeared and a search was made which lasted three days. On the morning of the fourth day Karlsefne and Biarne found him lying on the top of a rock; there he lay stretched out, with open eyes, blowing through his mouth, and muttering to himself. They asked him why he had gone there. He replied that it did not concern them, and not to wonder, as he was old enough to take care of himself without their troubling themselves with his affairs. They asked him to go home with them; this he did. After that a whale was cast up and they went down to cut it up; nevertheless they did not know what kind it was. Neither did Karlsefne, though acquainted with whales, know this one. Then the cooks dressed the whale and they all ate of it, and it made them all sick. Then Thorhall said, "It is clear now that the

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that came about, and can add to the time what may be needed; but we cannot modify the general description of the country with its great cape, the passage around which is so many times described. These general features are distinct and indestructible, and show conclusively that the Northmen in their various expeditions were accustomed to sail around Cape Cod, finding a rendezvous at the south or south-west not far from the heel of the cape.

[1] This incident is not mentioned in the first narrative. We repeat that the island may have been Martha's Vineyard.

Red-beard is more prompt to give aid than your Christ. This food is a reward for a hymn which I made to my god, Thor, who has seldom deserted me." When they heard this none would eat any more, and threw what was left from the rock, committing themselves to God. After this the opportunity was given of going after fish, and there was no lack of food. They sailed into Straumfiord [1] and had abundance of food and hunting on the mainland, with many eggs and fish from the sea.

Now they began to consider where they should settle next. Thorhall the Hunter wished to go northward around Wonder-strand and Kiarlarness to explore Vinland, but Karlsefne wished to go south-west, thinking likely that there would be larger tracts of country the further they went south. Thorhall made ready at the island [2] and only nine men went with him; all the rest of the ship folk went with Karlsefne. One day Thorhall was carrying water to his ship; he drank it and sang this verse:

"People promised me when hither I
Came, then the best drink
I should have; but the country
I must denounce to all;
Here you are forced by hand
To bear the pail to the water,
I must bend me down to the spring;
Wine did not come to my lips."

Afterward they left the land and Karlsefne went with them to the island. Before they hoisted sail, Thorhall sang these verses:

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[1] Observe that it is not said that they left the "island," but that they went to Straumfiord and hunted on the mainland, which is another of the many coincidences agreeing with the first narrative which mentions their *leaving* the island. Such unexpected agreements should not be lost with students really bent upon knowing the nature of these compositions.

[2] These narratives were originally *recited*, doubtless in the hearing of some of those who had taken part in the expedition, — and what island was intended must have been clear

"Let us return
Home to our countrymen,
Let the vessel try
The broad path of the sea;
While the persevering
Men who praise the land
Are building [1] and boil the whales
Here on Wonder-strand."

Thereupon they sailed northward around Wonder-strand and Kiarlarness. But when they wished to cruise westward, a storm came against them, and drove them to Ireland, where they were beaten and made slaves. There Thorhall passed his life.[2]

Karlsefne, with Snorre and Biarne and the rest of his comrades sailed south. They sailed long until they came to a river, which flowed from the land through a lake, and passed into the sea. Before the mouth of the river were great islands, and they were not able to enter the river except at the highest tide.[3] Karlsefne sailed into the mouth of the river, and called the land Hop. There they found fields, where the land was low, with wild corn, and where the land was high, were vines. Every river was full of fish. They made pits in the sand, where the tide rose highest, and at low tide, sacred fish were found in these pits, and in the woods was a great number of all kinds of beasts. Here they stayed half a month, enjoying themselves, but observing nothing new. Early one morn-

to them. These little omissions prove much to a critical mind. *Ante*, p. 112, *note*.

[1] Notice the word *building*. Karlsefne evidently erected some kind of structures as well as Leif, and their enterprise seems to excite the ridicule of Thorhall. This version of his song varies from the previous (p. 129), which does not mention the building.

[2] The first narrative says substantially the same thing, namely, that Thorhall died in Ireland. *Ante*, p. 129.

[3] The first narrative speaks of the shoals. Since that time changes have taken place in the physical aspects of the region. On the lake. See *ante*, p. 130, *n.* 1.

ing on looking around, they saw nine skin boats, in which were poles that, vibrating toward the sun, gave out a sound like reeds shaken by the wind. Then Karlsefne said: "What, think you, does this mean?" Snorre said: "It is possible that it is a sign of peace; let us raise up a white shield and hold it toward them:" this they did. Then they rowed toward them, wondering at them, and came to land. These men were small of stature and fierce, having a bushy head of hair, and very great eyes and wide cheeks. They remained some time wondering at them, and afterward rowed southward around the cape.[1] They built dwellings beyond the lake, others made houses near the mainland, and others near the lake. Here they spent the winter. No snow fell,[2] and all their cattle fed under the open sky. They decided to explore all the mountains[3] that were in Hop; which done, they [A. D. 1009] went and passed the third winter in Straum bay. At this time they had much contention among themselves, and the unmarried women vexed the married. The first autumn, Snorre, Karlsefne's son, was born, and he [was three years old] when they went away. They had a south wind, and came to Markland, and found five Skrællings, of whom one was a man, and two women, and two were boys. Karlsefne took the boys, and the others escaped and sank down into the earth. They carried the boys away with them, and taught them the language and they were baptized. The name of their mother was Vatheldi, and their father, Uvæge. They said

[1] This narrative wholly omits the battle with the Skrællings. Each writer, as in the Gospel narratives, seems to dwell upon the points in which he or others felt a particular interest.

[2] This might have been the case on some remarkable season like one well-known season in Iceland.

[3] This range extends to the Blue Hills of Massachusetts, which indicates considerable activity in exploration (*ante*, p. 137). This Saga says distinctly that they expected to explore the land. During the three years spent here Karlsefne must have done much.

that two kings ruled over the Skrællinger's land; one was named Avalldania, and the other, Valldidia;[1] that they had no houses, but lived in dens and caves. In another part of the country, there was a region where the people wore white clothes, and shouted loud, and carried poles with flags. This they thought to be White-man's land.

After this they came into Greenland, and passed the winter with Leif, son of Eric Red. Biarne Grimolfson was carried out into the Greenland[2] sea, and came into a worm sea, which they did not observe, until their ship was full of worm holes. They considered what should be done. They had a stern boat, smeared with oil. They say that wood covered with oil the worms will not bore. The result of the council was, that as many should go into the boat as it would hold. It then appeared that the boat would not hold more than one-half of the men. Then Biarne ordered that the men should go into the boat by lot, and not according to rank. As it would not hold all, they accepted the saying, and when the lots were drawn, the men went out of the ship into the boat. The lot was, that Biarne should go down from the ship to the boat with one-half of the men. Then those to whom the lot fell went down from the ship to the boat. When they had come into the boat, a young Icelander, who was the companion of Biarne, said: "Now thus do you intend to leave me, Biarne?" Biarne replied, "That now seems necessary." He replied with these words: "Thou art not true to the promise made when I left my father's house in Iceland." Biarne replied: "In this thing I do not see any other way;" continuing, "What course can you suggest?" He said, "I see this, that we change places and thou come up here and I go down there." Biarne replied: "Let it be so, since I see that you are so anxious to live, and are frightened by the prospect of death." Then they changed places, and he descended into the boat with the

[1] See *ante*, p. 138, *n.* 2.

[2] Also called the Irish Sea, and the sea before Vinland.

men, and Biarne went up into the ship. It is related that Biarne, and the sailors with him in the ship, perished in the worm sea. Those who went in the boat, went on their course until they came to land, where they told all these things.[1]

After the next summer, Karlsefne went to Iceland with his son Snorre, and he went to his own home at Reikianess. The daughter of Snorre, son of Karlsefne, was Hallfrida, mother to Bishop Thorlak Runolfson. They had a son named Thorbiorn, whose daughter was named Thoruna, mother of Bishop Biarne. Thorgeir was the name of the other son of Snorre, Karlsefne's son, father to Ingveld, and mother of the first bishop of Brand. And this is the end of the history.

THIRD NARRATIVE.

That same summer came a ship from Norway to Greenland. The man was called Thorfinn Karlsefne who steered the ship. He was a son of Thord Horsehead, a son of Snorre Thordarson, from Hofda. [Head] Thorfinn Karlsefne was a man of great wealth, and was in Brattahlid with Leif Ericson. Soon he fell in love with Gudrid, and courted her, and she referred to Leif to answer for her. Afterward she was betrothed to him, and their wedding was held the same winter. At this time, as before, much was spoken about a Vinland voyage; and both Gudrid and others persuaded Karlsefne much to that expedition. Now this expedition was resolved upon, and they got ready a crew of sixty men, and five women;[2] and then they made the agreement, Karlsefne and his people, that each of them should have equal share in what they made of gain.

[1] The first narrative (*ante*, p. 139) says that they reached Dublin. We have suggested that this statement was confused with the case of Thorhall, who was carried there. The statement of this narrative hardly allows us to suppose that the survivors reached Greenland, as clearly their fate was not known.

[2] This account leaves out Biarne and Thorhall, who evidently had two ships. *Ante*, p. 139, *n.*

They had with them all kinds of cattle,[1] having the intention to settle in the land, if they could. Karlsefne asked Leif for his houses in Vinland, but he said he would lend them, but not give them. Then they put to sea with the ship, and came to Leif's houses[2] safe, and carried up their goods. They soon had in hand a great and good prize, for a whale had been driven on shore, both large and excellent.[3] They went to it and cut it up, and had no want of food. Their cattle went up into the land; but soon they were unruly, and gave trouble to them. They had one bull with them. Karlsefne let wood be felled and hewed

[1] These could be easily carried, especially as their cattle were small. The early Portuguese expeditions carried their live stock with them. See "Prince Henry the Navigator."

[2] The different events are here stated with some rapidity and we seem to reach Leif's booths or huts sooner than necessary. According to the two previous accounts, they did not reach the locality of Leif's booths until the summer after they found the whale. These booths, it would appear, were at Mt. Hope Bay. This is either the result of confusion in the mind of the writer, or else it is founded on the fact that Leif erected habitations at *both* places. In the first two accounts of Thorfinn Karlsefne's expedition, Leif's booths are not alluded to. There may be no real contradiction after all.

[3] The other accounts say that the whale made them sick; but that was not because the flesh of the whale was spoiled. Beamish, in his translation of the song of Thorhall, indeed makes that disagreeable pagan tell his comrades, that, if they wish, they

> "*Fetid* whales may boil
> Here on Furdustrand
> Far from Fatherland;"

but there is nothing in the text to throw suspicion upon the whale. The trouble was, perhaps, that a sudden overfeeding caused nausea, and the whale was thrown away afterward in religious disgust. Yet the event is out of its chronological order, and properly belongs in the account of the next year, and gives only the *favorable* aspect of the case.

for shipping, and had it laid on a rock to dry. They had all the good of the products of the land, which were these: both grapes and wood, and other products. After that first winter, and when summer came [A. D. 1008], they were aware of Skrællings being there; and a great troop of men came out of the woods. The cattle were near to them, and the bull began to bellow and roar very loud. With that the Skrællings were frightened, and made off with their bundles, — and these were of furs and sables and all sorts of skins; and they turned and wanted to go into the houses, but Karlsefne defended the doors. Neither party understood the language of the other. Then the Skrællings took their bundles and opened them, and wanted to have weapons in exchange for them, but Karlsefne forbade his men to sell weapons. Next he adopted this plan with them, that he told the women to bear out milk and dairy products to them. When they saw these things, they would buy them and nothing else.[1] Now the trade for the Skrællings was such, that they carried away their winnings in their stomachs; and Karlsefne and his comrades got both their bags and skin goods,

[1] The second narrative makes no mention of the barter, while the first speaks of the anxiety of the natives to secure red cloth (*ante*, p. 132). But this reference is perfectly consistent with the first, the red cloth being exhausted, as appears from the statement. Then, naturally, though it is not mentioned in the first account, the Northmen resorted to their dairy products, which the natives, having no cattle, and not knowing of such things, received with avidity. One writer was thus more interested in the dairy, while the other was struck by what had been told him respecting barter in red cloth. Thus, wherever we turn in the Sagas, we find the statements agreeing with one another at unexpected points, and supplementing one another, showing that there was a full and true story of which each, with some slight differences, gave a version. We repeat again, that this is the line on which the Sagas should be studied. This internal evidence has been too much neglected.

and so they went away. Next it is to be told that Karlsefne let a good strong fence be made around the habitation, and strengthened it for defense.[1] At this time Gudrid,[2] Karlsefne's wife, lay in of male child, and the child was called Snorre. In the beginning of the next winter came the Skrællings again to them, and in much greater numbers than before, and with the same kind of wares. Then said Karlsefne to the women, "Now ye shall carry out the same kind of food as was best liked the last time, and nothing else. Then they saw that they threw their bundles in over the fence, while Gudrid sat in the door within, by the cradle of Snorre, her son. There came a shadow to the door, and a woman went in with a black kirtle on, rather short, with a snood around her head; clear, yellow hair; pale, with large eyes, so large that none ever saw such eyes in a human head. She went to where Gudrid was sitting, and said: "What art thou called?" "I am called Gudrid; and what art thou called?" "I am called Gudrid," said she. Then the goodwife, Gudrid, put out her hand to her, that she might sit down beside her. At the same time Gudrid heard a great noise, and the woman had vanished.[3] At the same time one of the Skrællings was killed by one of Karlsefne's housemen, because he was about to take one of their weapons: and they made off as soon as possible, leaving behind them goods and clothes. No one had seen this woman but Gudrid.

[1] Possibly all evidences of this defense may have disappeared, yet is it not improbable that such remains may yet be discovered on Mount Hope Bay or in regions on the Massachusetts and Maine coasts. Possibly camps of the Northmen were utilized by the Indians. See Prof. Horsford on "The Fort of Norombega."

[2] This event belongs to the previous year. These facts are not given in the other accounts, the writer appearing to have different information.

[3] This is another somewhat marvelous occurrence, similar to those with which Cotton Mather and others were accustomed to embellish New England history. It does not explain itself.

"Now," says Karlsefne, "we must be cautious, and take counsel; for I think they will come the third time with hostility and many people. We shall now take the plan, that ten men go out to the ness and show themselves there, and the rest of our men shall go into the woods and make a clearance for our cattle against the time the enemy comes out of the forest; and we shall take the bull before us, and let him go in front." So it happened, that at the place where they were to meet, there was a lake on the one side, and the forest on the other. The plan which Karlsefne had laid down was adopted. The Skrællings came to the place where Karlsefne proposed to fight; and there was a battle there, and many of the Skrællings fell. There was one stout, handsome man among the Skrælling people, and Karlsefne thought that he must be their chief. One of the Skrællings had taken up an axe and looked at it a while, and wielded it against one of his comrades and cut him down, so that he fell dead instantly. Then the stout man took the axe,[1] looked at it a while, and threw it into the sea as far as he could. They then fled to the woods as fast as possible, and so ended the fight. Karlsefne stayed there with his men the whole winter; but toward spring he made known that he would not stay there any longer, and would return to Greenland.[2] Now they prepared for their voyage and took much goods from thence

[1] For the previous versions of this affair of the axe, see p. 134. This last account appears a little plainer, but is in agreement with the first narrative, and also shows that Karlsefne had a plan of campaign.

[2] It is true that he decided to leave the country, but he did not carry out his intention until the following year, 1010. This narrative skips over all the events of the third year. It is nevertheless given, in order that the reader may have the fullest possible knowledge of any shortcomings that may exist in the manuscripts. This is done with the more confidence, for the reason that there is no doubt but that all the narratives contain a broad substratum of solid historical facts which there should be no difficulty in interpreting.

—vines, grapes and skin wares. They put to sea, and their ship came to Ericsfiord, and they there passed the winter.

The following summer[1] [A. D. 1011], Karlsefne went to Iceland and Gudrid with him, and he went home to Reikianess. His mother felt that he had made a poor match, and for this reason Gudrid was not at home the first winter. But when she saw that Gudrid was a noble woman, she went home, and they got on well together. Halfrid was the daughter of Snorre Karlsefneson, mother to Bishop Thorlak Runolfson. Their son was named Thorbiorn, and his daughter, Thoruna, mother to Bishop Biorne. Thorgeir was the son of Snorre Karlsefneson, father to Ingveld, mother of the first Bishop Brand. Snorre Karlsefneson had a daughter, Steinun, who married Einar, son of Grundarketil, son of Thorvald Krok, the son of Thorer, of Espihol; their son was Thorstein Ranglatr. He was father to Gudrun, who married Jorund of Keldum. Halla was their daughter, and she was mother to Flose, father of Valgerda, who was mother of Herr Erland Sterka, father of Herr Hauk, the Lagman.[2] Another daughter of Flose was Thordis, mother of Fru Ingigerd the Rich; her daughter was Fru Hallbera, Abbess of Stad, in Reikianess. Many other distinguished men in Iceland are the descendants of Karlsefne and Thurid,[3] who are not here mentioned. God be with us. Amen.[4]

[1] From the statement at the end of the voyage of Freydis (see p. 158), we learn that the summer in which he returned from Iceland, Karlsefne went to Norway, and from thence the following spring to Iceland. This does not conflict with the statement in the above narrative, though at first it may appear to. It does not say that he went the following summer from Greenland to Iceland, but that on that summer, he went to Iceland, which is perfectly true, though poorly stated, and his previous voyage to Norway being ignored.

[2] *Ante*, p. 121.

[3] Rafn says that "Thurid" was another name for Gudrid. *Ante*, p. 128, *n.* 2.

[4] In view of the facts of the case, the notion that any one

VIII. THE VOYAGE OF FREYDIS, HELGE, AND FINBOGE.

This narrative is found in *Antiquitates Americanæ*, p. 65. It shows that history, among the Icelanders, was not made subservient to family interests, and the truth was told without respect to persons. At the conclusion we have a (supplementary) notice of Thorfinn and Gudrid, after their return to Iceland.

Now the conversation again began to turn upon a Vinland voyage, as the expedition was both gainful and honorable. The same summer [A. D. 1010] that Karlsefne returned from Vinland, a ship arrived in Greenland from Norway. Two brothers commanded the ship, Helge and Finboge: and they remained that winter in Greenland. The brothers were of Icelandic descent, from Earlfiord. It is now to be told that Freydis, Eric's daughter, came home from Gardar,[1] and went to the abode of Finboge

of these Icelandic characters is to be viewed as "mythical," or in the category with that of "Agamemnon," appears simply preposterous. The history of the times proves that they are, in the truest sense, historical characters. No genealogies, apart from the Hebrew records, are better known than those of prominent Icelandic families. There can be no reasonable doubt cast upon the record which attests the family line of Gudrid, the foundation of which was begun in New England, furnishing an important part of the Episcopal succession in Iceland. The attempt to question the record suggests, in a feeble way, the method used to prove that no such person as Napoleon Bonaparte ever existed. They are the work of people who were in close touch with England and the Continent. In religion, they were under the supervision of the Roman Pontiffs, who were familiar with their history and general condition. Sagas and the Papal letters were synchronous.

[1] Gardar, it should be remembered, was the Episcopal seat

and Helge, and proposed to them that they should go to Vinland with their vessel, and have half with her of all the goods they could get there. They agreed to this. Then she went to the abode of her brother Leif, and asked him to give her the houses he had built in Vinland. He answered as before, that he would lend, but not give, the houses.[1] It was agreed upon between the brothers and Freydis, that each should have thirty fighting men, besides women. But Freydis broke this and had five men more, and concealed them. The brothers knew nothing of it until they arrived in Vinland.[2] They went to sea, and had agreed beforehand to sail in company, if they could do so. The difference was little, although the brothers came a little earlier, and had carried up their baggage to Leif's houses. When Freydis came to the land, her people cleared the ship, and carried her baggage also up to the house. Then said Freydis: "Why are you carrying your things in here?" "Because we thought," said they, "that the whole of the agreement with us should be held." She said, "Leif lent the houses to me, not to you." Then said Helge, "In evil, we brothers cannot strive with thee:" and bore out their luggage and made a shed, and built it farther from the sea, on the borders of a lake,[3] and set all about it in order. Freydis had trees cut down for her ship's cargo. Now winter set in, and

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of Greenland. Freydis and her husband went to Vinland with Karlsefne. It was she who intimidated the Skrælings.

[1] It would seem from this that the buildings were of a durable character.

[2] It appears that the route to Vinland had become so well known, that the Saga writers no longer thought it necessary to describe it.

[3] Mount Hope Bay often appears like a lake. Brereton, in his account of Gosnold's voyage, calls these same bays, lakes. He writes: "From this [Elizabeth] island, we went right over to the mayne, where we stood a wile as ravished at the beautie and dilicacy of the sweetnesse, besides divers cleare lakes, whereof we saw no end."

the brothers proposed to have some games for amusement to pass the time. So it was done for a time, till discord came among them, and the games were given up, and none went from one house to the other; and things went on so during a great part of the winter. It happened one morning that Freydis got out of her berth, and put on her clothes, but not her shoes; and the weather was such that much dew had fallen. She took the cloak of her husband over her, and went out, and went to the house of the brothers, and to the door. A man had gone out a little before and left the door behind him half shut. She opened the door, and stood in the doorway a little, and was silent. Finboge lay the farthest inside the hut, and was awake. He said: "What wilt thou have here, Freydis?" She said, "I want thee to get up and go out with me, for I would speak with thee." He did so; they went to a tree that was lying under the eaves of the hut and sat down. "How dost thou like this place?" said she. He said, "The country, methinks, is good, but I do not like this quarrel that has arisen among us, for I think there is no cause for it." "Thou art right," says she, "and I think so, too, and it is my errand to thy dwelling that I want to buy the ship of you brothers as your ship is larger than mine and I would break up from hence." "I will let it be so," said he, "if that will please thee." Now they parted so and she went home, and Finboge to his bed. She went up into her berth and with her cold feet awakened Thorvard, who asked why she was so cold and wet. She answered with great warmth, "I went to these brothers," said she, "to treat about their ship, for I want a larger ship,[1] and they took it so ill that they struck and abused me. And thou, useless man! will neither avenge my affront nor thy own. Now must I feel that I am away from Greenland, but I will separate[2] from thee if thou dost not avenge this."

[1] Freydis was evidently the principal in most things.

[2] By Icelandic pagan law a woman could separate from her husband for a slight cause.

Then he could not bear her reproaches and told his men to rise as fast as possible and take their weapons. They did so and went to the huts of the brothers and went in as they lay asleep and seized them all, bound them, and led them out bound, one after the other, and Freydis had each of them put to death as he came out. Now all the men were killed, but the women were left and nobody would kill them. Then said Freydis, "Give me an axe in my hand." This was done, and she turned on those five women and did not give over until they were all dead. Now they returned to their own hut after this evil deed, and the people could only observe that Freydis thought she had done exceedingly well, and she said to her comrades, "If it be our lot to return to Greenland I shall take the life of the man who speaks of this affair, and we shall say that we left them here as we went away." Now they got ready the ship early in the spring [A. D. 1011], which had belonged to the brothers, with all the goods they could get on that the ship would carry, sailed out to sea, and had a good voyage, and the ship came early in the summer to Ericsfiord. Karlsefne was there still[1] and had his ship ready for sea, but waited a wind; and it was a common saying that never a richer ship sailed from Greenland than that which he steered.

Freydis went home now to her house which had stood without damage in the meanwhile. She bestowed many gifts on her followers that they might conceal her wickedness, and she remained now on her farm. All were not so silent about their misdeeds and wickedness that something did not come up about it. This came at last to the ears of Leif, her brother, and he thought this report was very bad. Leif took three men of Freydis's followers and tortured them to speak, and they acknowledged the whole affair and their tales agreed together. "I do not care,"

[1] According to this statement, the expedition returned very early, since Karlsefne went to Norway the same season, as previously told.

says Leif, "to treat my sister as she deserves; but this I will foretell them that their posterity will never thrive." So it went that nobody thought any thing of them save evil, from that time.[1] Now we have to say that Karlsefne got ready his ship and sailed out to sea.[2] He came on well, reached Norway safely, and remained there all winter and sold his wares. He and his wife were held in esteem by the best people in Norway. In the following spring, he fitted out his ship for Iceland, and when he was quite ready, and his ship lay outside the pier waiting a wind, there came to him a south-country man, from Bremen, in Saxon land, who would deal with him for his house-bar.[3] "I will not sell it," said he. "I will give thee half a mark of gold for it," said the south-country man. Karlsefne thought it was a good offer, and sold it accordingly. The south-country man went away with his house-bar, and Karlsefne did not know what wood it was. It was massur-wood[4] from Vinland. Now Karlsefne put to sea [A. D. 1012], and his ship came to land north of Skagafiord,[5] and there he put up his vessel for winter. In spring he purchased Glambæirland,[6] where he took up his abode,

[1] If this transaction had occurred during the previous century, when paganism universally prevailed, the atrocious act of the cold-blooded Freydis would have been the prelude to almost endless strife. The teachings of the Church were slowly telling upon the people.

[2] This account is supplementary to the foregoing and is taken from the same work. Karlsefne, of course, sailed from Greenland.

[3] *Husasnotru* has been translated "house-besom." The exact meaning is not known. A besom-shaft would be too small, however rare the wood, to be made into any thing of great value. The bar for securing the house door was as common as necessary in every house, and this, perhaps, is what is referred to.

[4] See note, p. 106.

[5] In the north of Iceland.

[6] Not far from Skagafiord, in Iceland.

and dwelt there as long as he lived, and was a man of great consideration. Many men are descended from him and his wife Gudrid, and it was a good family. When Karlsefne died, Gudrid took the management of his estates, and of Snorre, her son, who was born in Vinland. When Snorre was married, Gudrid went out of the country, and went to the south,[1] and came back again to Snorre's estate, and he had built a church at Glambæ. Afterward Gudrid became a nun, and lived a hermit's life, and did so as long as she lived.[2] Snorre had a son called Thorgeir, who was

[1] It is understood that she went to Rome. It may be asked why she did not spread the news of her son's voyage in those parts of Europe whither she went, and make known the discovery of the New World. To this it may again be replied, that the Icelanders had no idea that they had found a New World, and did not appreciate the value of their geographical knowledge. Besides, there is nothing to prove that Gudrid, and others who went to Europe at this period, did not make known the Icelandic discoveries. There is every reason for believing that she did, and besides, moreover, that being a devout Catholic she called attention to the condition of the people in Greenland, where she found a priest on going to that country, the priest introduced by the Christian Leif, and who clearly did not lack a successor down to the time of the introduction of the Episcopate in Greenland. Gudrid no doubt created what may be called a sensation by her accounts of the world at the West, and probably received authorization from the Pope to undertake the religious life and work in Iceland.

[2] It will be remembered that all this was foretold by her former husband, Thorstein Ericson, when life was revived in the house of Thorstein Black, in Greenland; from which we must infer that the voyage of Thorstein Ericson was composed after, or during, the second widowhood of Gudrid, and that circumstance, connected with Thorstein's prophecy, were in accordance with the spirit of the age, imagined in order to meet the circumstances of the case (see p. 118). That is to say: Thorstein knew all about his wife's deep religious feeling and of her favorable opinion of conventual life, and, in his

father to Bishop Brand's mother, Ingveld. The daughter of Snorre Karlsefneson was called Halfrid. She was mother of Runolf, the father of Bishop Thorlak. Karlsefne and Gudrid[1] also had a son called Biorn. He was father of Thoruna, the mother of Bishop Biorn. Many people are descended from Karlsefne, and his kin have been lucky; and Karlsefne has given the most particular accounts of all these travels, of which something is here related.

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last hours, spoke of the probabilities of the case, as many have done before, while some circumstances connected with his prophecy were magnified. The entire matter bears the stamp of the age, and is undoubtedly true, showing the power of Christianity among a remote people in a distant age.

[1] The relations existing between Leif Ericson and Gudrid were fortuitous. It is said (p. 123) that Leif had the bestowal of of her hand, and again (p. 148), that Gudrid referred Karlsefne to Leif, yet Gudrid and Leif were not connected by family ties. What is the explanation? How did Leif acquire this influence? The answer is found in the fact that he saved Gudrid's life in the shipwreck and earned her gratitude. These undesigned statements prove conclusively the solid historical character of the narrative and show that the Sagas can stand the strictest internal criticism. *Ante*, p. 148. Karlsefne is called son of Thord "Horsehead. The Icelandic is *Hesthofde*. The father was called Thord, of Horsehead, a place so called from its resemblance to the head of a horse.

MINOR NARRATIVES.

I. ARE MARSON IN HVITRAMANNA-LAND.

This narrative is from the *Landnama-bok*, No. 107. Folio; collated with Hauksbok, Melabok, and other manuscripts, in the *Arnæ-Magnæan* Collection.

It has frequently been observed that the *Landnama-bok* is of the highest historical authority. It proves the fact, that Rafn, the Limerick merchant, conveyed the narrative relating to Marson, to Iceland from Ireland, where the circumstances of his voyage were well known. The *Landnama-bok*, while it gives a tacit approval of the statements of the narrative, does not enter upon the question of the locality of the place to which Are Marson went. Therefore, while we accept the narrative as genuine, we may exercise caution in determining the locality of Hvitramanna-land. Nothing is to be gained by making any forced deductions from the narrative; especially as the pre-Columbian discovery of America is abundantly proven.

It is perfectly clear that there was a country somewhere on the Atlantic coast of North America, known as Whiteman's Land, or Ireland the Great. It is equally clear, from Icelandic testimony, from the Bull of Pope Gregory IV. 835, from the Letter of Pope Nicholas V., 1448, and Christophessen (*ante*, p.), that Europeans were in Greenland prior to Eric the Red, 985. Nor can there be a reasonable doubt that the Irish were in America prior to Eric. There is probably a truth behind the story of St. Brenden, told in so many ancient manuscripts. One day additional light will be thrown upon the story of Are Marson, and a better understanding must, erelong, be reached respecting the early social and commercial relations that existed between Ireland and Iceland.

Ulf the Squinter, son of Hogni the White, took the whole of Reikianess between Thorkrafiord and Hafrafell;[1] he married Biorg, daughter of Eyvind the Eastman,[2] sister to Helge the Lean. They had a son named Atli the Red, who married Thorbiorg, sister of Steinolf the Humble. Their son was named Mar of Holum, who married Thorkatla, daughter of Hergil Neprass. She had a son named Are, who [A. D. 928], was driven by a storm to White-man's land,[3] which some call Ireland the Great,

[1] In Iceland the care bestowed upon genealogies is well illustrated by the pains here taken to give the line of Marson. It must be remembered again that *Landnama-bok* corresponds with the English Doomsday Book, being devoted to a matter-of-fact account of the people and their lands in Iceland.

[2] That is, the Dane.

[3] *Hvitramanna-land.* It will be remembered that in the Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefne (p. 138), this land was referred to by the Skrælling boys whom he took prisoners and brought up. They described it as a land inhabited by a people who wore white clothes, carried poles before them, and shouted. Yet the Saga writer there says no more than that the people *think* that this was the place known as Ireland the Great. What the Skrællings say does not identify it with the land of Are Marson; yet, in order to allow Professor Rafn, who held that this country was Florida, the full benefit of his theory, we give the following extract from Wafer's *voyage*, which shows that, in the year 1681, when he visited the Isthmus of Darien, there were people among the natives who answered tolerably well to the description given in Karlsefne's narrative. Wafer says: "They are white, and there are them of both sexes; yet there were few of them in comparison of the copper colored, possibly but one to two or three hundred. They differ from the other Indians, chiefly in respect of color, though not in that only. Their skins are not of such a white, as those of fair people among Europeans, with some tincture of a blush or sanguine complexion; neither is their complexion like that of our paler people, but 'tis rather a milk-white, lighter than the color of any Europeans, and much like that

which lies in the Western ocean opposite Vinland, six[1] days' sail west of Ireland. Are was not allowed to go

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of a white horse. . . . Their bodies are beset all over, more or less, with a fine, short, milk-white down. . . .The men would probably have white bristles for beards, did they not prevent them by their custom of plucking the young beard up by the roots. . . .Their eyebrows are milk-white also, and so is the hair of their heads," p. 107. He also adds, that "The men have a value for Cloaths, and if any of them had an old shirt given him by any of us, he would be sure to wear it, and strut about at no ordinary rate. Besides this, they have a sort of long cotton garments of their own, some white, and others of a rusty black, shaped like our carter's frocks, hanging down to their heels, with a fringe of the same of cotton, about a span long, and short, wide, open sleeves, reaching but to the middle of their arms. . . .They are worn on some great occasions. . . . When they are assembled, they will sometimes walk about the place or plantation where they are, with these their robes on. And once I saw Tacenta thus walking with two or three hundred of these attending him, as if he was mustering them. And I took notice that those in the black gowns walked before him, and the white after him, each having their lances of the same color with their robes." These resemblances are at least curious, but historians will ask for more solid proof of the identity of the two people.

[1] Professor Rafn, in what seems to the author, his needless anxiety to fix the exact locality of the White-man's land, says that, as this part of the manuscript is difficult to decipher, the original letters *may* have gotten changed, and vi inserted instead of xx or xi, which numerals would afford time for the voyager to reach the coast of America, in the vicinity of Florida. Smith, in his *Dialogues*, has *suppressed* the term *six* altogether, and substituted "by a number of days' sail unknown." This at least is trifling with the subject. In *Gronland's Historiske Mindesmoerker*, chiefly the work of Finn Magnussen, no question is raised on this point. The various versions all give the number six, which limits the voyage to the vicinity of the Azores. Schöning, to whom we are

away, and was baptized [1] there. This was first told by Rafn, the Limerick trader, who lived for a long time in Ireland. So also Thorkel, son of Geller, tells that certain

so largely indebted for the best edition of Heimskringla, lays the scene of Marson's adventure at those islands, and suggests that they may at that time have covered a larger extent of territory than the present, and that they may have suffered from earthquakes and floods, adding "It is likely, and all circumstances show, that the said land has been a piece of North America." This is a bold, yet not very reasonable hypothesis, though the volcanic character of the islands is well known. In 1808, a volcanic mountain rose to the height of 3,500 feet. Yet Schöning's suggestion is not needed. The fact that the islands were not inhabited when discovered by the Portuguese does not, however, settle any thing against Schöning, because, in the course of five hundred years, the people might either have migrated, or been swept away by pestilence. *Gronland's Historiske Mindesmoerker* (vol. I, p. 150) says simply, that "It is *thought* that he (Are Marson) ended his days in America, or at all events in one of the larger islands of the west. Some think that it was one of the Azore islands." Upon the whole, we ourselves believe to the contrary. The proper method seems to be that of Rafn, who would correct the text.

[1] The fact that Are Marson is said to have been baptized in Ireland the Great does not prove that the place, wherever located, was inhabited by a colony of Irish Christians. Yet this view was urged by Professor Rafn and others, who held that Great Ireland was situated in Florida. A Shawanese *tradition* is given to prove that Florida was early settled by white men from over the sea. We read that in 1818, "the Shawanese were established in Ohio, whither they came from Florida. Black Hoof, then eighty-five years old, was born there, and remembered bathing in the sea. He told the Indian Agent, that the people of his tribe had a tradition, that their ancestors came over the sea, and that for a long time they kept a yearly sacrifice for their safe arrival."—*Archæologia Americana*, vol. I, p. 273. Yet these Indians, the sup-

Icelanders said, who heard Thorfinn, Earl of the Orkneys, say, that Are had been seen and known in White-man's land, and that, though not allowed to leave, he was held in much honor. Are had a wife named Thorgeir, daughter of Alf of Dolum. Their sons were Thorgils, Gudleif and Illuge, which is the family of Reikianess. Jorund was the son of Ulf the Squinter. He married Thorbiorg Knarrabringa. They had a daughter, Thorhild, whom Eric the Red married. They had a son, Leif the Fortunate of Greenland. Jorund was the name of the son of Atli the Red; he married Thordis, daughter of Thorgeir Suda; their daughter was Thorkatla, who married Thorgils Kollson. Jorund was also the father of Snorre.[1]

II. BIÖRN ASBRANDSON.

This narrative is taken from Eyrbyggia Saga, which contains the early history of that part of Iceland lying around Snæfells, on the west coast. The Saga is not of a later date than the thirteenth century. It is given here, not because it applies largely to the main question under

posed descendants of eminently pious Christians from Ireland, were not inclined to Christianity, and had no Christian traditions. It is more reasonable, to allow that six, should mean eleven or twenty days' sail, notwithstanding there is difficulty in finding the white men for the land in question. It will be found by the study of the subject of *complexion* in historical narratives that the terms "white," "black," and "red" are used comparatively. See *Verrazano the Explorer*, p. 27.

[1] It will appear from this genealogical account, that Are Marson was no obscure or mythological character. In 981 he was one of the principal men of Iceland, and is highly spoken of. Yet his connection with Ireland the Great was undoubtedly real. This view will repay investigation. The other characters mentioned are equally well known. See *Antiquitates Americanæ*, pp. 211-12.

consideration, the pre-Columbian discovery of America, but rather, because it will make the reader fully acquainted with the hero, who afterward appears.

Bork the Fat, and Thordis, daughter of Sur, had a daughter named Thurid, who married Thorbiorn the Fat, living on the estate of Froda. He was a son of Orne the Lean, who held and tilled the farm of Froda. Thorbiorn had before been married to Thurid, daughter of Asbrand, of Kamb, in Breidavik, and sister of Biorne Breidaviking the Athlete, soon to be mentioned in this Saga, and of Arnbiorn the Handy. The sons of Thorbiorn and Thurid were Ketil the Champion, Gunnlaug and Hallstein

Now this must be related of Snorre the Priest,[1] that he undertook the suit for the slaying of Thorbiorn, his kinsman. He also caused his sister to remove to his own home, at Helgefell, because it was told that Biorn Asbrand, of Kamb, had come to pay her improper attention.

There was a man named Thorodd, of Medalfells Strand, an upright man and a good merchant. He owned a trading vessel in which he sailed to distant lands. Thorodd had sailed to the west,[2] to Dublin, on a trading voyage. At that time, Sigurd[3] Hlodverson, Earl of the Orkneys, had made an expedition toward the west, to the Hebrides and

[1] Priest or *Gode*. This was the heathen priest of Iceland, whose duty was to provide the temple offerings, for which purpose a contribution was made by every farm in the vicinity. This office was also united with that of chief judge and advocate, and for the cases conducted by him at the Thing he received the customary fees; yet he was obliged to depend for his support, mainly, upon the products of his farm. The office was hereditary, but could be sold, assigned, or forfeited, though men of character and ability, could, independently of such means, establish themselves in the priesthood.

[2] Ireland was regarded west in respect to Scandinavia.

[3] Killed in Ireland in a battle, 1013.

the Man, and had laid a tribute upon the habitable part of Man.[1] Having settled the peace, he left men to collect the tribute; the earl himself returned to the Orkneys. Those who were left to collect the tribute, got all ready and set sail with a south-west wind. But after they had sailed some time, to the south-east and east, a great storm arose, which drove them to the northward as far as Ireland, and their vessel was cast away on a barren, uninhabited island. Just as they reached the island, Thorodd the Icelander came sailing by from Dublin. The shipwrecked men begged for aid. Thorodd put out a boat and went to them himself. When he reached them, the agents of Sigurd promised him money if he would carry them to their home in the Orkneys. When he told them that he could by no means do so, as he had made all ready to go back to Iceland, they begged the harder, believing that neither their money nor their liberty would be safe in Ireland or the Hebrides, whither they had just before been with a hostile army. At length Thorodd came to this, that he would sell them his ship's long-boat for a large sum of the tribute money; in this they reached the Orkneys, and Thorodd sailed to Iceland without a boat. Having reached the southern shores of the island, he laid his course along the coast to the westward, and entered Breidafiord, and came to the harbor at Dogurdarness. The same autumn he went to Helgefell to spend the winter with Snorre the Priest, and from that time he was called Thorodd the Tribute Taker. This took place just after the murder of Thorbiorn the Fat. During the same winter Thurid, the sister of Snorre the Priest, who had been the wife of Thorbiorn the Fat, was at Helgefell. Thorodd made proposals of marriage to Snorre the Priest, with respect to Thurid. Being rich and known by Snorre to be of good repute and that he would be useful in supporting his administration of affairs, he consented. Therefore

[1] Probably the present "Isle of Man," which still retains "Manx" law.

their marriage was celebrated during this winter at Snorre's house, at Helgefell. In the following spring Thorodd set himself up at Froda and was thought an upright man. But when Thurid went to Froda, Biorn Asbrandson often paid her visits, and it was commonly reported that he had corrupted her chastity. Thorodd vainly tried to put an end to these visits. At that time Thorodd Wooden Clog lived at Arnahval. His sons, Ord and Val were men grown and youths of the greatest promise. The men blamed Thorodd for allowing himself to be insulted so greatly by Biorn, and offered him their aid, if desired, to end his coming. It chanced one time when Biorn came to Froda, that he sat with Thurid talking. It was Thorodd's custom when Biorn was there to sit in the house. But he was now nowhere to be seen. Then Thurid said, "Take care, Biorn, for I fear Thorodd means to put a stop to your visits here; I think he has secured the road and means to attack you and overpower you with unequal numbers." Biorn replied, "That is possible," and then sang these verses:

O Goddess[1] whom bracelet adorns,
This day (I linger
In my beloved's arms)
Stay longest in the heavens,
As we both must wish;
For I this night am drawn
To drink myself the parentals[2]
Of my oft-departing joys.

Having done this Biorn, took his weapons and went to return home. As he went up the hill Digramula five men jumped out upon him from their hiding place. These were Thorodd and two of his men, and the sons of Thoror Wooden Clog. They attacked Biorn, but he defended himself bravely and well. The sons of Thoror pressed him sharply, but he slew them both. Thorodd then

[1] Literally, *woman*, with reference to Jörd, the Earth, one of the wives of Odin, and also mother of Thor.

[2] Funeral cups.

fled with his men, though he himself had only a slight wound, and the others not any. Biorn went on until he reached home and entered the house. The lady of the house[1] ordered a maid to place food before him. When the maid came into the room with the light and saw Biorn wounded, she went and told Asbrand, his father, that Biorn had returned covered with blood. Asbrand came into the room and inquired what was the cause of his wounds. He said, "Have you and Thorodd had a fight?" Biorn replied that it was so. Asbrand asked how the affair had ended. Biorn replied with these verses:

Not so easy against a brave man
It is to fight;
(Wooden Clog's two sons
Now I have slain).
As for the ship's commander,
A woman to embrace,
Or for the cowardly,
A golden tribute to buy.[2]

Asbrand bound up his son's wounds, and his strength was soon restored. Thorodd went to Snorre the Priest, to talk with him about setting a suit on foot against Biorn, on acconut of the killing of Thoror's sons. This suit was held in the court of Thornesthing. It was settled that Asbrand, who became surety for his son, should pay the usual fines. Biorn was exiled for three years[3] and went abroad the same summer. During that summer, a son was born to Thurid who was called Kiarten. He grew up at home in Froda, and early gave great hope and promise.

When Biorn crossed the sea he came into Denmark, and went thence to Jomsberg. At that time Palnatoki was captain of the Jomsberg[4] Vikings. Biorn was ad-

[1] Biörn's mother.

[2] This is a fling at Thorodd the Tribute Taker.

[3] This shows, that while Biorn killed the men in self-defense, it was the opinion of the court that he did not get what he deserved.

[4] Jomsberg was the headquarters of an order of vikings or

mitted into the crew and won the name of the Athlete. He was at Jomsberg when Styrbiorn the Hardy assaulted it. He went into Sweden, when the Jomsberg Vikings aided Styrbiorn;[1] he was in the battle of Tynsvall, in which

pirates, where a castle was also built by King Harold Blaatand of Denmark. It was situated on one of the outlets of the Oder, on the coast of Pomerania, and was probably identical with Julian, founded by the Wends, being recognized as the island of Wallin, which Adam of Bremen, in the eleventh century, described as the largest and most flourishing commercial city in Europe. Burislaus, king of the Wends, surrendered the neighboring territory into the hands of Palnatoki, a great chief of Fionia, who was pledged to his support. Accordingly he built a stronghold here, and organized a band of pirates, commonly called vikings, though it must be observed that while every viking was a pirate, every pirate was not a viking. Only the pirates of princely blood were properly called vikings, or sea-kings, who haunted the vicks, or bays, and thus derived their name. The Jomsvikings were distinguished for their rare courage, and for the fearlessness with which they faced death. They were governed by strict laws, hedged about by exact requirements, and were also, it is said pledged to celibacy. Jomsberg was destroyed about the year 1175, by Waldemar the Great, of Denmark, aided by the Princes of Germany and the Chief, Barbarossa. Those of the pirates who survived, escaped to a place near the mouth of the Elbe, where a few years after, they were annihilated by the Danes, who in the reign of Canute VI completely destroyed their stronghold. Accounts of their achievements may be found in the Saga of King Olaf Tryggvesson (vol. I of Laing's Heimskringla). The Icelanders sometimes joined the Norway pirates, as was the case with Biorn, but they did not send out pirate ships from Icelandic ports. Palnatoki died in the year 993.

[1] Styrbiorn, son of King Olaf, ruled Sweden in connection with Eric, called the Victorious. Styrbiorn's ambition, to which was added the crime of murder, led to his disgrace. He joined the vikings, adding sixty ships to their force. He

Styrbiorn was killed, and escaped with the other Jomsvikings into the woods. While Palnatoki lived, Biorn remained with him, distinguished among all, as a man of remarkable courage.

The same summer [A. D. 996], the brothers, Biörn and Arnbiorn returned into Iceland to Rönhavnsos. Biörne was always afterwards called the Athlete of Breidavik. Arnbiörn, who had gotten much wealth abroad, bought the Bakka estate in Raunhavn, the same summer. He lived there with little show or ostentation, and, in most affairs, was silent, but was, nevertheless, a man active in all things. Biörn, his brother, after his return from abroad, lived in splendor and elegance, for during his absence, he had truly adopted the manners of courtiers. He much excelled Arnbiörn in personal appearance, and was none the less active in execution. He was far more expert than his brother in martial exercises, having improved much abroad. The same summer after his return, there was a general meeting near Headbrink,[1] within the bay of Froda. All the merchants rode thither, clothed in colored garments, and there was a great assembly. House wife Thurid of Froda was there, with whom Biorn began to talk; no one censuring, because they expected their conversation would be long, as they had not seen each other for a great while. On the same day there was a fight, and one of the Nordenfield men was mortally wounded, and was carried down under a bush on the beach. So much blood flowed out of the wound that there was a large pool of blood in the bush. The boy Kiarten, Thurid of Froda's son, was there. He had a little axe in his hand, and ran to the bush and dipped the axe in the blood. When the Sondensfield's men rode from the beach south,

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was killed, as stated, in 984, in a battle with his uncle near Upsula.

[1] Dasent says in describing the coast: "Now we near the stupendous crags, of Hofdabrekka, Headbrink, where the mountains almost stride into the main."

Thord Blib asked Biörn how the conversation between him and Thurid of Froda ended. Biörn said that he was well satisfied. Then Thord asked if he had seen the boy Kiarten, their and Thorodd's son. "I saw him," said Biorn. "What is your opinion of him?" asked Thord. Biorn answered with the following song:

"I saw a boy run
With fearful eyes,
The woman's image to
The wolf's well [1] in the wood;
People will say,
That his true father [was]
He that ploughed the sea,
This the boy does not know."

Thord said: "What will Thorodd say when he hears that the boy belongs to you?" Then Biorn sung:

"Then will the noble born woman [make]
Thorodd's suspicion
Come true, when she gives me
The same kind of sons;
Always the slender,
Snow-white woman loved me,
I still to her
Am a lover."

Thord said, it will be best for you not to have any thing to do with each other, and that you turn your thoughts. "It is certainly a good idea," said Biorn, "but it is far from my intention; though there is some difference when I have to do with such men as her brother Snorre." "You must take care of your own business," said Thord, and that ended their talk. Biorn afterward went home to Kamb, and took the affairs of the family into his own hands, for his father was now dead. The following winter he determined to make a journey over the hills, to Thurid. Although Thorodd disliked this, he nevertheless saw that it was not easy to prevent its occurrence, since before he was defeated by him, and Biorn was much stronger, and more skilled in arms than before. Therefore he bribed

[1] Referring to the dead man's blood.

Thorgrim Galdrakin to raise a snow-storm against Biorn when he crossed the hills. When a day came, Biorn made a journey to Froda. When he proposed to return home, the sky was dark and the snow-storm began. When he ascended the hills, the cold became intense, and the snow fell so thickly that he could not see his way. Soon the strength of the storm increased so much that he could hardly walk. His clothes, already wet through, froze around his body, and he wandered, he did not know where. In the course of the night he reached a cave, and in this cold house he passed the night. Then Biorn sung:

"Woman that bringest
Vestments,[1] would
Not like my
Dwelling in such a storm
If she knew that
He who had before steered ships,
Now in the rock cave
Lay stiff and cold."

Again he sang:

"The cold field of the swans,
From the east with loaded ship I ploughed,
Because the woman inspired me with love;
I know that I have great trouble suffered
And now, for a time, the hero is
Not in a woman's bed, but in a cave."

Biorn stayed three days in the cave, before the storm subsided; and on the fourth day he came home from the mountain to Kamb. He was very weary. The servant asked him where he was during the storm. Biorn sung:

"My deeds under
Styrbiörn's proud banner are known.
It came about that steel-clad Eric
Slew men in battle;
Now I on the wide heath,
Lost my way [and],
Could not in the witch-strong
Storm, find the road."[2]

[1] In Iceland the women are accustomed to bring travelers dry clothes.

[2] All of these verses are extremely obscure and elliptical,

Biorn passed the rest of the winter at home; the following spring his brother Arnbiorn fixed his abode in Bakka, in Raunhafn, but Biorn lived at Kamb, and had a grand house. . . .

This same summer Thorodd the Tribute Taker invited Snorre the Priest, his kinsman, to a feast at his house in Froda. Snorre went there with twenty men. In the course of the feast, Thorodd told Snorre how much he was hurt and disgraced by the visits of Biorn Asbrandnson, to Thurid, his wife, Snorre's sister, saying that it was right for Snorre to do away with this scandal. Snorre, after passing some days feasting with Thorodd, went home with many presents. Then Snorre the Priest rode over the hills and spread the report that he was going down to his ship in the bay of Raunhafn. This happened in summer, in the time of haymaking. When he had gone as far south as the Kambian hills, Snorre said: "Now let us ride back from the hills to Kamb; let it be known to you," he added, "what I wish to do. I have resolved to attack and destroy Biorn. But I am not willing to attack and destroy him in his house, for it is a strong one, and Biorn is stout and active, while our number is small. Even those who with greater numbers have attacked brave men in their houses, have fared badly, an example of which you know in the case of Gissur the White; who, when with eighty men, they attacked Gunnar[1] of Lithend, alone in his house, many were wounded and many were killed, and they would have been compelled to give up the attack, if Geir the Priest had not learned that Gunnar was short of arrows. Therefore," said he, "as we may expect to find Biorn out

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though far more intelligible to the modern mind than the compositions which belonged to a still older period. All the chief men of Iceland practiced the composition of verse. Chaucer makes his parson apologize for his inability to imitate the practice. It was believed that certain women had power over storms.

[1] See the Saga of "Burnt Nial," translated by Dasent.

of doors, it being the time of haymaking, I appoint you my kinsman, Mar, to give him the first wound; but I would have you know this, that there is no room for child's play, and you must expect a contest with a hungry wolf, unless your first wound shall be his death blow." As they rode from the hills toward his homestead, they saw Biorn in the fields; he was making a sledge,[1] and no one was near him. He had no weapon but a small axe, and a large knife in his hand of a span's length, which he used to round the holes in the sledge. Biorn saw Snorre riding down from the hills, and recognized him. Snorre the Priest had on a blue cloak, and rode first. The idea suddenly occurred to Biorn, that he ought to take his knife and go as fast as he could to meet them, and as soon as he reached them, lay hold of the sleeve of Snorre with one hand, and hold the knife in the other, so that he might be able to pierce Snorre to the heart, if he saw that his own safety required it. Going to meet them, Biorn gave them hail, and Snorre returned the salute. The hands of Mar fell, for he saw that if he attacked Biorn, the latter would at once kill Snorre. Then Biorn walked along with Snorre and his comrades, asked what was the news, keeping his hands as at first. Then he said: "I will not try to conceal, neighbor Snorre, that my present attitude and look seem threatening to you, which might appear wrong, but for that I have understood that your coming is hostile. Now I desire that if you have any business to transact with me, you will take another course than the one you intended, and that you will transact it openly. If none, I will that you make peace, which when done, I will return to my work, as I do not wish to be led about like a fool." Snorre replied: "Our meeting has so turned out that we shall at this time part in the same peace as before; but I desire to get a pledge from you, that from this time you will leave off visiting Thurid, because if you go on in this there can never

[1] These sledges were used in drawing hay, as the roads were then, as now, too poor for carts.

be any real friendship between us." Biorn replied: "This I will promise, and will keep it; but I do not know how I shall be able to keep it so long as Thurid and I live in the same land." "There is nothing so great binding you here, said Snorre, "as to keep you from going to some other land." "What you now say is true," replied Biorn, "and so let it be, and let our meeting end with this pledge, that neither you nor Thorodd shall have any trouble from my visits to Thurid, in the next year." With this they parted. Snorre the Priest rode down to his ship, and then went home to Helgefell. The day after Biorn rode south to Raunhafn, and engaged his passage in a ship for the same summer [A. D. 999]. When all was ready they set sail with a north-east wind which blew during the greater part of that summer. Nothing was heard of the ship for a very long time.[1]

III. GUDLEIF GUDLAUGSON.

This narrative which shows what became of Biorn Asbrandson, whose adventures are partially related in the previous sketch, is from the Eyrbyggia Saga. Notwithstanding the somewhat romantic character of these two narratives, there can be no doubt but that, in the main, they are true histories.

There was a man named Gudleif, the son of Gudlaug the Rich, of Straumfiord and brother of Thorfinn, from

[1] This is the only paragraph which applies directly to the subject in hand. The following narrative will bring Biorn to notice again. Note, however, that the north-east wind, long continued, would drive a ship toward the south-west, which, as we shall see, was the case with the ship in which Biorn sailed. This forms a curious and unexpected agreement with what ollows.

whom the Sturlingers are descended. Gudleif was a great merchant. He had a trading vessel, and Thorolf Eyrar Loptson had another, when they fought with Gyrid, son of Sigvald Earl. Gyrid lost an eye in that fight. It happened near the end of the reign of King Olaf the Saint, that Gudleif went on a trading voyage to the west of Dublin. On his return to Iceland, sailing from the west of Ireland, he met with north-east winds, and was driven far into the ocean west, and south-west, so that no land was seen, the summer being now nearly gone. Many prayers were offered that they might escape from the sea. At length they saw land. It was of great extent but they did not know what land it was. They took counsel and resolved to make for the land, thinking it unwise to contend with the violence of the sea. They found a good harbor, and soon after went ashore. A number of men came down to them. They did not recognize the people, but thought that their language resembled the Irish.[1] In a short time such a number of men had gathered around them as numbered many hundred. These attacked them and bound them all and drove them inland. Afterward they were brought before an assembly, and it was considered what should be done with them. They thought that some wished to kill them, and that others were for dividing them among the villages as slaves. While this was going on, they saw a great number of men riding[2] toward them with a banner lifted up, whence they inferred that some great man was among them. When the company drew near, they saw a man riding under the banner. He

[1] Few will infer much from this, since nothing is easier than to find resemblances between languages.

[2] The language may indicate that they were horseback, though it is not conclusive. At the period referred to, there may have been no horses in America. They were introduced by the Spaniards, after the discovery by Columbus. At least, such is the common opinion. This statement is made without reference to the proofs offered of the existence of the horse at an earlier period.

was tall and had a martial air, and was aged and gray-haired. All present treated this man with the utmost honor and deference. They soon saw that their case was referred to his decision. He commanded Gudleif and his comrades to be brought before him. Coming into his presence, he addressed them in the Northern tongue, and asked what land they came from. They replied that the chief part were Icelanders. The man asked which of them were Icelanders. Gudleif declared himself to be an Icelander, and saluted the old man, which he received kindly, and asked what part of Iceland he came from. He replied that he came from the district some called Bogafiord. He asked who lived in Bogafiord, to which Gudleif replied at some length. Afterward this man inquired particularly about all the principal men of Bogafiord and Breidafiord. He inquired with special interest into every thing relating to Snorre the Priest, and to his sister Thurid, of Froda, and for the great Kiarten, her son. In the meanwhile the natives grew impatient about the disposition of the sailors. Then the great man left him, and took twelve of the natives apart, and conferred with them. Afterward he returned. Then the old man spoke to Gudleif and his comrades and said: "We have had some debate concerning you, and the people have left the matter to my decision; I now permit you to go where you will, and although the summer is nearly gone, I advise you to leave at once. These people are of bad faith, and hard to deal with, and now they think they have been deprived of their right." Then Gudleif asked, "Who shall we say, if we reach our own country again, to have given us our liberty?" He replied: "That I will not tell you, for I am not willing that any of my friends or kindred should come here, and meet with such a fate as you would have met, but for me. Age now comes on so fast, that I may almost expect any hour to be my last. Though I may live some time longer, there are other men of greater influence than myself, now at some distance from this place, and these would not grant safety or peace

to any strange men." Then he looked to the fitting out of their ship, and stayed at this place until a fair wind sprang up, so that they might leave the port. Before they went away, this man took a gold ring from his hand and gave it to Gudleif, and also a good sword. Then he said to Gudleif: "If fortune permits you to reach Iceland, give this sword to Kiarten, hero of Froda, and this ring to Thurid, his mother." Gudlief asked, "Who shall I say was the sender of this valuable gift?" He replied: "Say that he sent it who loved the lady of Froda better than her brother, the Priest of Helgefell. Then if any man desires to know who sent this valuable gift, repeat my words, that I forbid any one to seek me, for it is a dangerous voyage, unless others should meet with the same fortune as you. This region is large, but has few good ports, and danger threatens strangers on all sides from the people, unless it shall fall to others as yourselves." After this they separated. Gudleif, with his comrades, went to sea, and reached Ireland the same autumn, and passed the winter in Dublin. The next spring they sailed to Iceland, and Gudleif delivered the jewel into the hands of Thurid. It was commonly believed that there was no doubt but that the man seen was Biorn Breidaviking Kappa, but there is no other reliable report to prove this.

ALLUSIONS TO VOYAGES FOUND IN ANCIENT MANUSCRIPTS.

Professor Rafn, in *Antiquitates Americanæ*, gives brief notices of numerous Icelandic voyages to America, and other lands to the west, the particulars of which are not recorded. The works in which these notices appear are of the highest respectability. It is only necessary here to give the facts, which have been collected with much care. They show that the pre-Columbian discovery of America left its recollection scattered throughout nearly the entire

body of Icelandic history. The existence of a great land south-west of Greenland is referred to, not as a matter of speculation, but as something perfectly well known. All these references combine to furnish indisputable proof of the positions maintained in this work, showing as they do, beyond all reasonable question, that the impression which so generally prevailed in regard to the discovery of this land, could not have been the result of a literary fraud. Some of the facts are given below:

1121. Eric, Bishop of Greenland,[1] went to search out Vinland.

Bishop Eric Upse sought Vinland.

1285. A new land is discovered west from Iceland.

New land is found. . . . .[2]

Adalbrand and Thorvald, the sons of Helge, found the new land.

Adalbrand and Thorvald found new land west of Iceland.

The Feather[3] Islands are discovered.

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[1] This is found in *Annales Islandorum Regii*, which gives the history of Iceland from the beginning down to 1307. Also in *Annales Flateyensis*, and in *Annales Reseniini*. Eric was appointed Bishop of Greenland, but performed no duties and eventually resigned that See, in order to undertake the mission to Vinland. He is also spoken of in two works as going to Vinland with the title of Bishop of Greenland, a title which he had several years before his actual consecration. *Rimbegla*, p. 321, gives a list of the Bishops of Gardar, in Greenland. See *Memoires de la Societe Royale*, etc., 1836-1839, p. 382.

[2] The manuscript is deficient here, but we must remember that Greenland had at this time, 1285, been known and explored for four hundred years, and, therefore, that the land west of Iceland was beyond Greenland. Otherwise the entry would have possessed no significance.

[3] The Feather Islands are mentioned in the *Lögmanns Annall*, or, Annals of the Governors of Iceland, and *Annales*

1288. Rolf is sent by King Eric to search out the new land,[1] and called on people of Iceland to go with him.

1289. King Eric sends Rolf to Iceland to seek out the new land.

1290. Rolf traveled through Iceland, and called out men for a voyage to the new land.

1295. Landa-Rolf died.

1357. There came thirteen large ships to Iceland. Eindridesuden was wrecked in East Borgafiord, near Langeness. The crew and the greater part of the cargo were saved. Bessalangen was wrecked outside of Sida. Of its crew, Haldor Magre and Gunthorm Stale, and nineteen men altogether, were drowned. The cargo suffered also. There were also six ships driven back. There came likewise a ship from Greenland,[2] smaller than the smallest of Iceland ships, that came in the outer bay. It had lost its anchor. There were seventeen men on board, who had gone to Markland,[3] and on their return were drifted here. But here altogether that winter.

Skalholtini, or, Annals of the Bishopric of Skalholt, written in the middle of the fourteenth century, long before Columbus went to Iceland. Beamish suggests that these are the Penguin and Bacaloa Islands.

[1] "The notices of Nyjaland and Duneyjar, would seem to refer to a re-discovery of some parts of the eastern coast of America, visited by earlier voyagers. The original appellation of Nyjaland, or *Nyjafundu-land*, would have led naturally to the modern English name of Newfoundland, given by Cabot, to whose knowledge the discovery would [might] have come through the medium of the commercial intercourse between England and Iceland in the fifteenth century." Beamish.

[2] See the Decline of Greenland, in Introduction.

[3] Markland (Woodland) was Nova Scotia, as we know from the description of Leif and others. These vessels doubtless went to get timber. All these accounts show that the West-

were eighteen large ships, besides the two that were wrecked in the summer.[1]

1357. There came a ship from Greenland that had sailed to Markland, and there were eight men on board.

V. THE SAGA OF EINAR SOKKESON.

This Saga is found in *Grönland's Historiske Mindesmærker*, or "The Historical Monuments of Greenland," vol. II, pp. 669-724. Like the picture of Life in Greenland, already given (*ante*, pp. 81-83) the Saga of Einar Sokkeson exhibits real scenes occurring towards the middle of the twelfth century in that remote portion of the North. It affords a view of the state of society in Greenland at that period when religion was somewhat nominal, and men gave full sway to their passions. Those who are familiar with the history of the bloody feuds that so long prevailed in Iceland, will recognize the resemblance which this narrative bears to many in that country, where the modes of settlement were the same. In perusing this Saga no one need question its authenticity. It is a faithful description of actual events, and was taken from the Flatey Book by Finn Magnussen, for the Historical Monuments of Greenland.[2] The allusion to Sæmund helps to fix dates.

There was a man named Sokke, son of Thorer, who lived at Brattahlid, in Greenland. He was friendly and much esteemed. His son's name was Einar, and he likewise was of a friendly disposition. Both father and son

ern ocean was generally navigated in the middle of the fourteenth century.

[1] March 12 1888, the "W. L. White" was abandoned near Cape May, and drifted in a zig-zag course across the Atlantic, some 5,050 miles, and brought up in the harbor of Stornoway, November 29, following.

[2] See *Memoires de la Societe Royale*, 1840-1844, p. 81, with an abstract and notes.

had much influence among the Greenlanders, and were esteemed their principal men. On a time Sokke assembled the people at a general meeting, when he told the people that it was his desire that the country should no longer be without a bishop, and that he willed that the people should raise the means for promoting the erection of a bishop's seat. All those present agreed to the proposition. Then Sokke bade his son Einar prepare to go to Norway, as he thought him the ablest man to carry the message. He said that he would go if it was his father's wish. Einar took with him much fur goods and ivory, in order to gain the favor of the chiefs. He arrived with his crew in Norway when Sigurd Jorsalfari was King of Norway. Einar came to the king and gained his good will by means of his presents, and afterwards made known his errand, and urged the king earnestly to interest himself in this necessity of his country. The king thought it very needful, and afterwards called a man named Arnald. He was a pious priest, and well fitted to be a teacher of the people. The king asked him to prepare for this difficult task for the sake of God and his request. And then he said: "I will send thee to Denmark, to Adzur, Archbishop of Lund, with letters bearing my seal." Arnald answered that he was unwilling to think of such a thing, in the first place, because he did not think himself much inclined, that he did not wish to part with his friends and relations, and in the third place, that he would have to deal with a difficult set of people. The king then said that as much more hardship as men suffered here, so much greater would be the reward they would have hereafter. Then Arnald said that he had not the heart to refuse the request of the king, "but," he added, "if I am consecrated a bishop I propose the condition that Einar shall bind himself with an oath to protect the rights of the bishopric and the property consecrated to God, and punish everyone who attacks it and be the defender of all those things belonging to the church." The king asked Einar if he was willing and Einar agreed to the wish of the king. Thereafter the bishop-elect

went to Archbishop Adzur and told his errand and delivered the king's letters. The archbishop received him well, and having, by examination, found that this man was well able to sustain such a high dignity, he consecrated Arnald as bishop and dismissed him with honor. Afterwards Bishop Arnald returned to the king who received him well. Einar had brought with him from Greenland a bear, which he gave to King Sigurd, and in return he received honors and presents from the king. Thereafter Einar and the bishop sailed in the same ship, but another ship was fitted out by Arnbiorn the Eastman, and several men of Norway were enlisted with him to sail to Greenland. Then they started on their voyage, but as they did not have favorable winds, the bishop and Einar came to Halltavotsos under the Eyiafjokull. There dwelt Sæmund the Wise in Oddi. He came down to meet the bishop and invited him to be his guest for the winter. The bishop thanked him, and accepted his offer. Einar remained that winter under Eyiafjokull. It is said that when the bishop rode from the village with his men he let their horses take rest on a certain village in Sandeyium, but they rested themselves outside. Then went out an old woman with a wool-card in her hand; she came to a man and said, "Thou must fasten, my little brother, the teeth in my card." He received the card and agreed to mend it, and took a hammer out of his sack and fastened the tooth so that the old woman was very well pleased. This man was the bishop himself. He was very skilful to do everything, and this circumstance shows what a humble man he was. He staid at Oddi all winter and Sæmund treated them all well. But from Arnbiorn nothing was heard, which seemed strange, and so a few summers passed away.

The next summer Einar and the bishop sailed from Iceland and came to Greenland at Ericsfiord, where the people received them exceedingly well. There was no farther news from Arnbiorn and then the people began to say that Arnbiorn and his crew must have been wrecked.

The bishop established his seat in Gardar and prepared

to dwell there. Einar and his father gave him their best aid. They were also the most honored of all by the bishop.

ARNBIORN AND HIS MEN FOUND DEAD.

There was a Greenlander named Sigurd, the son of Nial. He went out in the autumn to the desert regions to hunt. He was a skilful sailor. He and his crew numbered fifteen men. They came in the summer to the mountain called Huitsark. There they found some good camping places, where men had already been and some opportunity for hunting. Then Sigurd said, "What should you best like to do, to return or to sail further? But little of the summer remains and the catch has been very small. The men said they would like to return, for it was dangerous to life to sail in the great bays among the icebergs. He agreed that it was true, but he added, "I fancy that by far the greatest catch remains for us, if we could only come to it." They asked him to decide, and said that they had trusted to his skill for a long time and had succeeded well. Then he said that he would go forward; and so they did. One of the crew called Steinthor began to talk in this wise: "I dreamed last night, Sigurd, a dream which I will relate to you now when we begin to sail on this great fiord. It seemed to me that I had come between some mountains and called for help. Sigurd said that the dream was only middling. "Take care that thou do not tread under foot thy own safety, nor fall into such distress that you cannot keep your mouth shut." Steinthor was considered hasty of mind and very rash. When they came a little farther into the fiord, Sigurd said: "It seems to me that there is a ship in the fiord." They said that it was so. Sigurd said that they should soon get knowledge about the matter. They steered into the fiord and saw that the vessel was stranded at the mouth of a river, and a fence was built before it at the upper side. It was a very large sea-going ship. Afterwards they went on shore and saw a great

hut, and a tent at a short distance. Then Sigurd said that they would set up their ship-tent. The day is now gone, and I wish the crew to keep quiet and behave very careful, which they did. The next morning they went out and looked around. They saw a heavy stick of timber in which an axe was fastened and the corpse of a man lying at the side of the block. Sigurd said that the man who hewed the timber had died of hunger. Afterwards they came to the hut and saw there another corpse. Sigurd said that he had gone as far as his strength would allow and that these men must have been the servants of the party in the hut. An axe was also lying at the side of this man. Then Sigurd said: "It is my counsel to take the roof off of the hut, that the stench of the bodies that have probably lain a long time in a decayed state in the hut might go out. Steinthor thought it was not worth while to take more trouble than necessary, and tried to push the door in while the others unroofed the hut. Immediately Steinthor began to scream and run, and his ship-mates ran after him, when he leaped into a rift in the rock where no one could get at him, and there met his death. Sigurd said that he was indeed a man who dreamed such things as come to pass. Afterward they took the roof off of the hut and did as Sigurd ordered, and no harm happened to them. Then they saw there in the hut dead men and a plenty of goods. Then said Sigurd: "It seems to me advisable to put the bodies in kettles which belonged to them, with boiling water, that the flesh may be separated from the bones, which it will then be easier to carry to the church; and I think it most likely that it is Arnbiorn who has been detained at this place. I have heard that the beautiful ship which lies here on the shore belonged to him. It was a very good ship, with a carved prow, painted and adorned with many wood carvings. The lower part of the merchant ship was very much broken and Sigurd said that according to his belief it could not be put to any use. They took the sails out of the ship and burned her, and then sailed away from these desert regions in their own ship with the boat of the great ship.

They reached the vicinity of their own homes and paid the bishop a visit at Gardar, and told him the news and the finding of the goods. "Now," he said, "I cannot view it otherwise than that the property which was with the corpses must be used in the most proper way, and if I can use my power to promote this end, I will that it be so." The bishop said that he had done prudently and well, and the same said every man. Much property was found with the bodies of the men. Sigurd said that it was most proper to give it to the bishopric for the good of their souls. The rest of the goods the finders divided among themselves according to the provisions of the laws of Greenland.

When these things were told in Norway it was heard by a man named Ozsur, and he was the nephew of Arnbiorn. He and some men who had lost their relations fitted out a ship in the hope that they might recover the property. They came to Ericsfiord, and men went to them and began to trade. Afterwards the crew looked out places to live in Ozsur, the master of the ship, went to Gardar to the bishop and remained there during the winter. In the East bygd (the eastern district of Greenland) Kolbein, the son of Thorliot, a Norway man, began the transaction of business. The master of the third ship was Thermund, the son of Kodrum, and his brother Thorgils, and they had with them a great many companions.

CONCERNING OZSUR AND THE BISHOP.

In the meantime it came to pass that Ozsur declared to the bishop that he expected to receive the inheritance of his relation Arnbiorn, and asked the bishop to deliver the goods into the hands of himself and his companions The bishop replied that he had received the goods in conformance to the laws of Greenland, provided for, and said that he did so according to his own will, and said that it was most proper that the goods should be used for the benefit of the souls of the former owners and the support of the church where their bones were entombed,

and declared that it was a lack of true spirit now to present claims on such property. Afterwards Ozsur would not remain at Gardar with the bishop, but rejoined his crew, and they passed the winter together. In the spring Ozsur brought the case before the Thing of Greenland which was held at Gardar. To this place came the bishop and Einar, son of Sokke, and many men in their company. Ozsur came also with his crew. And when the jury was seated Einar went to the court with his followers and said that it would be a difficult thing to deal with foreigners in Norway if the case was there, but "here we are wont to have the law which is in force in this country," said Einar. When the decision of the court was made their claims were rejected and they had to retire. Ozsur was much displeased. He thought that he had acquired disgrace but no property; therefore, he brewed this mischief to go to the place where the painted ship was lying and cut two planks on each side of the ship from the keel. After that he escaped to the West bygd and met there with Kalbein and Ketill the son of Kalf and told them what had happened. Kalbein said that the case was not properly treated and that the result was bad. Ketill said: "I would advise you to seek your safety with us then. I have heard that the bishop and Einar have made an agreement together, and it will be difficult for you to withstand the skill of the bishop and the energy of Einar; but let us all unite together." He said that it was most likely that his counsel was the best.

In the company of these merchants was a certain man called Steingrim. Ozsur returned thereafter to Kidiaberg, where he had been before.

THE SLAYING OF OZSUR.

The bishop was very angry when he heard that the ship was spoiled, and called Einar, the son of Sokke, and said: "Now I must remind you of your promise which you gave by an oath before we left Norway, that you would revenge

every wrong done against the bishopric and its property whoever may have committed it. Now it seemed to me that Ozsur forfeited his life when he destroyed our property, and I call you an oath-breaker if it end peaceably."

Einar answered: "It is not well done, my lord, but some men say that there is something to excuse. Ozsur, because he has lost so much, though he did not conduct himself when he saw the valuable property which belonged to his relations and he could not get it. And I do not know what I can say to the purpose in such a case." They parted dissatisfied with one another, and the bishop's countenance seemed angry.

But when the people were assembling to the feast of the consecration of their church and to a festival at Longness, the bishop was at the festival with Einar. Many came to the service and the bishop sang mass.

Ozsur had come to the place, and was standing at the south side of the church, close to the church wall, and a man called Brandr, son of Thorde, one of the men of the bishop's household, spoke to him. This man bade Ozsur yield to the bishop. "I expect," he said, "that all things will thus come out right, but I fear danger." Ozsur answered that he could not forget the bad manner in which he had been treated, and about those things of which they were now speaking.

Then the bishop went out of the church homeward to the house and Einar with him. And when they came to the principal entrance of the house, Einar turned away from the company and went back to the churchyard alone and took an axe from the hands of a man who had come there to attend Divine service, and came to the south side of the churchyard. Ozsur was standing there leaning upon his axe. Einar gave him at once a mortal wound, and then went where the tables were laid. Einar came up to the table opposite the bishop, but said not a word. Afterwards Brandr, the son of Thorde, came into the house before the bishop and said: "Is there any news brought you, my lord?" The bishop said that he had not heard anything.

"But what have you to say?" He replied, "Just now a man was obliged to fall down outside." The bishop asked, "Who was the cause of this thing, and to whom has it happened?" Brandr replied that he was near the man who was able to tell. The bishop asked, "Art thou the cause of the death of Ozsur?" He answered, "Of course I am." The bishop said, "Such works are evil, but for this there is some excuse."

Brandr proposed that the corpse should be washed, and that the vigilia should be sung over it. The bishop said that he would give time for that purpose, and the men then sat down at the tables, but did not eat much.

The bishop desiring to get a man to sing over the corpse Einar insisted that it was right to give the body honorable burial. The bishop said that he thought it was most proper not to bring the body to the [cathedral] church, "but on account of your request it shall be buried here at this church where no priest lives." But he would not allow the men to sing over the corpse before it was dressed in the burial clothes. The bishop said that he would not hurry the case.

Then Einar said, "Here has been done a very bad deed, chiefly at your instance, and now we have to deal with mighty enemies, and I think that great trouble will rise up among us."

THE MANSLAUGHTER OF EINAR, SON OF SOKKE.

These things were now reported and the merchants heard of them. Then said Ketill, the son of Kalf: "Not far from what I predicted has it happened. I told him that he would put his head in danger." A man named Simon, one of the relations of Ozsur, was a mighty man and very strong. Ketill said that it was very likely that if Simon would do according to the best of his ability he might revenge the death of Ozsur, his relation. Simon said that he would not use many great words about it. Ketill allowed their ship to be fitted out, and sent a message to Kalbein the Steersman, that "I will have a suit against Einar, because

I know the laws of Greenland, and I am obliged to be present, and moreover have a plenty of men when they come to us."

Kalbein said that he was willing to do according to the counsel of Ketill. Afterwards he went away and met Kalbein and told him about the fight, and added the message of Ketill that they should hasten to his assistance in time, and be present at the Thing of the Greenlanders. Kalbein answered that he would surely come if it was possible, and he thought that the Greenlanders would get no benefit in killing their men. Ketill was left to manage the cause and started for the Thing in company with a few of his men, and told the merchants to follow as soon as possible, and bring their goods along with them. As soon as Kalbein received this message he took his departure and asked his companions to go to the Thing. He said, "I shall have such a strong party, that it is uncertain whether the Greenlanders will be able to do as they like." Now Kalbein and Ketill met and laid plans together, and both were able men. Now they sailed, and though the wind was unfavorable they at last arrived and had many men in their company, but not so many as they had expected.

Then came the men to the Thing. Sokke was already present. He was a wise man, and was then old, and accustomed to make judgments. He went to Kalbein and Ketill and said, "I offer myself to examine the case that is between you, and although it is a very difficult task for me, as Einar is my son, still I will try to do what may be deemed right by me and other competent men." Ketill said that he thought that the suit should proceed until finished, but that he would not object to a friendly settlement, and "if also we have been badly treated we are not accustomed to being subdued." Sokke said that he supposed that their number would not be sufficient to stand a fight, and thought it was certain that they would get more honor if he should judge the cause. The merchants went to law and plead the case against Einar. Then Einar said it will be reported far and near that these people cited us before the law. And

he went to the jury and made dissension among the jurors, so that they could not get justice. Then said Sokke, it is open for you to receive my offer to settle the case. Ketill said that he thought it should not be, and then asked, "what indemnification could you offer, when there is the same prejudice in favor of Einar in that cause?" Then they separated for that time.

The merchants could not come from the West bygd to the Thing on account of the weather when they were ready to sail with their two ships. But it was intended to settle the affair at midsummer at Eide. Then the merchants came from the west side, and cast their anchors at an isthmus where all met together and kept their counsel. Then Kalbein said that it would not have been so near to a settlement, if they had all been together, and it seems to me now the best course that we all go to this meeting, as well prepared as possible. Then they separated and hid themselves in a bay in the neighborhood of the bishop's seat.

Once it happened at the bishop's seat when the bells were rung for high mass, that Einar, the son of Sokke arrived. And when the merchants heard that they said that a very great honor was paid to Einar, because the bells were rung to salute him, and said that it was a great shame and were disgusted with it. Ketill said: "Do not misapprehend that so much, for it may happen that this will prove his death knell before evening."

Now Einar arrived with his attendants, and seated themselves on the slope of the hill. Sokke presented some things for the settlement, and then estimates were made respecting their value. Ketill said, "I wish that Hermund, the son of Kodran, would fix the price of the valuables with me." "Let it be so," Sokke said. Simon, the relation of Ozsur, looking much displeased, was walking around while the value of the goods was settled. Afterwards an old armour was offered. Then said Simon, such an offer is shameful for such a man as Ozsur was, and he threw the armour away on the ground, and went to those who were seated on the hill.

When the Greenlanders saw that they roused hastily and went down the slope against Simon. Then Kalbein went up at the side, where they all turned away and attacked them in the rear alone separated from his men. And at the same time he attacked Einar from behind and hewed him between the shoulders, and the axe of Einar sank into his head, and so they both got mortal wounds. Einar said when he fell: "Such things were to be expected." Thereafter Thorder, the foster brother of Einar, came running with the intention of hewing Kalbein down, but he turned round and struck him in the throat with the point of the axe and there he was killed. A hard fight arose between them. The bishop was seated by Einar and he breathed his last on his knee.

A man named Steingrimr told the parties that they would do well to put an end to the fight, and he tried to separate the men, but both sides were so enraged that Steingrimr was pierced with a sword in the heat of the fight. Einar died at the top of the hill at the storehouse of the Greenlanders. And now the men were dangerously wounded, and Kalbein and his party went down to the boat with three of their companions and departed over Einar's fiord to the place where the ships were lying on account of the great haste in fitting them out. Kalbein told them that it had been a hard fight, "and I do not believe that the Greenlanders are more pleased with this issue than the former time. Ketill said: "You happened to speak a true word when you said that we might hear his death knell before we should depart, and I think Einar had to be carried away dead to the church." Kalbein said that he had tried to do his best for that purpose. Ketill said: "It is likely that the Greenlanders will pay us a visit, therefore, I consider it advisable to prepare to the extent of our power, and that all men keep on board during the nights." And this they did.

Sokke was very sorry when he heard the news, and called upon the men of the country to come to his aid for the approaching fight.

THE SETTLEMENT BETWEEN THE MERCHANTS AND THE GREENLANDERS.

There was a man named Hallr. He lived in Solarfield, and was a wise man and a thrifty peasant. He belonged to the company of Sokke, and went the latest with his men. He said to Sokke: "I do not expect much success from your plan to engage great ships with small craft, and with such means of defense as I am sure they have prepared. And I do not know that you can trust the men you have. Of course, all good men will do their best, but others will spare themselves, and then very soon the leaders will be exhausted, and then it will look darker respecting the issue of our doings than before. Now, it seems to me advisable if we are going to engage with the enemy that every man shall be bound with an oath to fall or gain the victory." The men were much discouraged when they heard such words of Hallr. Sokke said, we cannot fix these things in such a way that they may be well settled. Hallr said that he would try to make up a settlement between them, and he called to the merchants and said, Will it be open for me to come and see you? At this, Kalbein and Ketill answered that he was at liberty to do so. Then he went and urged them to settle affairs after all the things that had happened. They replied that they were at present prepared for whatever the others had put into their minds, but that all these outrages were committed by the inhabitants of the country. "But now when you show such a good will towards us we are willing to accept your offer to settle between us." He declared himself willing to do so, and decide as he thought most just, however, each party should like it. Afterwards these things were related to Sokke. He also said that he would submit to the judgment of Hallr. The merchants should in the night fit out their ships. Then it was said that Sokke could not agree upon the other condition, that they should depart as soon as possible, "but if they insist upon remaining and annoy me it will certainly happen that

they shall fall as outlaws wherever they are found." Now they departed, and a meeting for compromise was agreed upon. Ketill said: It does not seem likely that we shall soon be ready to sail, but our store of provisions begins to diminish, therefore, I advise that we look out for food, and I know where a man lives who has a plenty of provisions, and I think we had better find it out. The crew said that they were ready. Afterwards they started from the ship, thirty men altogether, all armed, where all had gone away. The name of the peasant who lived there was Thorer. Then Ketill said, "My advice has not proved good." Afterwards they left the village and went over the side of a mountain back to the ships, and there were shrubs growing where they went. Then Ketill said, "I feel sleepy," and said he, "I wish to lie down and sleep." They told him that it was not advisable to do so. Notwithstanding, he lay down to sleep, and the people seated themselves around him. After a short time he awoke and said: I have seen much in the dreams that will come to pass. I think it will be profitable to pull up the bush that is under my head. They pulled up the bush, and under it was a great underground store. Ketill said let us first find out what is here to catch. There they found sixty beeves and twelve vettis[1] of butter, and a great quantity of dried fish. "It is well," said Ketill, "that I did not tell you a story." Now they departed to their ship with the stores that they got. Now the time for the settlement drew near, and both parties were present, the merchants as well as the inhabitants of the land. Then spake Hallr in this way: This is the settlement I propose between you. I will that the manslaughter of Ozsur and Einar may offset each other, but for the greater value of one of the men, the Eastmen shall be considered outlaws, and not be allowed to have their living nor abode in this country. That the manslaughter of Steingrimr Bonder and Simon should be considered equal,

[1] Vat. An old weight of about eighty pounds still used in Ireland.

as well as that of Krak the Eastman and Thorfinn the Greenlander, of Vighoots the Eastman and Biarne the Greenlander, of Thoris and of Thord. Now there remains the manslaughter of a man named Thorer, for whom no fines are paid, and he has left several children all under age, and that this ought to be paid with money.

Sokke said that he and other Greenlanders objected to the judgment that the men should be considered alike. Hallr replied that he thought his decision should be final, and so they departed.

Afterwards the ice was driven into the coast and all the fiords were closed up, so that the Greenlanders entertained the hope that they might yet attack the strangers, who could not leave so soon as was agreed upon. But at the change of the moon all the ice was driven away, and the merchants had a fair wind from Greenland. They arrived in Norway, and Kalbein had a white bear with him from Greenland, and he brought the animal to the King Harald Gille, and presented it to him, and told the king that the Greenlanders had deserved a severe punishment, and spoke very ill of them. But the king was afterwards otherwise informed, and he looked upon Kalbein as a bearer of false reports, so that he did not receive any reward for the animal.

Afterwards Kalbein deserted to the party of Sigurd Hembridge (the bad deacon), and attacked King Harald Gille in his house and wounded him. But when they afterwards passed the coast of Denmark in a fresh breeze, Kalbein being in a boat taken in tow, the towing line broke and Kalbein was drowned. Hermund and his crew came to Iceland to their relations and estates. Thus the saga is ended.[1]

[1] The date of Arnold's appointment as Bishop of Gardar, in Greenland, may be uncertain. He remained in Greenland, however, till 1150, when John I was sent out. In 1152 he was translated to the See of Hammer, Norway. The Saga belongs to near the middle of the century. *Des Antiquaires du Nord*, 1840-4, p. 100.

VI. GEOGRAPHICAL FRAGMENTS.

The rest of these documents come from a work which professes to give a description of the earth in the middle age. From this it appears that the Icelanders had a correct idea of the location of Vinland in New England, though they did not comprehend the fact that they had discovered a new Continent. The account is found in *Antiquitates Americanæ*, p. 283. In the appendix of that work may be seen a *fac simile* of the original manuscript. The second account is from *Antiquitates Americanæ*, p. 292. It was found originally in the miscellaneous collection called the *Gripla*. The failure to recognize modern discoveries shows that the description is Pre-Columbian.

A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE WHOLE EARTH.

The earth is said to be divided into three parts.[1] One of these is called Asia, and extends from north-east to south-west, and occupies the middle of the earth. In the eastern part are three separate regions, called Indialand. In the farthest India, the Apostle Bartholomew preached the faith; and there he likewise gave up his life (for the name of Christ). In the nearest India, the Apostle Thomas preached, and there also he suffered death for the cause of God. In that part of the earth called Asia, is the city of Nineveh, greatest of all cities. It is three days' journey in length and one day's journey in breadth. There is also the city of Babylon, ancient and very large. There King Nebuchadnezzar formerly resided, but now that city is so thoroughly destroyed that it is not inhabited by men, on account of serpents and all manner of noxious creatures. In Asia is Jerusalem, and also Antioch; in this city Peter the Apostle founded an Episcopal seat, and where he, the

[1] This is in accordance with the maps of that early period, some of which, undoubtedly, were before the writer's eye.

first of all men, sang mass. Asia Minor is a region of Great Asia. There the Apostle John preached, and there also, in the city of Ephesus, is his tomb. They say that four rivers flow out of Paradise.[1] One is called Pison or Ganges; this empties into the sea surrounding the world. Pison rises under a mountain called Orcobares. The second river flowing from Paradise, is called Tigris, and the third, Euphrates. Both empty into the Mediterranean (sea), near Antioch. The Nile, also called Geon, is the fourth river that runs from Paradise. It separates Asia from Africa, and flows through the whole of Egypt.[2] In Egypt is New Babylon (Cairo), and the city called Alexandria.

The second part of the earth is called Africa, which extends from the south-west to the north-west.[3] There are Serkland, and three regions called Blaland (land of black-men or negroes). The Mediterranean sea divides Europe from Africa.

Europe is the third part of the earth, extending from west and north-west to the north-east. In the east of Europe is the kingdom of Russia. There are Holmgard, Palteskia and Smalenskia. South of Russia lies the kingdom of Greece. Of this kingdom, the chief city is Constantinople, which our people call Miklagard. In Mikla-

[1] This is a confused geography, based on Genesis II, 10-15.

[2] The modern discoveries in connection with the source of the Nile are all shown in the maps of Ptolemy, proving that the great lakes which serve as feeders were well known at a very early period. Still the old northern geographer's ideas were confused.

[3] This is the way Africa was represented at that early period. That continent had been circumnavigated by Hanno, though the maps did not show it, but indicated usually the northern part of Africa, which was made to appear longest from east to west. This fact, taken with the fact that the writer has only a few words to say about Africa, proves that he wrote at a very early period, even before the date of Pre-Columbian sketches like those of Fra Mauro and Behaim. See the Atlases of Lelewell and Santarem. *Ante*, p. 12.

gard is a church, which the people call St. Sophia, but the Northmen call it Ægisif.[1] This church exceeds all the other churches in the world, both as respects its structure and size. Bulgaria and a great many islands, called the Greek islands, belong to the kingdom of Greece. Crete and Cyprus are the most noted of the Greek islands. Sicily is a great kingdom in that part of the earth called Europe. Italy is a country south of the great ridge of mountains, called by us Mundia [Alps]. In the remotest part of Italy is Apulia, called by the Northmen, Pulsland. In the middle of Italy is Rome. In the north of Italy is Lombardy, which we call Lombardland. North of the mountains on the east, is Germany, and on the south-west is France. Hispania, which we call Spainland, is a great kingdom that extends south to the Mediterranean, between Lombardy and France. The Rhine is a great river that runs north from Mundia, between Germany and France. Near the outlets of the Rhine is Friesland, northward from the sea. North of Germany is Denmark. The ocean runs into the Baltic sea, near Denmark. Sweden lies east of Denmark, and Norway at the north. North of Norway is Finnmark. The coast bends thence to the north-east, and then toward the east, until it reaches Permia, which is tributary to Russia. From Permia, desert tracts extend to the north, reaching as far as Greenland.[2] Beyond Green-

[1] The Northmen were familiar with Constantinople.

[2] Greenland appears in Ptolemy as an extension of Norway, but was not placed sufficently far west, showing that the map makers did not fully understand the accounts they had received. The Northmen understood that a great isthmus extended from Norway to Greenland, through the high ice region, making the two lands one; while Greenland extended to Vinland, which in turn went southward and turned eastward until it nearly reached Africa. In fact South America pushes eastward within twenty degrees of Cape Verde, Africa. On the Lenox globe, 1508-9, these two points are placed in the same longitude, Africa and South America overlapping. So much for the old northern geography.

land, southward, is Helluland; beyond that is Markland; from thence it is not far to Vinland, which some men are of the opinion extends to Africa.[1] England and Scotland are one island; but each is a separate kingdom. Ireland is a great island. Iceland is also a great island north of Ireland. All these countries are situated in that part of the world called Europe. Next to Denmark is Lesser Sweden; then is Oeland, then Gottland, then Helsingeland, then Vermeland, and the two Kvendlands, which lie north of Biarmeland. From Biarmeland stretches desert land toward the north, until Greenland begins. South of Greenland is Helluland; next is Markland, from thence it is not far to Vinland the Good, which some think goes out to Africa; and if this is so, the sea must extend between Vinland and Markland.[2] It is told that Thorfinn Karlsefne cut wood here [in Markland] to ornament his house,[3] and went afterward to seek out Vinland the Good. He came there where they thought the land was, but did not reach it,[4] and

[1] In the face of this and a multitude of similar statements, Mr. Bancroft endeavored to make his readers believe that the locality of Vinland was uncertain. One might, with equal propriety, tell us that the location of Masachusetts itself was uncertain, because, according to the original grant, it extended to the Pacific ocean, or that Virginia and Florida were uncertain localities, because both at one time included Massachusetts.

[2] This writer did not appear to be familiar with the narratives of Karlsefne. The writer's argument is not plain, where he says, "if this is so," etc.; but as Markland was Nova Scotia and Vinland was Massachusetts, we may perhaps accept this as a recognition of the Gulf of Maine and Massachusetts Bay. When, in 1542, Allefonsce reached this region he did not know whither the sea extended: "I have been at a bay as far as forty-two degrees between Norumbega [Markland] and Florida [Massachusetts], but I have not seen the end and I do not know whether it extends any farther." "The Northmen in Maine," p. 94.

[3] See *ante*, p. 158, n. 3.

[4] This is erroneous. See Saga of Thorfinn, *ante*, p. 137.

got none of the wealth of the land. Leif the Lucky first discovered Vinland, and then he met some merchants in distress at sea, and by God's grace, saved their lives. He introduced Christianity into Greenland, and it flourished so much that an Episcopal seat was set up in the place called Gardar. England and Scotland are an island, and yet each is a separate kingdom. Ireland is a great island. These countries are all in that part of the world called Europe.

FROM GRIPLA.

Bavaria is bounded by Saxony; Saxony is bounded by Holstein, and next is Denmark. The sea runs between the eastern countries. Sweden is east of Denmark. Norway is to the north. Finmark is east of Norway, and from thence the land extends to the north-east and east until you come to Biarmeland. This land is under tribute to Gardaridge. From Biarmeland desert places lie all northward to the land which is called Greenland [which, however, the Greenlanders do not affirm, but believe to have seen it otherwise, both from drift timber that is known and cut down by men, and also fron reindeer which have marks upon their ears, or bands upon their horns, likewise from sheep which stray here, of which there are some remaining in Norway, for one head hangs in Throndheim, and another in Bergen, and many others are to be found].[1] But there are bays, and the land stretches out toward the south-west; there are ice mountains, and bays, and islands lie out in front of the ice mountains; one of the ice mountains cannot be explored, and the other is half a month's sail; to the third, a week's sail. This is nearest to the settlement called Hvidserk. Thence the land trends north; but he who desires to go by the settlement steers to the south-west. Gardar, the bishop's seat, is at the bottom of Ericsfiord; there is a church consecrated to holy Nicholas. There are twelve churches in the eastern settlement and four in the western.

[1] The part inclosed in brackets is an interpolation of a recent date.

Now it should be told what is opposite Greenland, out from the bay, which was before named. Furdustrandur[1] is the name of the land; the cold is so severe that it is not habitable, so far as is known. South from thence is Helluland, which is called Skrællings land. Thence it is not far to Vinland the Good, which some think goes out to Africa.[2] Between Vinland and Greenland is Ginnungagah, which runs from the sea called *Mare Oceanum*, and surrounds the whole earth.[3]

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[1] Not to be confounded with the place of the same name at Cape Cod.

[2] This is another passage upon which Bancroft absurdly depended to prove that the locality of Vinland was unknown, when in the Sagas the position is minutely described, the situation being as well known as that of Greenland. See sketches designed to illustrate this statement in the *Narrative and Critical History*, vol. I, pp. 117-132.

[3] This may perhaps be viewed as an indication of the "northwest passage," whch in post-Columbian times was supposed to be a navigable body of water leading to the Pacific, though in this account the name Vinland is loosely applied, whereas Vinland lay south of Markland, the present Nova Scotia. The student should compare these geographical fragments with the geography of Orosius (A. D. 416), translated and improved by King Alfred the Great (Cir. 890), and found in the "Jubilee Edition" of his works, marking the one-thousandth year from his birth. London, 1858, vol. II, 17-61. Page 46 contains the only reference to Iceland, but Alfred speaks as though the country were well known at the time he made his translation. This translation is of special interest, as Alfred adds much knowledge belonging to his own time, and narrates the facts about Ohthere, the Northman, who was the most northern inhabitant of his race on the west coast of Norway, north of him being the Finns. Ohthere made a voyage, the first on record, around the north cape into the sea at the eastward. Gardar, the Dane, had seen Iceland in 860. On Ohthere, see Hakluyt's "Navigations," vol. II, pp. 4–5. Neither Orosius nor Alfred could say more about the

VII. LETTERS FROM THE VATICAN.

The first of these documents is a letter of Pope Innocent III, bearing the date of February 13, 1206, being addressed to the Archbishop of Drontheim. It confirms his metropolitan rights over the diocese of Greenland, recognized by Pope Eugene III, in 1148. *Regest Vat.*, vol. III, *Ep.* 214, fol. 65, v. It is written in a beautiful hand, and is illuminated.

The following is the list of the actual Bishops of Greenland, so far as it can be made clear: Arnold, translated to Hammer, Norway; John I. 1150–1178; John II. 1188–1209; Helgo, 1212–1230; Nicholas, consecrated 1234, went to his See 1239; died 1240; Olaf, 1246–1271, and absent from his See about ten years; Thorder, 1288–1314; Arnos, 1315–1346 or 50; John III., but may not have reached Greenland; Alfus, 1366, reached Greenland 1368 and died 1378; Henry, 1386–1389; Berthold (O. St. Francis), 1401; Eskill, the last, 1410. Henry and Harold, without dates, between John I. and John II., doubtful.

A series of Titular bishops followed, extending from 1411 to 1519, numbering about seventeen, including Matthias, appointed 1492, by Alexander VI. These Bishops, except Matthias, all paid into the Papal treasury the dues supposed collectable from the See of Garder, in Greenland. Thus it will appear that Greenland was never out of the mind of the Popes, however infrequent may have been the actual communication. Torfeus, in his *Greenlandia*, treats this subject, but for the fullest and most valuable study, see the Rev. Fr. De Roos' "America before Columbus," vol. II, chap. XX, and following. Its discussion is not called for in this work on the Sagas.

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southern part of Africa, than that a land of "barren, whirling-sand" extended southward to the ocean. It is clear that they knew that Africa had been circumnavigated.

I.

"Innocent III, to the Archbishop of Drontheim, and his canonically appointed successors in perpetuity: Though the power of binding and loosing was given to all, and although the same common command to preach the Gospel to every creature was laid upon all, a certain distinction of dignity was nevertheless decreed and only one received above all others the care of the Lord's sheep, in accordance with the Lord's words: Peter, dost thou love me? Feed my sheep. It was Peter also who attained to the pre-eminence above all the Apostles. He received a particular command from the Lord to confirm his brethren, that following generations might know that while many were ordained to govern the Church only one was to hold the supreme power, and be over all the others in authority and jurisdiction. Therefore, in accordance with this plan, a distinction of power is seen in the Church, and even as in the human body the various members thereof are intended for different uses, so in the Church different persons attain to different orders for different services. Some are set apart for particular churches and some are ordained to the rule of different cities, and the arrangement of different affairs. Others are set over certain provinces, others have jurisdiction over their brethren for the disposition of cases that relate to those under them. But over all these, the Roman Pontiff, like Noah in the ark, as holding the pre-eminence; for he, by virtue of the power granted to him from above in the person of the prince of the Apostles, judges and decides causes, and ceases not to establish in the Christain faith the sons of the church all over the world, by right seeking to prove that he has heard the voice of the Lord, saying: "And thou being once converted, confirm thy brethren. The Apostles and men who have risen in regular order to the government of the apostolic see since the blessed Peter, have likewise endeavored with unfailing zeal to perform the same, and either personally or by means of their legates have endeavored to their utmost to correct whatever needed correction and to decree what was required. Our predecessor of

happy memory, Pope Eugene, following in their footsteps, was desirous, in accordance with the obligations of his office, to amend in the kingdom of Norway all that seemed to demand amendment, by sowing the word of faith, and what he himself was unable to do, on account of his care of the universal Church, he entrusted for execution to his legate Nicholas, then bishop of Albano and afterwards Roman pontiff, who, having gone to that country, loaned out, obedient to the commands of his master, the talent he had received, and like a faithful and wise servant tried to derive an increase thereof. Among other thing which he achieved to the glory of God's name and his ministry, according as he had been ordered by our said predecessor, he bestowed the pallium upon thy predecessor John, and lest the province of Norway should lack the direction of a metropolitan he appointed the city of Nidras, now under thy charge, as the metropolitan See in perpetuity of the said province and gave to it as suffrage Sees in perpetuity Aslo, Amatrip, Bergen, Stavangri, the Orkney, Faroe, and Subraie islands, Iceland and Greenland, commanding the bishops of the same to obey him and his successors as their metropolitans. Lest any one should presume, however, to violate the order of the aforesaid legate, we, after the example of the aforementioned Eugene, of happy memory, of Alexander and of Clement, our predecessors and Roman pontiffs, confirm the same order by apostolic authority, and by this ordinance ordering that the city of Nidras be ever considered as the metropolitan See of the afore-mentioned cities; that their bishops are to obey thee and thy successors as their metropolitan, and to receive from thy hands the grace of consecration; that thy successors, however, are to come to the Roman pontiff alone, in order to receive the grace of consecration, and that they are to be subject to the Roman Church alone. Besides, thy fraternity will use the pallium which has been given thee, the emblem of the fullness of the pontifical office, within church only during the solemn celebration of mass throughout thy whole province, and on those days only which are underwritten, viz., the Lord's

nativity, the Epiphany, the Lord's Supper, the Resurrection, Ascension and Pentecost, on the festivals of the blessed Mother of God, Mary, ever virgin; the feasts of Saints Peter and Paul, the finding and exaltation of the Holy Cross, the nativity of Saint John the Baptist, the feast of blessed John the Evangelist, on the commemoration of all saints, when consecrating churches or bishops, blessing abbots or ordaining priests, on the anniversary of the consecration of thy own church, the feasts of the Holy Trinity and of Saint Olaf and the anniversary of thy consecration. Wherefore let thy fraternity do all things with diligence that the ornaments of thy administration may be in keeping with the fullness of the great dignity thou hast received. Let thy life be an example to all who are under thee, so that they may learn therefrom what they should seek after and what they are obliged to shun; be distinguished for thy prudence, chasteness of thought, purity of conduct, discretion in silence, usefulness in speech. Endeavor rather to do good to men than to rule them. In thyself thou shouldst consider not the power of order, but the equality of thy condition. Take care lest thy life render void thy teaching or thy teaching prove in contradiction to thy conduct. Remember that the government of souls is the art of arts. Strive above all things to observe faithfully the decrees of the apostolic see, and humbly obey the same as thy mother and mistress. These, most beloved brother in Christ, are some among the many obligations which pertain to thy archiepiscopal and sacerdotal office, all of which thou canst easily perform with Christ's aid, provided that thou hast charity, which is the mother of all virtues, and humility, and that thou hast inwardly what thou seemest outwardly to have.

Accordingly we decree, etc., unto the end.

Done in Rome, at Saint Peter's, by the hand of John, cardinal, deacon of Saint Mary's, in Cosmedin, chancellor of the holy Roman church, on the 13th day of February, the sixth indiction, in the year of the Lord's Incarnation 1205, and the 8th year of the pontificate of Pope Innocent III.

II.

Four letters from Pope John XXI to the archbishop of Drontheim, about tithes in Greenland for the Crusades, dated December 4, 1276. Johanis XXI, vol. 38, p. 23. Epis. 93-94. The first two of these letters are written on vellum, illuminated.

About all that needs to be said, perhaps, on the tithes of Vineland, has been observed already. (*Ante*, p. 31). Gravier and Riant both speak as though there were positive proof of the collection of tithes for Crusades in Vineland, yet it is a matter of inference, reasonable inference, one might say. On every principle, the rule of the Bishop of Greenland extended to the islands and continental lands adjoining, and of the continuance of the voyages to Greenland and Vinland, during long periods, there can be no doubt. Bishop Helgo, 1212–30, was a special preacher of the Crusades, and from time to time soldiers who had been to Jerusalem, were seen in Greenland, and doubtless as well in Vinland or New England.

1.

John XXI to the archbishop of Drontheim:

Having received, by apostolic brief, the commission to collect tithes in the kingdom of Norway for the Holy Land, and having been expressly commanded in the same brief to visit in person all the countries of the said kingdom for this purpose, thy fraternity informs us that such visitation seems in a measure impossible, for the diocese of Gardar, which belongs to thy province and kingdom, is so far from the metropolitan see and the difficulties of navigation are so great that five years are scarcely sufficient for the whole journey; therefore, thou hast reason to doubt whether the apostolic mandate or thine will reach the said country within the time named for the payment of the tithes. Therefore, thou hast had recourse to the wisdom of the Apostolic See for a remedy in this matter. We, therefore, in our desire

that the collection of the tithes be carefully attended to, do wish and by apostolic letters command thy fraternity, the above facts being true, to appoint certain capable and faithful persons, regarding whom we charge thy conscience, who shall visit that country and shall supervise and diligently superintend the said collection. Thou shalt also carefully provide whatsoever shall seem desirable in the said matter, that thou mayest obtain thy reward of the Lord and merit for thyself more abundantly the favor of the apostolic see.

Done at Viterbo, December 4th, in the first year.

2

To the same:

By apostolic brief you have received a commission to collect tithes in the kingdom of Norway for the Holy Land, and having been commanded in the same brief to visit in person all the countries of the said country for this purpose, but thy fraternity has informed us that several of the dioceses in that kingdom belonging to thy province are so widely scattered over the sea and so extensive in territory that it would be difficult for thee to visit personally all the districts of the said dioceses within a period of about six years and without heavy expense to thy see, and since thou wouldst have to journey some five or more seasons through countries where, because there are no dwellings, thou wouldst be obliged to carry tents, thou hast asked to be authorized to depute, notwithstanding the apostolic brief to the contrary, certain careful and capable commissaries to collect the tithes in the said countries. Wherefore, in order to spare thee and thy see such expense, we have concluded to allow thee, by tenor of these present, liberty to appoint such commissaries for the collection of tithes in the said diocese, in case the above be according to the facts, and if thou seest fit so to do, regarding which we charge thy conscience. We wish thee, nevertheless, to visit in person such of the aforesaid dioceses as may be possible, without great inconvenience, and to attend to the collection of the

said tithes, that thou mayest expect a recompense from the Lord, whose work it is, and mayest more abundantly merit the favor of the apostolic see.

Done at Viterbo, December 4th, in the first year.

3.

To the same:

Thou hast informed us that, owing to the great extent of the dioceses in the kingdom of Norway, wherein thou hast been appointed by apostolic letter collector of tithes for the relief of the Holy Land, the two collectors named, with apostolic permission, for every diocese, are not enough for the said work, nor can they perform the matter without inconvenience and very great cost. By the advice and with the assent of thy suffragans in the said kingdom, thou hast appointed for the rural districts of the different dioceses several other collectors, who by their own efforts and at their personal cost are to collect the tithes and then convey them to the two city collectors. Therefore, thou hast humbly besought us to regard the labor and cost to which these collectors put themselves and to grant them some relief; hence, as we desire that these rural collectors may gain some advantage from their labors and expense, we grant them the indulgence which has been accorded to those who by their labors and co-operation further the cause of the Holy Land.

At Viterbo, December 4th, in the first year.

4.

To the same:

Thou hast informed us that in the kingdom of Norway, where thou hast been entrusted with the collection of tithes for the Holy Land, the current money is so debased as to be of no value outside the boundaries of the kingdom, and that in some parts of the aforesaid kingdom money is not in use, also no crops are cultivated, and no fruits are grown,

the people living almost entirely upon milk, cheese and fish; therefore, thou hast humbly requested us to tell thee what thou shalt do with the tithes drawn from the aforesaid milk, cheese, fish and money. Therefore, in our thought that whatever is most profitable to be done in this matter, we think it would be well, if the statement be exact, to exchange so far as practicable all such coin and tithes for silver and gold. In regard to the nuns and other religious orders of the kingdom whose incomes and ecclesiastical revenues are so small as to be insufficient for their support, thou canst proceed according to that which has been set forth fuller in the declarations relating to this collection of tithes.

Done at Viterbo, December 4th, first year.

III.

A letter from Pope Nicholas III, of January 31, 1279, to the Archbishop of Drontheim, about tithes in Greenland. Nicholas III, to his venerable brother, the Archbishop of Drontheim:

We have learned from thy letters to us, that the island on which the city of Gardar is located is not often visited by ships, on account of the storms of the ocean where it is situated. Lately, therefore, when certain sailors went to the said island to the said city, thou didst take advantage of the opportunity to send in the company of the said sailors, a careful person, whom thou didst appoint collector of the tithes. Depending upon our approbation thou didst empower him to absolve clerics from the pain of excommunication which had fallen upon them, on account of nonpayment of tithes within the ordered time, and to release them from whatever irregularity they may have committed. Therefore, thou hast humbly requested us to grant our gracious approval. But since we cannot favorably assent to this desire because it is not based on reason, and desiring, on this account, to comply with thy wishes by applying a ready remedy for perils to souls, we hereby empower thee

to give to those whom thou hast sent or may send in the future to the said islands to absolve clerics, whether in the aforementioned islands or others in the same ocean from the aforesaid sentence according to the order of the Church, and to dispense them from irregularity of this kind.

Done at Rome, at Saint Peter's, January 31, 1279.

IV.

From Pope Nicholas II, to Master Bertrand Arnabrie, June 9, 1279, relating to wine and altar bread, for the churches in Greenland.

"Nicholas III, to the said Master Bertrand Arnabrie:

We have recently been told by thee that certain revenues have been apportioned by the devotion of the faithful in the cathedral churches of Denmark and Sweden for the express purpose of buying wine and altar bread for the clergy of the churches within the said kingdom. Since, however, thou hast consulted the Apostolic See in regard to whether tithes should be taken from revenues of this kind, while approving thy diligence, we do by apostolic letter leave the question to thy judgment, in order that, if the revenues be so large that thou art sure that a large sum will be left over after providing wine and altar bread, we wish that tithes be paid on that part. On the other hand, if little or nothing is left of the said revenues, nothing is to be paid out of regard for reverence for adoration and the sacrament of the Lord.

Done in Rome, at Saint Peter's, June 9, 1279."

V.

A letter of Pope Martin IV, to the Archbishop of Drontheim, March 4, 1281, in relation to the peltry and whalebone furnished as tithes by the people of Greenland.

"Martin IV, to the Archbishop of Drontheim:

Thy fraternity hast informed us that the tithes being paid in Iceland and the Faroe Islands in the kingdom of Norway, are composed of various commodities that cannot easily be exchanged or sold, on which account the same cannot readily be sent to Holy Land or to the Apostolic See. Thou hast said, also, that the only tithes that can be gathered in Greenland are composed of skins of the elk or the musk ox or of seals, teeth ropes of whales, which by your account, cannot be sold for any fair price. Therefore, thou hast desired instructions of the apostolic see as to what course you should take in this case. Therefore, while we admire thy pious care, we reply to the question as follows: Thou must seek to exchange the tithes of Greenland and the other islands as you best may, for either silver or gold and forward the same as soon as possible, together with other tithes collected in the kingdom for the succour of Holy Land, truly informing us in regard to the nature and the amount of what thou dost send. We also write to our most dear son in Christ, the renowned king of Norway, requesting him not to prevent or permit any one to prevent the free exportation from his dominion of the tithes which are devoted, as the Apostolic See shall deem fitting to the succour of the said Holy Land, and to seek to repeal the order decreed aganist clerics of said kingdom, that forbids any layman of the kingdom selling easterlings or other silver.

Done at Orvieto, March 4, 1281.

VI.

A letter from Pope Nicholas V, September 20, 1448, to the Bishop of Skalholt and Holar in Iceland, respecting the church in Greenland.

The suggestion that this letter never reached its destination, based on the statement that voyages to Iceland were rare at this period, has no support in fact. In 1448 the traffic between England and Iceland had reached such proportions that the King of Denmark felt concerned, and

obliged the King of England in 1450, to reduce the fleet to two ships. The English were getting the better part of the trade, which was claimed by Denmark. See *Ante*, p. 55.

"Nicholas, etc., to our venerable brothers, Bishop of Skalholt and Bishop of Holar, Health, etc.:

By virtue of the apostolic charge given to us from on high, in directing the affairs of the universal church, it is our care, in God's name, to secure the salvation of souls purchased by the precious blood of our Saviour, not only by stilling the storms of irreligion and error which sweep over them, but also by protecting them when subject to misfortunes and whirlwinds of persecution. From the natives and from dwellers in Greenland, an island said to be found in the most distant parts of the ocean off the northern coasts of the kingdom of Norway, in the province of Drontheim, a sorrowful cry has come to our ears and saddened our heart. These people, nearly six hundred years ago, received the Faith from the lips of their glorious apostle, the blessed King Olaf, and kept it unchanged and pure, in obedience to the laws of the holy Roman Church and the Apostolic See. After a time animated by unfailing devotion, they built many churches besides a fine cathedral, in which the worship of God was faithfully carried on until within thirty years, by the permission of Him who, in his incomprehensible wisdom and knowledge, afflicts those whom He loves to make them perfect, barbarous people from the neighboring heathen shores sent ships to invade the island. The land was laid waste with fire and sword, churches were everywhere destroyed in all the island, said to be of vast extent. Only nine parish churches escaped, for the reason that being built among the mountains they could not well be reached. Many of the unhappy people of both sexes, who seemed strong to bear the yoke of lasting slavery, and by reason of physical strength appearing best suited for the labors of their masters, were carried away as prisoners. Neverthe-

less, the same adds, that, after a time, many of them returned to their native country; and having in various places rebuilt what the invaders had destroyed, they wished to establish the worship of God and restore its former splendor. Nevertheless, the misfortunes endured had left them in such a starving and necessitous condition, that they had no means of supporting a bishop and priests, and unless in their desire for Divine worship they could perform a journey of a number of days to the churches that had survived the destruction of the barbarians, they were without the comforts of a pastor and the services of priests for thirty years. Therefore, they have most humbly besought us, that, in our paternal pity we would give them aid in satisfying their devout and beneficial desires; also that we would condescend to meet the supply of their spiritual needs and exhibit our benevolence and that of the Apostolic See in this case. Therefore, moved by the proper and rightful prayers and wishes of the aforesaid natives and dwellers in Greenland, and not having perfect knowledge of the above facts and circumstances, we do, by apostolic letters, command one or both of you, whom we understand to be neighboring bishops, after having carefully investigated and comprehended the statements made above, to learn if it be true. If this is the state of things and if you find the population increased in number and resources to render the fulfillment of their desires expedient, it is our will that you ordain suitable priests of holy life and furnish rectors for the administration of the parishes that have been restored and churches for the administration of the sacraments. In addition, if to one or both of you it may seem timely and expedient, having sought the advice of the metropolitan, if the distance allows, we empower you to appoint and order as bishop for them some profitable and qualified person in communion with us and the Apostolic See, to consecrate, with the customary form of the church, in our name, and give to him the administration of spiritual and temporal things, first receiving from him the proper and usual oath of allegiance to us and the Apostolic See. Having made

this a matter of conscience, we by our apostolic authority, give to one or both of you full and unrestricted jurisdiction in this case, according to the tenor of these presents all statutes and constitutions, whether apostolic or of general councils, or of any other kind whatsoever, notwithstanding.

Done at Rome, at Saint Potencianas', in the year fourteen hundred and forty-eight, twelfth day before the Kalends of October, the second year of our pontificate."

VII.

A letter of Pope Alexander VI, 1492-1493, by which he appointed Matthias, a monk of Saint Benedict, to the Bishopric of Garder, Greenland. The entire volume, 492 pages, is of paper, and the documents seem to have been written carelessly by a rapid hand, except a few by a firm and careful hand in an older style. We have placed Matthias with the titular bishops, yet such was not the intention. Matthias was fully resolved upon the mission.

"We learn that the church of Goder [Garder] situated on the outer boundaries of the world, in the country of Greenland, whose inhabitants are accustomed to live upon dried fish and milk, for the reason that bread, wine and oil are scarce, and for the reason that voyages are rarely made to that region, on account of the freezing of the sea no ship is supposed to have touched there during the past eighty years. We are also informed, that voyages of this kind are not thought possible except in the month of August, after the ice melts, and that no resident bishop or priest has ruled the Church for some eighty years past. Therefore, on account of the lack of priests, it has come to pass that very many of the people of that diocese, who were formerly Catholics, have, alas! denied the sacred baptism they had received. It is said that the people of that land have no other relic of the Christian religion than a corporal that they exhibit once a year, upon which the body of Christ was consecrated by the last priest who was resident one hundred years ago. On

account of these and other reasons, our predecessor, Pope Innocent VIII, of happy memory, desiring to furnish an able and meritorious pastor for the said church, so long deprived of that consolation, agreeable to the advice of his brethren, of whom we were one, nominated to the said see, our venerable Brother Matthias, a professed member of the Order of Saint Benedict and now bishop elect of Gader [Gardar] having been preconised on our motion, before an election.

In his intense zeal for those who had fallen away for the recovery of those who have lapsed, and for the suppression of error, he has now resolved to set out upon this most dangerous undertaking. While greatly commending, in the Lord, his holy and meritorious design, we wish to aid him in some means on account of his poverty. Therefore, on our own doing, cognisance and by the advice and consent of our brethren, we direct, under penalty of excommunication, to follow *ipso facto*, our beloved sons, the copyists, abriviators, solicitors, with the holders of seals, and the registerator, and all other officials in the various offices, both of the chancery and apostolic chamber, to forward and to have forwarded promptly and entirely free of charge, all apostolic letters concerning the advancement to the aforesaid church of Gader [Gardar] which need to be sent to the said bishop elect. Moreover, by the same, with similar cognisance and similar penalties, to be visited upon those who incur, who fail to obey, and everything to the contrary notwithstanding, we command the clerics and notaries of the apostolic chamber to give to the said bishop all such briefs and bulls without payment or requirement of any tax or any fees or gratuities ordinarily paid on similar accounting. Let all be done free in all the departments, because he is very poor."

On these documents consult the Rev. Fr. Franz Ehrle, S. J. Frieburg, 1894: "Der Historische Gehalt der päpstlichen Abtheilung auf der Weltanstellung von Chicago."

Also, "Compte Rendu Congres Scientifique International des Catholiques, 1891." Paris, Ricard 82 Rue Bounforte.

P. A. Munchs' "Pavilaye Nuntiers Regnskabs-og Dogsboger," Christiana, 1864, gives various letters by a Scandinavian bishop, order a collection of tithes for the Crusades, in Greenland, dated Aug. 30, 1326, p. 173.

Valuable notes on these letters made by the author at the Vatican, have, he deeply regrets, disappeared. Translations are the work of others.

VIII. THE BULL OF GREGORY IV., 834.

The imperial rescript to which this Bull refers begins: "In the name of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ, Louis, by Divine permission and grace Emperor," and ends: "Given the Ides of May in the twenty-first year of the Emperor Louis' reign, in the Royal Palace of Aguis in the name of God, Amen, A. D. 834." It speaks of rule among the people "in the northern portions of the continent, namely, among the Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, Farians, Greenlanders, Helsingers, Icelanders, Scritifinlanders and all the tribes in those northern parts, inasmuch as a great multitude has been converted from one place or another to the faith of Christ." His plan, therefore, was to erect the entire region into an arch-diocese, which was done by Gregory. Greenland, it will be noticed, is located in the northern part of the continent of Europe, yet it was learned only in modern times that Greenland was entirely disconnected. The Zeno map, and all the ancient Italian maps, made Greenland a part of Europe, connecting it by a neck of land extending through the north. This was the representation in the Geography of Ptolemy, published in 1486. Columbus and all men of that period were perfectly familiar with this delineation, not dreaming that Greenland was part of a great world at the west. See on this Bull, the valuable discussion of De Roo: "America before Columbus," vol. II, chap. III. This Bull is found in Pontanus' *Rerum Danicarum Historia*, etc., pp. 97-98.

Gregory, Bishop, servant of the servants of God; to all the faithful be it known, that the most excellent Emperor Charles, in the time of our ancestors, being influenced by inspiration of the Divine Spirit, subdued the race of the Saxons to the Christian religion, and imposed upon them Christ's yoke, which is easy; and that he subdued the fierce hearts as far as the boundaries of the Danes or Slavi, by the sword; and that, in order that the part of the Empire lying beyond the Elbe might not, lying as it did between great perils, go back to the heathen religion, or perhaps because it seemed best adapted to the care of nations yet to be gained over, he so decreed to establish it by his own imperial authority. But death having hindered his plans, his son and most excellent successor, Louis the august Emperor, effectually carried out his father's wishes, which cause is to be confirmed to us by the venerable Racobfius or Vernoldus, Bishop or Count Geroldus. Therefore, all of us recognising in all this an appointment worthy of Divine Providence, and also instructed by the presence of our good Brother Ansgar, the first bishop of the Nordalbingians, consecrated by the hands of Deago Mateasis Bishop, and the holy seal of honored emperors, both by these presents and by the delivery of the Episcopal Pallium, according to the ancient custom of our forefathers, have resolved to confirm by whatsoever valid authority we possess, the said Ansgarius and his successors in office, in order that in winning over the nations they may be the more mighty against the wiles of the Devil, and they are hereby appointed over Legates Apostolic among all the nations round about — the Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, Faroese, Greenlanders, Helsingers, Icelanders, Slavi, as also all the northern and eastern nations of whatever name they may be called, and resting head and heart upon the body of the faith of Saint Peter, we give them public authority to preach the Gospel, and to occupy the Episcopal See itself. We decree that the See of the Nordalbingians, called Hamburg, shall be consecrated in honor of the Saviour and His Immaculate Mother as an Archi-episcopal See. And until

the number of bishops shall be increased, we commit the consecration of bishops, provisionally, to the care of the Palatinate. But let the person elected for so great an office and apt thereto, always be that of an earnest preacher, that we do by our authority confirm and establish his pious wishes and vows; and everyone who shall resist or gainsay, or in any way counteract these auspicious desires, we do smite with the sharp edge of our anathema and adjudge the guilty by perpetual vengeance to the doom of devils, according to the manner of predecessors in office; and being zealous with pious effort, do all the more safely defend the Apostolic See against all adversaries.

And forasmuch, most beloved Ansgar, the Divine Grace has inclined thee in this new See to accept the office of an archbishop, we do hereby transmit the pallium for your celebration of the mass, which we authorize you to wear during your lifetime.

May it please the most Holy Trinity long to spare your life, and after the bitterness of this transitory state may you obtain eternal felicity. Amen. Datum, 835.

INDEX.