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1846-1936
AMERICA NOT DISCOVERED BY COLUMBUS.

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH

OF THE

Discovery of America by the Norsemen

IN THE TENTH CENTURY.

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WITH AN APPENDIX

ON THE HISTORICAL, LINGUISTIC, LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC VALUE
OF THE SCANDINAVIAN LANGUAGES.

ALSO A

BIBLIOGRAPHY

OF THE

PRE-COLUMBIAN DISCOVERIES OF AMERICA,

By PAUL BARRON WATSON.

FOURTH EDITION, ENLARGED.

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P R E F A C E.

I N preparing this sketch, the author has freely made use of such material as he considered valuable for his purpose from the works of Torfæus, C. C. Rafn, J. T. Smith, N. L. Beamish, G. Gravier, B. F. De Costa, A. Davis, Washington Irving, R. M. Ballantyne, P. A. Munch, R. Keyser, and others, and he is under special obligations to Dr. S. H. Carpenter, of the University of Wisconsin, for valuable suggestions.

This sketch does not claim to be without faults. The style may seem dull and heavy, but it is hoped that the reader will be generous in criticising an author who now makes his first appearance before the *American* public. The object of this sketch has been to present a readable and truthful narrative of the Norse discovery of America, to create some interest in the people, the literature, and the early institutions of Norway, and especially in Iceland,—that lonely and weird island,—the **ULTIMA THULE**

of the Greek Philosophers; and of the good or ill performance of the task, a generous public must be the judge

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN,
June 18, 1874.

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PREFACE TO THE NEW EDITION.

SINCE the first edition of this little book was published, the discovery of America has received much attention. The claims of the Norsemen, the Irish, the Welsh, and even of the Chinese, have all been warmly advocated.

In presenting this new edition of "America not discovered by Columbus," we desire to call the reader's attention to some of the literature that has appeared since the publication of our volume. We pass over in silence all the newspaper and magazine articles and reviews, confining ourselves to what has been put in book form.

1. Immediately after the publication of our book, in 1874, appeared a very remarkable work, by Aaron Goodrich, entitled, "A History of the Character and Achievements of the so-called Christopher Columbus, with numerous Illustrations and an Appendix" (New York, D. Appleton & Co.). Goodrich pronounces Columbus a fraud, and denounces him as mean, selfish, perfidious and cruel. He has evidently made a very careful study of the life of Columbus, and we have looked in vain for a satisfactory refutation of his state-

ments. In Mr. Goodrich's book will be found a brief but tolerably accurate sketch of the Norse discovery of this continent.

2. In 1875 appeared the following books :

(*a*) "The Island of Fire," by P. C. Headley. Its ninth chapter treats of the discovery of America by the Norsemen.

(*b*) "Young Folks' History of the United States," by Thomas Wentworth Higginson. Its fourth chapter treats of the Norse discovery.

(*c*) "A Grammar School History of the United States," by John J. Anderson (New York). The first section gives a synopsis of the Norse discovery.

(*d*) "Lectures delivered in America," by Charles Kingsley. The third lecture is upon the first discovery of America.

(*e*) "Fusang, or the Discovery of America by Chinese Buddhist Priests, in the Fifth Century," by Charles G. Leland. This work recognizes, on page 32, the claims of the Norsemen, but presents an older claim by the Chinese, showing that a Buddhist monk or missionary, named Hœi-shin, returned in the year 499 A.D. from a long journey to the East. The country that Hœi-shin visited is claimed to be Old and New Mexico, and was called by him Fusang. The monk had found in this new and strange country

an abundance of the maguey plant, or great cactus, which he called fusang, after a chinese plant slightly resembling it, and this name (Fusang) he applied to the country itself. Leland's book is well worth reading.

(2f) In July, 1875, was held, in Nancy, France, the first meeting of the Congrès International des Américanistes, a society which has been organized for the sole purpose of thoroughly investigating the pre-Columbian history of the American continent. The *compte rendu* of this session has been published in two large octavo volumes, by Maisonneuve et Cie., Paris. In the first volume will be found many valuable papers on the discovery of America by the Phenicians, Chinese, Irish, Norsemen, Welsh; and on the relation of these discoveries to the transatlantic voyages by Columbus. The second meeting of this society will be held, September, 1877, in Luxembourg, and there can be no doubt that it will in course of time produce a unique library of papers and discussions on pre-Columbian America. We are glad to notice that the savans who assembled in Nancy in 1875 fully recognized the claims of the Norsemen.*

*To this list might be added Bayard Taylor's "Egypt and Iceland;" Caton's "Summer in Norway;" Griffin's "My Danish Days;" and John S. C. Abbott's "Christopher Columbus;" in all of which the Norse claims are vindicated. The last is in part a reply to the above-mentioned work of Aaron Goodrich.

3. In 1876 appeared :

(*a*) "An American in Iceland," by Samuel Kneeland. Its fourteenth chapter is devoted to a presentation and discussion of the Norse discovery of America.

(*b*) "America discovered by the Welsh," by Benjamin F. Bowen (Lippincott, publisher). The voyages of the Norsemen, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, are set down, on page 23, as being too well authenticated to admit of any doubt, and the book gives an interesting and elaborate discussion of the Welsh discovery of America, in the year 1170, by Prince Madoc and his followers, in order, as the author says, "to assign them their rightful place in American history." And, indeed, these various pre-Columbian discoverers are gradually receiving recognition in American history! It used to be the custom to pass over these early visitors to our continent in utter silence or with a contemptuous fling at them, as though they were mere myths, created only for the purpose of tickling the vanity of the different nationalities.

It gives us great pleasure to be able to state that none of the recent histories of the United States have neglected to call attention to the pre-Columbian discoverers. Mr. John Clark Ridpath writes the title-page of his work as follows: "A History of the United States of America, from the aboriginal times

to the present day; embracing an account of the Aborigines; the Norsemen in the New World; the discoveries by the Spaniards, English, and French, etc. etc.;" and part II of the work begins with a detailed account of the Norse discoveries.

In William Cullen Bryant's large history of the United States, now being published, we find the following very interesting title-page: "A Popular History of the United States, from the first discovery of the Western Hemisphere by the Northmen to the end of the First Century of the Union of the States;" and a large portion of the first volume of that great work is devoted to an elaborate account of the discovery of the American continent by the Norsemen, Irish, Welsh, etc. This is right, and therefore we approve it and are glad of it. "Truth crushed to earth will rise again," and in the growing recognition of the claims of the Norsemen to the honor of having discovered America in the tenth century is a beautiful illustration of the *truth* contained in this sentence.

While the various writers here alluded to freely admit the fact that the Norsemen, as well as others, discovered and explored parts of America long before Columbus, they are unwilling to believe that there is any historical connection between the discovery of the Norsemen and that of Columbus; or, in other words,

that Columbus profited in any way by the Norsemen's knowledge of America.

This is all the more singular, since none of them even try to deny the statement made by Fernando Columbo,* his son, that he (Christopher Columbus) not only spent some time in Iceland, in 1477, but sailed three hundred miles beyond, which must have brought him nearly within sight of Greenland. We are informed that he was an earnest student and the best geographer and map-maker of his day. He was a diligent reader of Aristotle, Seneca and Strabo. Why not also of Adam of Bremen, who in his volume, published in the year 1076, gave an accurate and well authenticated account of Vinland (New England)?

Is it not fair to say that Columbus must have read Adam of Bremen's book, and that he in 1477 went to explore and reconnoitre the old northern route by way of Iceland, Greenland, Markland and Helluland to Vinland? We must insist that it is, to say the least, highly probable that he had in some way obtained knowledge of the discoveries of the Norsemen in the western ocean, and that he thought their Vinland to

The statement is found in Chapter iv of the biography, which the son of Christopher Columbus, Fernando, wrote of his father, and which was published in Venice in 1571. Its title is, "Vita dell' ammiraglio Chrisophoro Columbo."

be the eastern shores of Asia. But no matter what induced him to go to Iceland.* We know positively that he went there and even three hundred miles beyond it. The last Norse voyage to America of which we have any account was in the year 1347, and is it possible, we ask, that Columbus could visit Iceland only 130 years later and learn nothing of the famous Vinland the Good?

We firmly believe in evolution so far as the discovery of America is concerned. We believe that the voyages of the Phenicians and of the Greek Pytheas were the germ that budded in the explorations of Irish Welshmen and Norsemen, and culminated in the discovery of America by Columbus. Columbus added the last link of the golden chain that was to unite the two continents. We believe that Columbus was a scholar, who industriously studied all books and manuscripts that contained any information about voyages and discoveries; that his searching mind sought out the writings of Adam of Bremen, that well-known historian who in the most unmistakable and emphatic language speaks of the Norse discovery of Vinland; that the

* The famous geographer Malte-Brun suggests, in his *Histoire de la Géographie*, ii, pp. 395, 499, that Columbus, when in Italy, had heard of the Norse discoveries beyond Iceland, for Rome was then the world's center, and all information of importance was sent there; and we know that Pope Paschal II appointed Erik Upsi Bishop of Vinland in the year 1112, and that Erik Upsi went personally to Vinland in 1121.

information thus gathered induced him to make his voyage to Iceland. And thus we are able to explain the firm conviction that Columbus invariably expressed in reference to land in the west; thus we can account for the absolute certainty and singular firmness with which he talked of land across the ocean; and thus we can account for his accurate knowledge of the breadth of the ocean.

Many have objected that Columbus never entertained an idea of discovering a *new world*, but that he was in search of a western route to India. What of it? Why could not Columbus have supposed that the Vinland, which the Norsemen had found, and which Adam of Bremen wrote about, was the very India to which he wanted to find a western route? Grant that all he wanted to know was, whether land could be found by sailing westward,—if he ever had such an opinion he must certainly have gotten it confirmed in Iceland. The Norsemen had not discovered the Pacific Ocean, and Columbus might well have believed that the Norsemen had discovered India.

If Columbus had learned of Vinland when he was in Iceland, why did he not sail farther north instead of going so far to the south that he reached the West India Islands instead of New England? This question has frequently been urged, and we reply, that the

Icelanders must have told him, as they state in their Sagas, that *far* to the south of Vinland was Irland-it-Mikla, or Great Ireland; that this Great Ireland extended certainly as far south as the present Florida, and hence his shortest and most pleasant route would be to sail about due-west from Spain. Granting that America had not yet been found, any South European navigator, who had examined the Old Norse Sagas, and wanted to re-discover the lands therein described, would feel sure of reaching Irland-it-Mikla by taking about the same course as did Columbus.

In presenting these arguments, we repeat a statement that we have made elsewhere, that we are not detracting in any way from the great and well-deserved fame of Columbus. We are rather vindicating him as a man of thorough scholarship, great research, good judgment, in short a man of extraordinary ability, by showing that his discovery of America was the fruit of patient and persevering study of all the geographical information within his reach, and not a matter of chance, baseless speculation, or as some would like to have it, inspiration.

We believe he examined carefully the traditions found in Plato of an island Atlantis, that had been swallowed up by the waves; we believe he read what Dioduros says about Phenician merchants who

were driven by storms out of their course and found a fertile land to the west of Africa; we believe he had read Adam of Bremen, and that he could not rest satisfied, before he had undertaken that perilous voyage to Iceland and heard from the very lips of the Norsemen themselves, the sagas relating to Vinland and Great Ireland.

We neglected to mention in our first edition the two remarkable visitors to America,—Are Marson and Bjorn, the Champion of Breidavik; and we gave Gudleif Gudlaugson but a passing notice, for the reason that their voyages are in no really historical connection with the voyages of Leif and Thorvald Erikson and Thorfinn Karlsefne. The *Landnámabók* and *Eyrbyggja Sagas* give elaborate accounts of these adventurers, the substance of which is as follows:

The powerful chieftain, Are Marson, of Reykjanes, in Iceland, was, in the year 983, driven to Great Ireland (the country around the Chesapeake Bay) by storms, and was there baptized. The first author of this account was his contemporary, Rafn, surnamed the Limerick-trader, he having long resided in Limerick, in Ireland. The illustrious Icelandic sage, Are Frode, the first compiler of *Landnáma*, who was himself a descendant in the fourth degree from Are Marson, states on this subject that his uncle, Thorkel



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of the Baltic," under Palnatoke, and took part with them in the battle of Fyrisval, in Sweden. His illicit amatory connection with Thurid of Froda (River Frod) in Iceland, a sister of the powerful Snorre Gode, drew upon him the enmity and persecution of the latter, in consequence of which he found himself obliged to quit the country for ever, and in the year 999 he set sail from Iceland with a northeast wind.

Gudleif Gudlaugson, brother of Thorfinn, the ancestor of the celebrated historian, Snorre Sturleson, had, as related in Chapter I of this volume, made a trading voyage to Dublin, in Ireland; but when he left that place again, with the intention of sailing round Ireland and returning to Iceland, he met with long-continuing northeasterly winds, which drove him far to the southwest in the ocean, and late in the summer he and his company came at last to an extensive country, but they knew not what country it was. On their landing, a crowd of the natives, several hundreds in number, came against them, and laid hands on them, and bound them. They did not know anybody in the crowd, but it seemed to them that their language resembled Irish. The natives now took counsel whether they should kill the strangers or make slaves of them. While they were deliberating, a large company approached, displaying a banner, close to

which rode a man of distinguished appearance, who was far advanced in years, and had gray hair. The matter under deliberation was referred to his decision. He was the above-named Bjorn Asbrandson. He caused Gudleif to be brought before him, and, addressing him in the Norse language, he asked him whence he came. On his replying that he was an Icelander, Bjorn made many inquiries about his acquaintance in Iceland, particularly about his beloved Thurid of Frod River, and her son Kjartan, supposed to be his own son, and who at that time was the proprietor of the estate of Frod River. In the meantime, the natives becoming impatient and demanding a decision, Bjorn selected twelve of his company as counselors, and took them aside with him, and some time afterward he went toward Gudleif and his companions and told them that the natives had left the matter to his decision. He thereupon gave them their liberty, and advised them, although the summer was already far advanced, to depart immediately, because the natives were not to be depended on, and were difficult to deal with, and, moreover, conceived that an infringement on their laws had been committed to their disadvantage. He gave them a gold ring for Thurid and a sword for Kjartan, and told them to charge his friends and relations not to come over to him, as he had now

become old, and might daily expect that old age would get the better of him; that the country was large, having but few harbors, and that strangers must everywhere expect a hostile reception. Gudleif and his company accordingly set sail again, and found their way back to Dublin, where they spent the winter; but the next summer they repaired to Iceland, and delivered the presents, and everybody was convinced that it was really Bjorn Asbrandson, the Champion of Breidavik, that they had met with in that far-off country.

An American poet, G(eorge) E. O(tis), published in 1874, in Boston, a very pleasant poem based on the saga narrative of Bjorn Asbrandson. The name of the poem is "Thurid." The above narrative, taken from "Antiquitates Americanæ," is merely a brief abstract of the sagas which, in the case of Bjorn, as the reader may easily imagine, is brimful of dramatic and poetic interest. The Landnámabók and the Eyrbyggja Saga are of vital importance to every one who would make a study of the discovery of America by the Irish, but as we expect at some future day to be able to give to the public a complete translation of all the old Norse sagas treating of voyages to the western continent, we must pass on to another subject.

Anent the Dighton Rock, we have had some corre-

spondence with Elisha Slade, Esq., of Somerset, Bristol county, Massachusetts. Before giving his letters we will say, in general, that until sufficient proof of some other origin of the Newport Tower and the Dighton Rock inscriptions are given, we shall persist in claiming them as relics of the Norsemen.* Now please read the following letters:

SOMERSET, BRISTOL COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS,
December 17, 1875.

DEAR SIR,—I take pleasure in forwarding to your address a stereoscopic view of the celebrated Dighton Rock, situated in Taunton River, at low water mark, three miles north of Somerset, on the eastern bank of the river. As you well know, the rock has been the subject of much learned discussion at various times since the landing of the Pilgrims.

Geologically, Dighton Rock is a silicious sandstone of the upper Silurian period, and, I think, belongs to the Helderberg group, stratified as you see in the picture, the stratifications at right angles to the face and parallel to the surface; was probably deposited in still water; is a boulder and not *in situ*.

I have carefully measured the rock, and the following is the result of my work:

The face of the rock, on which are the inscriptions,

* We are fully aware that the Copenhagen runologists do not regard the Dighton Rock Inscription as a work of the Norsemen. But in the first place the writing is not claimed to be *runic*, but *Roman*. Prof. Rafn himself did not try to show more than two or three runic letters in it. And in the second place we are not aware that either Stephens or Worsaae have ever made any careful examination of the inscription. When they have made a thorough study of it and reported, we are willing to accept their decision on the subject.

has an angle of 47° to the horizon, and the surface (not seen in the picture) as it slopes toward the shore is in the mean 25° to the horizon.

The mean height of the rock on its face above the ground is 1,293 meters.

Its mean length on its surface is 1,768 meters.

Its mean width is 3,384 meters.

Its contents above ground is 3,871 cubic meters.

Its weight is 9,071,023 kilogrammes.

In viewing the rock, you are looking in a southeasterly direction, or, perhaps, more nearly S.S.E. by the compass, but the magnetic needle here has a variation of $11^{\circ} 03'$ west of north.

The rock is almost covered with water at high tide, and can only be seen to advantage at low tide.

The inscriptions on the rock are from one-eighth to three-eighths of an inch deep. At the time it was photographed I made nearly all of the chalk marks myself, *and no chalking was made where the cutting in the rock was not plainly visible to the eye, and many markings partly obscure were not touched, thus giving the rock the benefit of all possible doubt.*

~~Captain~~ A. M. Harrison, in charge of the United States Coast Survey, engaged in work on Taunton River, was present when the photograph was taken, and he is engaged upon a history of the Norsemen's discovery of America, in connection with Dighton Rock, by request of the United States government. His report, when completed, will be a valuable work. I am, my dear sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant, ELISHA SLADE.

It has so frequently been claimed that the inscriptions on Dighton Rock are nothing but "Indian scrawls," hence we wrote to Mr. Slade, asking him whether they could, in his opinion, have been made with stone implements. Here is his answer:

SOMERSET, BRISTOL COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS,
March 13, 1876.

DEAR SIR,—You ask my opinion as to the instruments used in cutting the inscriptions on Dighton Rock. I think they were iron implements, and that they were in the hands of a skilled mechanic—a Norseman worthy of the name. I do not know that my opinion on this question is of any consequence, still I have seen work undoubtedly performed by an aboriginal American with flint and stone tools, but the characters were not nicely edged, as these are. I cannot believe they were made by the lazy Indian of Schoolcraft.

I have a decided interest in the Norsemen's visit to New England, for Thorfinn must have been well acquainted with Somerset, my native town. He must have seen Taunton River as I see it, with Mount Hope and Narragansett bay, and seen the same sun rise over the same hills and set behind the same ridge 865 years ago. It is not impossible that Snorre was born in Somerset.

Ever truly yours,

ELISHA SLADE.

In reference to this curious rock we will now only refer the reader to Chapter XIV of this book.

From Joseph Story Fay, Esq., of Wood's Holl, Massachusetts, we have received the following very interesting paper on "The Track of the Norsemen," which we recommend to the careful perusal of our readers. Before presenting it, however, we will remark that the name Hope is found in Thorfinn Karlsefne's Saga, where we read: "Karlsefne sailed with his people into the mouth of the river (Taunton River), and they called the place Hóp (Mount Hope)." Hope is from the Icelandic *hópa*, to recede, and signifies a bay or the mouth of a river. The description in the saga corresponds exactly with the present situation of Mount Hope Bay. Here is Mr. Fay's paper. (We publish it by permission of the author.)

It is now well established that in the tenth century the Norsemen visited this country, and coasting down from Greenland, passed along Cape Cod, through Vineyard Sound to Narragansett Bay, where it is believed they settled. In the neighborhood of Assonet and Dighton, inscriptions upon the rocks have been found, and traditions exist that there were others, which have been destroyed. The name of Mount HOPE is supposed to have been given to the Indians by them, and it is a little curious that those antiquaries



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and entered Vineyard Sound as the Norsemen did, in rounding Monomoy Point, the southeast extremity of the cape, he would have seen on his right a high sandy hill, on or near which is the light-house, overlooking a land-locked anchorage on the inside called Powder Hole; a score or more of miles farther along, across the sound, on his left, he would have seen the hills now called Oak Bluffs and the Highlands, and under their lee a deep bay and roadstead long known as Holmes' Hole, unfortunately changed to Vineyard Haven; crossing over to the mainland again, a little farther west, he would have come to the bold but prettily rounded hills forming the southwestern extremity of the cape, and behind them the sheltered and picturesque harbor of Wood's Hole.

Proceeding thence toward Narragansett Bay, along the south coast of Naushon, prominent hills on the west end of that island slope down to a roadstead for small craft, and a passage through to Buzzard's Bay, called Robinson's Hole; the next island is Pasque; and between its high hills and those of Nashawena is a passage called Quick's Hole. Now these several localities are unlike each other except that all have hills in their vicinity, serving as distinguishing landmarks. And why is not the word "hole" as applied to them a corruption of the Norwegian word holl, meaning hill? The descriptive term hole is not applicable to any of them, but the word holl is to the adjacent hills, while there is little else in common between them. The localities now called Quick's

and Robinson's Hole are passages between Elizabeth Islands; Wood's Hole is a passage and a harbor; Holmes' Hole, now known as Vineyard Haven, is a deep bay or anchorage; and Powder Hole was formerly a capacious roadstead, now nearly filled with sand.

It may seem to militate with the theory advanced, that south of Powder Hole or Monomoy Point is a locality called on the chart Butler's Hole, which lies in the course from Handkerchief Shoal to Pollock Rip, where there is now not only no hill but no land. But it is to be considered that almost within the memory of man there was land in that vicinity, which has been washed away by the same strong and eccentric current that has nearly filled up Powder Hole harbor and made it a sand-flat, and which still casts up on the shore large roots and remains of trees. With this in mind it is not wild to suppose that Butler's Hole marks a spot where once was an island with a prominent hill, which the sea kings called a holl, and which has succumbed to the powerful abrasion of the tides which have moved Pollock Rip many yards to the eastward, and which every year make and unmake shoals in the vicinity of Nantucket and Cape Cod.

It would seem a matter of course that the Norsemen, after their long and perhaps rough voyages, when once arrived in the sheltered waters and harbors of Vineyard Sound should have become familiar with them, and should have lingered there to recruit and

refit, before proceeding westward; or on their return, to have waited there to gather up resources before venturing out on the open ocean. Indeed, it is recorded in their sagas that they brought off boat loads of grapes from those pleasant shores. What more probable than that they cultivated friendly relations with the natives, and in coming to an understanding with them on subjects in common, should have told them the Norwegian terms for the hills and headlands of their coast, and that the Indians, in the paucity of their own language, should have adopted the appellation holl, which they were told signified hill, so important as a landmark to these wandering sea kings! Why may not the Norsemen have called them so, until the natives adopted the same title, and handed it down to the English explorers under Bartholomew Gosnold, who gave their own patronymics to those several holls, or holes, as now called? The statement of "the oldest inhabitant" of Wood's Hole, on being asked where the word hole came from, is, that he "always understood that it came from the Indians."

There being no harbor on the shores of Martha's Vineyard island west of Holmes' Hole, the voyagers would naturally follow the north shore of the sound and become familiar with the Elizabeth Islands, and be more likely to give names to the localities on that side than on the other. Between Wood's Hole and Holmes' Hole the sound is narrowest, and they would be apt to frequent either harbor as the winds and tide might make it safe or convenient for them. ■

It seems to confirm the views here advanced that in no other part of this continent or of the world, where the English have settled, is to be commonly found the local name of hole, and yet here in a distance of sixty miles, the thoroughfare of these bold navigators, there are no less than five such still extant. How can it be explained except because it is "the track of the Norsemen"? It is not natural or probable, with their imperfect means of navigation, that they should have passed from Greenland to Narragansett Bay, leaving distinct traces in each, and yet to have ignored the whole intervening space, and not to have lingered awhile on the shores where they found grapes by the boat load, and which must have been as fair and pleasant in those days as they are now. It is to be hoped that at least our people will not be in haste to wipe out the local names of Vineyard Sound, when it is so likely that they are the oldest on the continent, and give to Massachusetts a priority of discovery and settlement over her sister States. Only let us correct the spelling, and give proper significance to them by calling the places now named HOLE by the appropriate title of HOLL.

Before closing this preface we wish to add a few facts about the plans of the distinguished violinist Ole Bull in reference to a monument in honor of the Norse discoverers of America.

At the close of a complimentary reception given to the distinguished artist in the Music Hall, Boston,

Massachusetts, on the 8th of December, 1876, the Rev. Edward Everett Hale rose in his place on the floor and said* he supposed it was known to every person present that the distinguished artist had spent almost the whole of his active life in knotting those ties which connected his country with ours. It was hoped that in some future time there would be erected a physical memorial to the early discoverers of whom he had spoken. It was the wish of those about him [Mr. Hale], at whose request he spoke, that Boston should not be behind in any expression of gratitude to him [Ole Bull] for his work, as well as in expressing interest in our Norse ancestors. He was sure he expressed the sentiment, not only of the audience, but of all New England, when he spoke of the interest with which he regarded his countrymen, whom they regarded as almost theirs. He remembered, although it was nearly forty years ago, when much such an audience as he saw about him cheered and applauded Edward Everett, when the early discoveries had just been made, and when in one of the last of his public poems he expressed the wish that the great discoveries of Thorvald might be commemorated by Thorvald's great descendant, the Northern artist Thorwaldsen. The

* From report in Boston daily "Advertiser."

last words of that poem as they died upon the ear were :

Thorvald shall live for aye in Thorwaldsen.

He [the speaker] thought it was a misfortune for New England that the great Northern artist died before he could accomplish this wish. But New Englanders had never forgotten it, and had never forgotten their Norse ancestors. It was an enterprise which ought to engage Massachusetts men — the preservation of a physical memorial of Thorvald, Leif and Thorfinn; and he suggested that the committee which had arranged the meeting should become a committee of New England, in conjunction with Mr. Appleton, to take this matter in special charge. Mr. Hale put a motion to this effect, and it was carried, and the committee constituted.

The committee of the Norsemen Memorial includes the highest civic officers of Boston and Massachusetts, and so many men renowned throughout the world in science, in letters, and in art, that we cannot refrain from ornamenting our pages with their names. They are, Thomas G. Appleton, Alexander H. Rice, Samuel C. Cobb, Wm. Gaston, Otis Norcross, Frederic W. Lincoln, Marshall P. Wilder, H. W. Paine, Henry A. Whitney, Franklin Haven, Geo. C. Richardson,

Alpheus Hardy, Jos. B. Glover, John W. Candler, E. H. Sampson, James R. Osgood, Oliver Ditson, Jas. H. Danforth, Curtis Guild, W. W. Clapp, Jerome Jones, George O. Carpenter, Chas. W. Wilder, Dexter Smith, Wm. Emerson Baker, James W. Bartlett, Jos. W. Robbins, Ole Bull, John G. Whittier, E. N. Horsford, O. W. Holmes, J. R. Lowell, James T. Fields, Chas. W. Eliot, G. W. Blagden, Edward E. Hale, R. C. Waterston, William B. Rogers, John D. Runkle, Ezra Farnsworth, Charles M. Clapp, Joseph Burnett, John P. Spaulding, Henry R. Reed, W. A. Simmons, Wm. H. Baldwin, Percival L. Everett, A. B. Underwood, Thomas Sherwin, Benjamin Kimball, Moses H. Sargent, W. B. Sears, J. Watson Taylor, Francis L. Hills, secretary.

This committee is,

First, To take measures to erect a monument in honor of the Norsemen who first discovered the Continent of America, about A.D. 1000.

Second, For the protection of the Dighton Rock, now in Taunton River.

The committee issued, January 12, 1877, a circular, of which the following, relating to the Dighton Rock, is an extract:

The origin of the inscriptions cut on this rock have been, for several centuries, the study of histo-



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who first of all Christians planted their feet on the soil of Massachusetts, and built the first cabins (Leif's Booths) in New England.

In sending out this second edition of our book we may be pardoned for again pleading the cause of the Norsemen and hoping that the time may soon come when the names of Leif Erikson, Bjarne Herjulfson, Thorvald Erikson (who, by the way, has recently been immortalized in Longfellow's "Skeleton in Armor"), Thorfinn Karlsefne, Gudrid, Erik Upsi, Are Marson, Bjorn Asbrandson (the champion of Breidavik) and Gudleif Gudlaugson shall have become household words in every house and hamlet in these United States. Let every child learn the stories about the Norse discoverers of Vinland the Good.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN,
MADISON, WIS., April 3, 1877.

CHAPTER I.

THE NORSEMEN, AND OTHER PEOPLES, INTERESTED IN THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

THE object of the following pages is to present the reader with a brief account of the discovery of early voyages to and settlements in the Western Continent by the Norsemen, and to prove that Columbus must have had knowledge of this discovery by the Norsemen before he started to find America; and the author will not be surprised, if, in these pages, he should happen to throw out some thoughts which will conflict with the reader's previously-formed convictions about matters and things generally, and about historical facts especially.

The interest manifested by the reader of history is always greater the nearer the history which he reads is connected with his own country or with his own ancestors.

The American student, on the one hand, loves to dwell upon the pages of American history. He

admires the resolution, the fortitude and perseverance of the Pilgrim Fathers as they passed through their varied scenes of hardship and adversity when they made their first settlement upon our New England shores; and his whole soul is filled with transporting emotions of delight or sympathy as he reads the thrilling incidents of the sufferings and the victories of his countrymen who fought for his as well as for their own freedom during the Revolutionary war.

The Norse student, on the other hand, takes special pleasure in perusing the old Sagas and Ed-das, and following the Vikings on their daring but victorious expeditions through European waters; and he draws inspiration from those beautiful and poetical ancient myths and stories about Odin, Thor, Baldur, Loke, the Giant Ymer, Ragnarok, Yg-drasil, and that innumerable host of godlike heroes that illuminate the pages of his people's ancient history, and glitter like brilliant diamonds in the dust and darkness of bygone ages.

The subject to which your attention is invited, *the Discovery of America*, is, if properly presented, of equal interest to Americans and Norsemen. For those who are born and brought up on the fertile soil of Columbia, under the shady branches of the

noble tree of American liberty, where the banner of progress and education is unfurled to the breeze, must naturally feel a deep interest in whatever facts may be presented in relation to the first discovery and early settlement of this their native land; while those who first saw the sunlight beaming among the rugged, snow-capped mountains of old Norway, and can still feel any of the heroic blood of their dauntless forefathers course its way through their veins, must, as a matter of course, feel an equally deep interest in learning that their own ancestors, the intrepid Norsemen, were the first pale-faced men who planted their feet on this gem of the ocean, and an interest, too, I dare say, in having the claims of their native country to this honor vindicated.

The subject is not without special interest to the *Germans*, as it will appear in the course of this sketch that a German,* who accompanied the Norsemen on their first expedition to this Western World, is intimately connected with the first name of this country; and there is no doubt that a German,† through his writings about the Norsemen, was the means of bringing to Columbus valuable information about America.

The Welsh also have an interest in this subject;

* Tyrker.

† Adam of Bremen.

for it is generally believed, and not without reason, that their ancestors, under the leadership of Madoc, made a settlement in this country about the year 1170; thus, although they were 170 years later than the Norsemen in making the discovery, they were still 322 years ahead of Columbus, and Norsemen, therefore, claim in this question, Welshmen's sympathies against Columbus.

We might enlist the interest of Irishmen, too, in the presentation of this subject; for, in the year 1029, (according to an account in the EYRBYGGJA SAGA, Chapter 64,) a Norse navigator, by name GUDLEIF GUDLAUGSON, undertook a voyage to Dublin, and on leaving Ireland again he intended to sail to Iceland; but he met with northeast winds and was driven far to the west and southwest in the sea, where no land was to be seen. It was already late in the summer, and Gudleif, with his party, made many prayers that they might escape from the sea. And it came to pass, says the Saga, that they saw land, but they knew not what land it was. Then they resolved to sail to the land, for they were weary with contending longer with the violence of the sea. They found there a good harbor, and when they had been a short time on shore, there came some people to them. They knew none

of the people, but it “*rather appeared to them that they spoke Irish.*”

This portion of America, supposed to be situated south of the Chesapeake Bay, including NORTH and SOUTH CAROLINA, GEORGIA, and EAST FLORIDA, is in the Saga of THORFINN KARLSEFNE, chapter 13, called “*Irland-it-Mikla,*” that is, *Great Ireland*. It is claimed that the name, *Great Ireland*, arose from the fact that the country had been colonized, long before *Gudlaugson's* visit, by the Irish, and that, they coming from their own green island to a vast continent possessing many of the fertile qualities of their own native soil, the appellation was natural and appropriate. There is nothing improbable in this conclusion; for the Irish, who visited and inhabited Iceland toward the close of the eighth century, to accomplish which they had to traverse a stormy ocean to the extent of eight hundred miles — who, as early as 725, were found upon the Faroe Isles — and whose voyages between Ireland and Iceland, in the tenth century, were of ordinary occurrence — a people so familiar with the sea, were certainly capable of making a voyage across the Atlantic ocean.

I cannot here enter upon any further discussion of the claims of the Irish, but you observe that this subject of discovering America cannot be treated

exhaustively without bringing back to the mind fond recollections of the Emerald Isle, which was once the *School* of Western Europe, and her brave sons

“*Inclyta gens hominum, milite, pace, fide,*”

as Bishop Donatus somewhere has it.



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Until recently, it has generally been supposed that America was wholly unknown to European nations previous to the time of Columbus; but investigations by learned men have made it certain, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that the Europeans did have knowledge of this country long before the time of Columbus, and it has even been claimed, on quite plausible grounds, that some of the nations living here at the time of Columbus' discovery of this continent were descendants of Europeans.

As yet but few scholars have turned their attention to the North of Europe in relation to this subject, and hence the light which this extreme portion of the globe could give has hitherto been, in a great measure, neglected by the learned men of the great nations; and yet the antiquities of the North furnish a series of incontestable evidence that the coast of North America was discovered in the latter part of the tenth century, immediately after the discovery of Greenland by the Norsemen; furthermore, that this same coast was visited repeatedly by the Norsemen in the eleventh century; furthermore, that it was visited by them in the twelfth century; nay, also, that it was found again by them in the thirteenth century, and revisited in the fourteenth century. But even this is not all. These

Northern antiquities also show that Christianity had been introduced in America, not only among the Norsemen, who formed a settlement here, but also among the aborigines, or native population, that the Norsemen found here.

The learned men of the North are not to blame that this matter has not previously received due attention, for TORFÆUS published an account thereof as early as the year 1705, and besides him SUHM and SCHÆNING and LAGERBRING and WORMSKJOLD and SCHRÆDER, to say nothing of many others, have all presented the main facts in their historical works. But other nations paid no attention to all this. Not until 1837, when the celebrated Professor Rafn, through the laudable enterprise of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquities, published his learned, interesting and important work,* could scholars outside of Scandinavia be induced to examine the claims of the Norsemen. Professor Rafn succeeded, and he has perhaps done more than any other one man to call the attention of other nations to the importance of studying the Old Norse literature. Thus it is that scholars of other nations recently have begun to direct their attention to Northern Antiquities, Northern Languages and His-

* *Antiquitates Americanæ*, Hafniæ, 1837.

tory. Germany and England, and I would like to add America, are now beginning to realize how much valuable material is to be found in these sources for elucidating the history and institutions of other contemporary nations; and especially do the early Sagas of the North throw much important light on the character of English and German institutions during the middle ages. The English and Germans are translating the Sagas as fast as they can. Professors KONRAD MAURER and TH. MOEBIUS are doing excellent work at their respective Universities in Germany; Oxford and Cambridge in England have each an Icelandic Professor, and several American Universities give instruction in the Northern languages.

It is indeed an encouraging fact that these great nations are gradually becoming conscious of the importance of studying the Northern languages and literature, and we may safely hope that the time is not far distant when the Norsemen will be recognized in their right social, political and literary character, and at the same time as navigators assume their true position in the pre-Columbian discovery of America.

CHAPTER III.

ANTIQUITY OF AMERICA.

BEFORE the plains of Europe rose above the primeval seas, the continent of America, according to Louis Agassiz, emerged from the watery waste that encircled the whole globe and became the scene of animal life. Hence the so-called New World is in reality the Old, and Agassiz gives abundant proof of its hoary age.

But who is able even to conjecture at what period it became the abode of man? Down to the close of the tenth century its written history is vague and uncertain. We can find traces of a rude civilization that suggest a very high antiquity. We can show mounds, monuments, and inscriptions, that point to periods, the contemplation of which would make Chronos himself grow giddy; yet among all these great and often impressive memorials there is no monument, mound, or inscription, that solves satisfactorily the mystery of their origin. There are but few traditions even to aid us in our researches,

and we can only infer that age after age nations and tribes have continued to rise into greatness and then decline and fall, and that barbarism and a rude culture have held alternate sway.*

* Compare De Costa, page 11.

CHAPTER IV.

PHENICIAN, GREEK, IRISH AND WELSH CLAIMS.

IN early times the Atlantic Ocean, like all other things without known bounds, was viewed by man with mixed feelings of fear and awe. It was usually called the Sea of Darkness.

The PHENICIAN, and especially TYRIAN voyages to the Western Continent, in early times, have been warmly advocated; and it is more than probable that the original inhabitants of the American continent crossed the Atlantic instead of piercing the icy regions of the north and coming by the way of Behring's Strait. From the Canaries, which were discovered and colonized by the Phenicians, it is a short voyage to America, and the bold sailors of the Mediterranean, after touching at these islands, could easily and safely be wafted to the western shore.

That the Greek philosopher, PYTHEAS, whose discoveries about the different length of the days in various climates appeared so astonishing to the other

philosophers of his age, traversed the Atlantic Ocean about 340 years before Christ, can scarcely be doubted. He certainly discovered Thule* (Iceland), and determined its latitude, and we may at least say that by this discovery he opened the way to America for the Norsemen.

Claims have been made, as I have already shown, both by the Irish and by the Welsh, that they crossed the Atlantic and found America before Columbus, but it is not my purpose to comment upon these claims in this short sketch. Much learned discussion has been devoted to the subject, but the early history of the American continent is still, to a great extent, veiled in mystery, and not until near the close of the tenth century of the present era can we point, with absolute certainty, to a genuine transatlantic voyage.

* See Strabo's Geography, Book II, § 6.



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turers. They made themselves known in every part of the civilized world by their daring as soldiers and navigators. They spread themselves along the shores of Europe, making conquests and planting colonies.

In their conquering expeditions they subdued a large portion of England, wrested Normandy, the fairest province of France, from the French king, conquered a considerable portion of Belgium, and made extensive inroads into Spain. Under Robert Guiscard they made themselves masters of Sicily and lower Italy in the eleventh century, and maintained their power there for a long time. During the Crusades they led the van of the chivalry of Europe in rescuing the Holy Sepulchre, and ruled over Antioch under Guiscard's son, Bohemund. They passed between the pillars of Hercules, they desolated the classic fields of Greece and penetrated the walls of Constantinople.

Straying away into the distant east, from where they originally came, we find them laying the foundations of the Russian Empire, swinging their two-edged battle-axes in the streets of Constantinople, where they served as the leaders of the Greek Emperor's body-guard, and the main support of his tottering throne. They carved their mystic runes

upon the marble lion* in the harbor of Athens in commemoration of their conquest of this city. The old Norse Vikings sailed up the rivers Rhine, Schelde, the Seine and Loire, conquering Cologne and Aachen, where they turned the emperor's palace into a stable, filling the heart of even the great Charlemagne with dismay.

The rulers of England are descendants of the Norsemen. Ganger Rolf, known in English history by the name Rollo, a son of Harald Haarfagr's friend, Ragnvald Morejarl, invaded France in the year 912 and took possession of Normandy; and in 1066, at the battle of Hastings, William the Conqueror, a great-grandson of Ganger Rolf, conquered England; and it is proper to add, that from this conquest the pride and glory of Great Britain descended.

It is also a noticeable fact, that the most serious opposition that William the Conqueror met with came from colonists of his own race,¹ who had settled in Northumbria. He wasted their lands with fire and sword, and drove them beyond the border; but still we find their energy, their perseverance and their speech existing in the north English and lowland Scotch dialects.

* The marble lion upon which they carved their runes was afterward taken to Venice and erected at the entrance of the arsenal, where it may be seen at the present time.

CHAPTER VI.

ICELAND.

BUT Europe did not set bounds to the voyages and enterprises of the Norsemen. In the year 860 they discovered Iceland, and soon afterward (874) established upon this island a republic, which flourished four hundred years. The Icelandic republic furnishes the very best evidence of the independent spirit which characterized the Norsemen.

Political circumstances in Norway urged many of the boldest and most independent people in the country to seek an asylum of freedom. HARALD HAARFAGR (*i. e.* the Fair-haired) had determined to make himself monarch of all Norway. He was instigated to unite Norway under his scepter by the ambition of the fair and proud RAGNA ADILSDATTER (daughter), whom he loved and courted; but she declared that the man she married would have to be king of all Norway. Harald accepted the conditions; and after twelve years' hard fighting, during which time he neither cut nor combed

his hair once,* in the year 872, at the battle of Hafersfjord, Norway became united into one kingdom, instead of being divided into thirty-one small republics, as had been the case before that time.

Harald had subdued or slain the numerous leaders, and had passed a law abolishing all freehold tenure of property,† usurping it for the crown. To this the proud freemen of Norway would not submit. Disdaining to yield their ancient independence and be degraded, they resolved to leave those lands and homes, which they could now scarcely call their own, and set out with their families and followers in quest of new seats. There were as great emigrations from Norway in those days as there are now. The Norse spirit of enterprise is as old as their history.

Whither then should they go, was the question.

Some went to the Hebrides, others to the Orkney Isles; some to the Shetland and Faroe Isles; many went as Vikings to England, Scotland and France; but by far the greater number went to the more distant and therefore more secure Iceland, which had been discovered by the celebrated Norse Viking

* He made a pledge to Ragna that he would neither cut nor comb his hair until he had subjugated all Norway.

† This so-called udal, [Icel. ódal, Norse odel, allodium,] *i. e.* independent tenure of property, was given back to the Norsemen by King Hakon the Good in the year 935, and has never since been taken away from them.

NADDODD in 860, and called by him Snowland; re-discovered by Gardar, of Swedish extraction, in 864, after whom it was called Gardar's Holm (island), and visited by two Norsemen, Ingolf and Leif (Hjorleifr) in 870, by whom it was called Iceland. This emigration from Norway to Iceland began in the year 874, now more than a thousand years ago; and thus this strange island was peopled—and in a few years peopled to a surprising extent. It was not long before it had upward of 50,000 inhabitants. You must bear in mind that this colonization was on an island in the cold North Sea, a little below the Arctic Circle. It was in a climate where grain refused to ripen, and where the people often were obliged to shake the snow off the frozen hay before they could carry it. Fishing, the main support of the people, was often obstructed by ice from the polar regions filling their harbors, and the whole island presented a most melancholy aspect of desolation. But still the people continued to flock thither and become attached to the soil. They were surrounded the whole year by dreary ice-mountains, the glare of volcanic flames, and the roaring of geysers or boiling springs. Still they loved this wild country, because they were *free*; and through the long winters, when the sun nearly or entirely disappeared

from above the horizon, and nothing but northern lights flickered over their heads, they seemed only the more thrown upon their intellectual resources, and passed the time in reciting the Eddas and Sagas of their ancestors.

Perhaps I ought to beg your pardon for dwelling so long upon the subject of Iceland; but my apology is that, in the first place, Iceland is of itself an exceedingly interesting country; and, in the next place, it is really the *hinge upon which the door swings* which opened America to Europe. This island had been visited by Pytheas 340 years before Christ; and, according to the Irish monk DICUILUS, who wrote a geography in the year 825, it had been visited by some Irish priests in the summer of 795.* It was the settlement of Iceland by the Norsemen, and the constant voyages between this island and Norway, that led to the discovery, first of Greenland and then of America; and it is due to the high intellectual standing and fine historical taste of the Icelanders that records of these voyages were kept, first to instruct Columbus how to find America, and afterward to solve for us the mysteries concerning the discovery of this continent.

Iceland is a small island, in the 65th deg. north

* *Vid.* Dicuilus, *De Mensura Orbis Terræ*, ed. Latronne, p. 88.

latitude, of about 1,800 geographical square miles. Its valleys are almost without verdure, and its mountains without trees. Still, it contains, even at the present time, no less than 70,000 inhabitants, who live a peaceable and contented life, still clinging to their ancient language, and studying foreign languages, science, philosophy, and history, as we do who live in milder and more favored climes. Now, as in olden times, the earth trembles in the throes of the earthquake,—the geysers still spout their scalding water, and the plain belches forth mud,—while the grand old jokul,* Mount Hekla, clad in white robes of eternal snow, brandishes aloft its volcanic torch, as if threatening to set the very heavens on fire.

For ages Iceland was destined to become the sanctuary and preserver of the grand old literature of the North. Paganism prevailed there more than a century after the island became inhabited; the old traditions were cherished and committed to memory, and shortly after the introduction of Christianity the Old Norse literature was put in writing.

The ancient literature and traditions of Iceland excel anything of their kind in Europe during the middle ages. The Icelandic poems have no parallel

* Mountains covered with perpetual snow are called "jókuls" in Iceland.



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CHAPTER VII.

GREENLAND.

BUT, as time passed on, the people of Iceland felt a new impulse for colonizing new and strange lands, and the tide of emigration began to tend with irresistible force toward Greenland, in the west, which country also became settled in spite of its wretched climate.

The discovery of Greenland was a natural consequence of the settlement of Iceland, just as the discovery of America afterward was a natural consequence of the settlement of Greenland. Between the western part of Iceland and the eastern part of Greenland there is a distance of only forty-five geographical miles. Hence, some of the ships that sailed to Iceland, at the time of the settlement of this island and later, could in case of a violent east wind, which is no rare occurrence in those regions, scarcely avoid approaching the coast of Greenland sufficiently to catch a glimpse of its jokuls,—nay, even to land on its islands and promontories. Thus

it is said that Gunnbjorn, Ulf Krage's son, saw land lying in the ocean at the west of Iceland, when, in the year 876, he was driven out to the sea by a storm. Similar reports were heard, from time to time, by other mariners. About a century later a certain man, by name ERIK THE RED, had fled from the Jader, in Norway, on account of manslaughter, and had settled in the western part of Iceland. Here he also was outlawed for manslaughter, by the public assembly, and condemned to banishment. He therefore fitted out his ship, and resolved to go in search of the land in the west that Gunnbjorn and others had seen. He set sail in the year 984, and found the land as he had expected, and remained there exploring the country for two years. At the end of this period he returned to Iceland, giving the newly-discovered country the name of GREENLAND, in order, as he said, to attract settlers, who would be favorably impressed with so pleasing a name.

The result was that many Icelanders and Norsemen emigrated to Greenland, and a flourishing colony was established, with GARDAR for its capital city, which in the year 1261, became subject to the crown of Norway. The Greenland colony maintained its connection with the mother countries for

a period of no less than 400 years; yet it finally disappeared, and was almost forgotten. Torfæus gives a list of seventeen bishops who ruled in Greenland.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SHIPS OF THE NORSEMEN.

BEFORE following the Norsemen farther on their westward course, it may not be out of place to say a few words about their ships. Having crossed the briny deep four times myself, I have seen something of what is required in order to venture with safety on so long watery journeys. I have also seen one of the old Norse Viking ships, which is preserved at the University of Norway, and it seemed to me an excellent one both in respect to form and size. Now, I do not mean to say that the old Norsemen possessed such ocean crafts as now plow the deep between New York and Liverpool; but what I mean to say is this, that the Norsemen were then, as they are now, very excellent navigators. They had good sea-going vessels, some of which were of large size. We have an account, in Olaf Trygve-son's Saga, of one that was in many respects remarkable. That part of the keel which rested on the ground was 140 feet long. None but the choicest

material was used in its construction. It contained thirty-four rowing-benches, and its stem and stern were overlaid with gold.* Their vessels would compare favorably with those of other nations, which have been used in later times in expeditions around the world, and were in every way adapted for an ocean voyage. They certainly were as well fitted to cross the Atlantic as were the ships of Columbus. From the Sagas we also learn that the Norsemen fully understood the importance of cultivating the study of navigation; they knew how to calculate the course of the sun and moon, and how to measure time by the stars. Without a high degree of nautical knowledge they could never have accomplished their voyages to England, France, Spain, Sicily, Greece, and those still more difficult voyages to Iceland and Greenland.

I have now given a brief historical sketch of the voyages and enterprises of the Norsemen. I have done this to show that they were capable of the

*This ship of Olaf Trygvesson was called the *Long* Serpent, and was built by the ship-carpenter Thorberg, who is celebrated in the annals of the North for his ship-building. The Earl Hakon had a dragon containing forty rowing-benches. King Canute had one containing sixty, and King Olaf, the saint, possessed two ships capable of carrying two hundred men each. The Norse dragons glided on the waters as gracefully as ducks or swans, of which they also had the form. Compare also "Saga Fridthjofs ens Frækna," (the Saga of Fridthjof the Bold, in "Viking Tales of the North,") chapter 1, where his good ship Ellida is described.

exploit of discovering America — nay, that it was in fact an unavoidable result of their constant seafaring life; so that even if we did not have the unmistakable language of the Sagas, we might still be able to assert, with a considerable degree of certainty, that the Norsemen must have been aware of the existence of the American continent. Yes, the Norsemen were truly a great people! Their spirit found its way into the Magna Charta* of England and into the Declaration of Independence in America. The spirit of the Vikings still survives in the bosoms of Englishmen, Americans and Norsemen, extending their commerce, taking bold positions against tyranny, and producing wonderful internal improvements in these countries.

* Compare William and Mary Howitt.

CHAPTER IX.

THE SAGAS AND DOCUMENTS ARE GENUINE.

WE have now seen that the Norsemen made themselves known in every part of the civilized world; that they had excellent^u ships^u, that they were well trained seaman, and a highly civilized nation, possessing in fact all the means necessary for reaching the continent in the west; and we are thus prepared for the vital question, Did the Norsemen actually discover and explore the coast of the country now known as America? There is certainly no improbability in the idea. Open an atlas at the map of the Atlantic Ocean, or at the maps of the two hemispheres. Observe the distance between Norway and Iceland, and the distances between Iceland and Greenland and Greenland and Newfoundland. You perceive it is more than twice the distance between Norway and Iceland that it is between Iceland and Greenland, and not far from twice the distance that it is between Greenland and Labrador, and thence on to New-



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Christ. The authenticity and authority of the Icelandic Sagas has been fully acknowledged by ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT in his *Cosmos*,* by MALTEBRUN,† and many other distinguished scholars; and therefore a further discussion is at this time unnecessary on this point.

The manuscripts, in which we have the Sagas relating to America, are found in the celebrated CODEX FLATÆENSIS, a skin-book that was finished in the year 1387. This work, written with great care and executed in the highest style of art, is now preserved in its integrity in the archives of Copen-

* *Cosmos*, Vol. ii., pp. 269-272, where Alexander Von Humboldt, discussing the pre-Columbian discovery of America by the Norsemen, says: "We are here on historical ground. By the critical and highly praiseworthy efforts of Professor Rafn and the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries in Copenhagen, the Sagas and documents in regard to the expeditions of the Norsemen to Helluland (Newfoundland), to Markland (the mouth of the St. Lawrence river and Nova Scotia), and to Vinland (Massachusetts), have been published and satisfactorily commented upon.

* * * The discovery of the northern part of America by the Norsemen cannot be disputed. The length of the voyage, the direction in which they sailed, the time of the sun's rising and setting, are accurately given. While the Chalifat of Bagdad was still flourishing under the Abbasides, and while the rule of the Samanides, so favorable to poetry, still flourished in Persia, America was discovered, about the year 1000, by Leif, son of Erik the Red, at about $41\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N. L."

† Vid. *Nouvelles annales des voyages, de la géographie, de l'histoire et de l'archéologie, rédigées par M. V.-A. MALTEBRUN, secrétaire de la commission centrale de la société de géographie de Paris, member de plusieurs sociétés savantes. Août, 1858, p. 253.*

hagen, and a carefully printed copy* of it is to be found in Mimer's library at the University of Wisconsin. We gather from this work that the Norsemen, after discovering and settling Greenland, and then keeping a bold southwestern course, discovered America more than 500 years before Columbus; and I shall in the following chapters present some of the main circumstances of this discovery.

* FLATEYARBOK, Christiania (Norway), 1860-1868.

CHAPTER X.

BJARNE HERJULFSON, 986.

IN the year 986, the same year that he returned from Greenland, the above-named **ERIK THE RED** moved from Iceland to Greenland, and among his numerous friends, who accompanied him, was an Icelander by name **HERJULF**.

Herjulf had a son by name **BJARNE**, who was a man of enterprise and fond of going abroad, and who possessed a merchant-ship, with which he gathered wealth and reputation. He used to be by turns a year abroad and a year at home with his father. He chanced to be away in Norway when his father moved over to Greenland, and on returning to Iceland he was so much disappointed on hearing of his father's departure with Erik, that he would not unload his ship, but resolved to follow his old custom and take up his abode with his father. "Who will go with me to Greenland?" said he to his men. "We will all go with you," replied the men. "But we have none of us ever

been on the Greenland Sea before," said Bjarne. "We mind not that," said the men,—so away they sailed for three days and lost sight of Iceland. Then the wind failed. After that a north wind and fog set in, and they knew not where they were sailing to. This lasted many days, until the sun at length appeared again, so that they could determine the quarters of the sky, and lo! in the horizon they saw, like a blue cloud, the outlines of an unknown land. They approached it. They saw that it was without mountains, was covered with wood, and that there were small hills inland. Bjarne saw that this did not answer to the description of Greenland; he knew he was too far south; so he left the land on the larboard side and sailed northward two days, when they got sight of land again. The men asked Bjarne if this was Greenland; but he said it was not, "For in Greenland," he said, "there are great snowy mountains; but this land is flat and covered with trees." They did not go ashore, but turning the bow from the land, they kept the sea with a fine breeze from the southwest for three days, when a third land was seen. Still Bjarne would not go ashore, for it was not like what had been reported of Greenland. So they sailed on, driven by a violent southwest wind, and

after four days they reached a land which suited the description of Greenland. Bjarne was not deceived, for it was Greenland, and he happened to land close to the place where his father had settled.

It cannot be determined with certainty what parts of the American coast Bjarne saw; but from the circumstances of the voyage, the course of the winds, the direction of the currents, and the presumed distance between each sight of land, there is reason to believe that the first land that Bjarne saw in the year 986 was the present NANTUCKET, one degree south of Boston; the second NOVA SCOTIA, and the third NEWFOUNDLAND. Thus BJARNE HERJULFSON was the first *European* whose eyes beheld any part of the present *New England*. The first European who saw the American *continent*, and whose *name* is recorded, was ARE MARSON (see p. 18). He went to Great Ireland (the Chesapeake country), which had undoubtedly been discovered by the Irish even long before Are visited there in the year 983.

CHAPTER XI.

LEIF ERIKSON, 1000.

WHEN Bjarne visited Norway, a few years later, and told of his adventure, he was censured in strong terms by Jarl (Earl) Erik and others, because he had manifested so little interest that he had not even gone ashore and explored these lands, and because he could give no more definite account of them. Still, what he did say was sufficient to arouse in the mind of LEIF ERIKSON, son of Erik the Red, a determination to solve the problem and find out what kind of lands these were that were talked so much about. He bought Bjarne's ship from him, set sail with a good crew of thirty-five men, and found the lands just as Bjarne had described them, far away to the southwest of Greenland. They landed in HELLULAND (NEWFOUNDLAND) and in MARKLAND (NOVA SCOTIA), explored these countries somewhat, gave them names, and proceeded from the latter into the open sea with a northeast wind, and were two days at sea

before they saw land again. They sailed into a sound. It was very shallow at ebb-tide, so that their ship stood dry and there was a long way from their ship to the water. But so much did they desire to land that they did not give themselves time to wait until the water rose again under their ship, but ran at once on shore, at a place where a river flows out of a lake.* But as soon as the water rose up under the ship, they rowed out in their boats, floated the ship up the river and thence into the lake, where they cast anchor, brought their skin cots out of the ship, and raised their tents. After this they took counsel, and resolved to remain through the winter, and built a large house. There was no want of salmon, either in the river or in the lake, and larger salmon than they had before seen. The nature of the country was, as they thought, so good that cattle would not require house-feeding in winter. Day and night were more equal than in Greenland or Iceland, for on the shortest day the sun was above the horizon from half-past seven in the forenoon till half-past four in the afternoon; which circumstance gives for the latitude of the place $41^{\circ} 24' 10''$; hence Leif's booths are thought to have

* This lake is Mount Hope Bay. The tourist, in traveling that way by rail, will at first take Mount Hope Bay for a lake. B. F. DeCosta, p. 32.



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his great joy and surprise, had found vines and grapes in great abundance. From this circumstance the land got the name of VINLAND, and history got the interesting fact that a German was along with the daring argonauts of the Christian era.

Here is then a short account of the first expedition to New England. It took place in the year 1000, and LEIF ERIKSON was the first pale-faced man of whom it is recorded that he undertook a voyage across the Atlantic Ocean, with the definitely avowed purpose of seeking for land. His was no discovery by accident. The nature of Leif Erikson's expedition, the end sought, etc., was as clearly defined in his own mind, and as well understood by his countrymen, as in the case of the expedition undertaken by Columbus in 1492. But Leif did not set heaven and earth in commotion in reference to the matter of going across the Atlantic Ocean. He simply bought Bjarne's ship, engaged thirty-five fearless seamen like himself, said good-bye to his aged father, and set sail!

THORVALD ERIKSON, 1002.

IN the spring, when the winds were favorable, Leif Erikson returned to Greenland. The expedition to Vinland was much talked of, and THORWALD, Leif's brother, thought that the land had been much too little explored. Then said Leif to Thorvald: "You may go with my ship, brother, to Vinland, if you like." And so another expedition was fitted out, in the year 1002, by Thorwald Erikson, who went to Vinland and remained there three years; but it cost him his life, for in a battle with the Skrællings an arrow from one of the natives of America pierced his side, causing death. He was buried in Vinland, and two crosses were erected on his grave,—one at his head and one at his feet. Hallowed ground, this, beneath whose sod rests the dust of the first Christian and the first European who died in America! His death and burial also gains interest in another respect, for in the year 1831 there was found in the vicinity of Fall River, Massachusetts, *a skeleton in armor*, and many of the circumstances connected with it are so wonderful

that it might indeed seem almost as though it were the skeleton of this very Thorvald Erikson! This skeleton in armor attracted much attention at the time, was the subject of much learned discussion, and our celebrated poet Longfellow wrote, in the year 1841, a poem about it, beginning:

“Speak! speak! thou fearful guest!”

After which he makes the skeleton tell about his adventures as a viking, about the pine forests of Norway, about his voyage across the stormy deep, and about the discovery of America, concerning which he says:

“Three weeks we westward bore,
And when the storm was o'er,
Cloudlike we saw the shore
Stretching to leeward;
There, for my lady's bower,
Built I the lofty tower,*
Which to this very hour
Stands looking seaward.”

The following are the last two, verses of the poem:

“Still grew my bosom, then,
Still as a stagnant fen,
Hateful to me were men,
The sunlight hateful!

No. *The tower here referred to is the famous Newport tower in Rhode Island, which undoubtedly was built by the Norsemen; at least we persist in claiming it, until it can be clearly shown that it has been built since the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers in 1620.

In the vast forest here,
 Clad in my warlike gear,
 Fell I upon my spear,—
 Oh, death was grateful!

“Thus, seamed with many scars,
 Bursting these prison bars,
 Up to its native stars
 My soul ascended.
 There, from the flowing bowl,
 Deep drinks the warrior’s soul:
 Skaal! to the Northland, skaal!
 Thus the tale ended.”

The great Swedish chemist Berzelius analyzed* a part of the breastplate which was found on the skeleton, and found that in composition it corresponded with metals used in the North during the tenth century; and comparing the Fall River breastplate with old Northern armors, it was also found to correspond with these in style.

When the Norsemen had buried their chief, Thorwald, they returned to Leifsbudir (Leif’s booths), loaded their ships with the products of the land, and returned to Greenland in the year 1005.

*A bronze article found in Denmark, and dating with certainty back to the tenth century, was also analyzed, and the annexed table shows the result of the analysis:

	<i>Breastplate from America.</i>	<i>Bronze Article from Denmark.</i>
Copper	70.29.....	67.13
Zinc.....	28.03.....	20.39
Tin.....	0.91.....	9.24
Lead	0.74.....	3.39
Iron.....	0.03.....	0.11

CHAPTER XIII.

THORSTEIN ERIKSON, 1005.

THEN the Sagas tell us that THORSTEIN, the youngest son of Erik the Red, was seized with a strong desire to pass over to Vinland to fetch the body of his brother Thorvald. He was married to GUDRID, a woman remarkable for her beauty, her dignity, her prudence, and her good discourse. Thorstein fitted out a vessel, manned it with twenty-five men selected for their strength and stature, besides himself and Gudrid. When all was ready they put out to sea, and were soon out of sight of land. Through the whole summer they were tossed about on the deep, and were driven they knew not whither. Finally they made land, which they found to be Lysefjord, on the western coast of Greenland. Here Thorstein and several of his men died, and Gudrid returned to Eriksfjord.

CHAPTER XIV.

THORFINN KARLSEFNE AND GUDRID, 1007.

THE most distinguished explorer of Vinland was THORFINN KARLSEFNE. He was a wealthy and influential man. He was descended from the most famous families in the North. Several of his ancestors had been elected kings. In the fall of 1006 he came from Norway to Eriksfjord with two ships. Karlsefne made rich presents to Leif Erikson, and Leif offered the Norse navigator the hospitalities of Brattahlid during winter. After the Yule festival Thorfinn began to treat with Leif as to the marriage of Gudrid, Leif being the person to whom the right of betrothment belonged. Leif gave a favorable ear to his advances, and in the course of the winter their nuptials were celebrated with due ceremony. The conversation frequently turned at Brattahlid upon Vinland the Good, many saying that an expedition thither held out fair prospects of gain. The result was that Thorfinn, accompanied by his wife, who urged him to the undertaking, sailed to Vinland in the spring of

1007, and remained there three years. The Sagas lay considerable stress upon the fact that Gudrid persuaded him to undertake this expedition. She also appears to have taken a prominent part in the whole enterprise. Imagine yourself way off in Greenland. Imagine Gudrid and Thorfinn Karlsefne taking a walk together on the sea-beach, and Gudrid talking to her husband in this wise:

“I wonder that you, Thorfinn, with good ships and many stout men, and plenty of means, should choose to remain in this barren spot instead of searching out the famous Vinland and making a settlement there. Just think what a splendid country it must be, and what a desirable change for all of us. Thick and leafy woods like those of old Norway, instead of these rugged cliffs and snow-clad hills. Fields of waving grass and rye instead of moss-covered rocks and sandy soil. Trees large enough to build houses and ships instead of willow bushes, that are fit for nothing except to save our cattle from starvation when the hay-crop runs out; besides longer sunshine in winter, and more genial warmth all the year round, instead of howling winds and ice and snow. Truly I think this country was wofully misnamed when they called it Greenland.”

You can easily imagine that Thorfinn was con-



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He was born in the present State of Massachusetts, in the year 1008, and he was the first man of European blood of whose birth in America we have any record. From him the famous sculptor, Albert Thorwaldsen, is lineally descended, besides a long train of learned and distinguished men who have flourished during the last eight centuries in Iceland and Denmark.

In the next place, attention is invited to an inscription on a rock, situated on the right bank of the Taunton river, in Bristol county, Massachusetts. It is familiarly called the DIGHTON WRITING ROCK INSCRIPTION. It stands in the very region which the Norsemen frequented. It is written in characters which the natives have never used nor sculptured. This inscription was copied by Dr. Danforth as early as 1680, by Cotton Mather in 1712; it was copied by Dr. Greenwood in 1730, by Stephen Sewell in 1768, by James Winthrop in 1788, and has been copied at least four times in the present century. The rock was seen and talked of by the first settlers in New England, long before anything was said about the Norsemen discovering America before Columbus.

Near the center of the inscription we read distinctly, in Roman characters,

CXXXI,

which is 151,* the exact number of Thorfinn's party. Then we find an N, a boat, and the Runic character for M, which may be interpreted "N(orse) seafaring M(en)." Besides we have the word NAM—took (took possession), and the whole of Thorfinn's name, with the exception of the first letter. Repeating these characters we have

ORFIN, CXXXI, N  M, NAM,

which has been interpreted by Prof. Rafn as follows: "Thorfinn, with one hundred and fifty-one Norse seafaring men took possession of this land (landnam)."

In the lower left corner of the inscription is a figure of a woman and a child, near the latter of which is the letter S, reminding us most forcibly of Gudrid and her son, Snorre. Upon the whole, the Dighton Writing Rock, if Prof. Rafu's plates and interpretations can be relied upon, removes all doubt concerning the presence of Thorfinn Karlsefne and the Norsemen at Taunton River, in the beginning of the eleventh century.†

* The Icelanders reckoned twelve decades to the hundred and called it stort hundrad (great hundred).

† See page 22.

CHAPTER XV.

OTHER EXPEDITIONS BY THE NORSEMEN.

THE Sagas give elaborate accounts of other expeditions by the Norsemen to Vinland. Thus there is one by Freydis in the year 1011; and in the year 1121 the Bishop Erik Upsi went as a missionary to Vinland.

Then there are Sagas that give accounts of expeditions by Norsemen to GREAT IRLAND (North and South Carolina, Georgia and Florida), but I will omit these in the present sketch.*

The last expedition mentioned was in the year 1347, but this was in the time of the Black Plague, which raged throughout Europe with unrelenting fury from 1347 to 1351, and also reached Iceland, Greenland and Vinland, and cut off communication between these countries. The Black Plague reduced the population of Norway alone from two millions to three hundred thousand, and this fact gives us some idea of the terrible ravages of this fearful epidemic. It is evident that the Black Plague left no surplus population for expeditions to America or elsewhere.

* See page 18.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA BY COLUMBUS.

I WILL now devote a few pages to pointing out some of the threads that connect this discovery of America by the Norsemen with the more recent and better-known discovery by Columbus.

1. From a letter which Columbus himself wrote, and which we find quoted in Washington Irving's *Columbus*,* we know positively that while the design of attempting the discovery in the west was maturing in the mind of Columbus, he made a voyage to the north of Europe, and visited Iceland. This was in February, 1477, and in his conversation with the Bishop and other learned men of Iceland, he must have been informed of the extraordinary fact, that their countrymen had discovered a great country beyond the western ocean, which seemed to extend southward to a great distance. This was a circumstance not likely to rest quietly in the active and speculative mind of the great geographer

* Vol. 1, p. 59.

and navigator. The reader will observe that, when Columbus was in Iceland, in the year 1477, fifteen years before he discovered America, only one hundred and thirty years had elapsed since the last Norse expedition to Vinland. There were undoubtedly people still living whose grandfathers had crossed the Atlantic, and it would be altogether unreasonable to suppose that he, who was constantly studying and talking about geography and navigation, possibly could visit Iceland and not hear anything of the land in the west.

2. Gudrid, the wife of Thorfinn and mother of Snorre, made a pilgrimage to Rome after the death of her husband. It is related that she was well received, and she certainly must have talked there of her ever memorable trans-oceanic voyage to Vinland, and her three years' residence there. Rome paid much attention to geographical discoveries, and took pains to collect all new charts and reports that were brought there. Every new discovery was an aggrandizement of the papal dominion, a new field for the preaching of the Gospel. The Romans might have heard of Vinland before, but she brought personal evidence.

3. That Vinland was known at the Vatican is clearly proved by the fact that Pope Paschal II,

in the year 1112, appointed Erik Upsi, Bishop of Iceland, Greenland and VINLAND, and Erik Upsi went personally to Vinland in the year 1121.

4. Recent developments in relation to Columbus tend to prove that he had opportunity to see a map of Vinland, procured from the Vatican for the Pinzons, and it would indeed astonish us more to learn that he, with his nautical knowledge, did not hear of America than that he did. We must also bear in mind that Columbus lived in an age of discovery; England, France, Portugal and Spain were vying with each other in discovering new lands and extending their territories.

5. But in addition to the SAGAS, the DIGHTON WRITING ROCK, the NEWPORT TOWER (which the Indians told the early New England settlers was built by the giants, and the Norse discoverers certainly looked like giants to the natives, since the former called the latter Skrællings); and in addition to the SKELETON IN ARMOR, we have a remarkable record of the early discovery of America by the Norsemen in the writings of ADAM OF BREMEN, a canon and historian of high authority, who died in the year 1076. He visited the Danish king Svend Estridson, a nephew of Canute the Great, and on his return home he wrote a book "*On the Propa-*

gation of the Christian Religion in the North of Europe," and at the end of this book he added a geographical treatise "*On the Position of Denmark and other regions beyond Denmark.*" Having given an account of Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Iceland and Greenland, he says that, "*besides these there is still another region, which has been visited by many, lying in that Ocean (the Atlantic), which is called VINLAND, because vines grow there spontaneously, producing very good wine; corn likewise springs up there without being sown;*" and as Adam of Bremen closes his account of Vinland he adds these remarkable words: "*This we know not by fabulous conjecture, but from positive statements of the Danes.*"

Now, Adam of Bremen's work was first published in the year 1073, and was read by intelligent men throughout Europe, and Columbus being an educated man, and so deeply interested in geographical studies, especially when they treated of the Atlantic Ocean, could he be ignorant of so important a work?

I have here given *five* reasons why Columbus must have known the existence of the American continent before he started on his voyage of discovery. 1. Gudrid's visit to Rome. 2. The appoint-



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formed his opinion by a chain of logical deductions based upon thorough study and research. It is to the credit of Columbus, we say, that he investigated the nature of things; that he diligently searched the learned writers; that he paid close attention to all reports of navigators, and gathered up all those scattered gleams of knowledge that fell ineffectually upon ordinary minds. Washington Irving says: "When Columbus had formed his theory it became fixed in his mind with singular firmness. He never spoke in doubt or hesitation, but with as much certainty as if his eyes had already beheld the promised land." We say, if he held this firm conviction on only presumptive evidence, then, with all due respect for his distinguished biographer, he is not entitled to the enviable reputation for scholarship and good judgment that has been accredited to him by Washington Irving. We claim to be vindicating the great name of Columbus, by showing that he must have based his *certainty* upon *equally certain* facts, which he possessed the ability and patience to study out, and the keenness of intellect to put together, and this gives *historical importance* to the discovery of America by the *Norsemen*. The fault that we find with Columbus is, that he was not honest and frank enough to tell where and how he had obtained

his previous information about the lands which he pretended to discover; that he sometimes talked of himself as chosen by Heaven to make this discovery, and that he made the fruits of his labors subservient to the dominion of inquisition.

If our theory, then, does not make Columbus out as true and good a man as the reader may have considered him, we still insist that it proves him a man of extraordinary ability. It shows that he discovered America by study and research, and not by accident or inspiration. Care should always be taken to vindicate great names from accident or inspiration. It defeats one of the most salutary purposes of history and biography, which is to furnish examples of what human genius and laudable enterprise can accomplish.*

That the Spanish and more recent colonies in America could become more permanent than the Norse colonies, is chiefly to be attributed to the superiority that fire-arms gave the Europeans over the natives. The Norsemen had no fire-arms, and their higher culture could not defend them against the swarms of savages that attacked them. In the next place, the Black Plague reduced the population of Norway and Iceland beyond the necessity or even possibility to emigrate. If the communication

* Washington Irving.

between Vinland and the North could have been maintained say one hundred years longer, that is, to the middle of the fifteenth century, it is difficult to determine what the result would have been. Possibly this sketch would have appeared in *Icelandic* instead of English. Undoubtedly the Norse colonies would have become firmly rooted by that time, and Norse language, nationality and institutions might have played as conspicuous a part in America as the English and their posterity do now-a-days.

CHAPTER XVII.

CONCLUSION.

BUT it is not within the scope of this sketch to discuss this subject any farther. Let us remember LEIF ERIKSON, the first white man who turned the bow of his ship to the west for the purpose of finding America. Let us remember his brother, THORVALD ERIKSON, the first European and the first Christian who was buried beneath American sod! Let us not forget THORFINN and GUDRID, who established the first European colony in New England! nor their little son, SNORRE, the first man of European blood whose birthplace was in the New World! Let us erect a monument to Leif Erikson worthy of the man and the cause; and while the knowledge of this discovery of America lay for a long time hid in the unstudied literature of Iceland, let us take this lesson, that "*truth crushed to earth will rise again;*" that truth may often lie darkened and hid for a long time, but that it is like the beam of light from a star in some far distant region of the universe — after

thousands of years it reaches some heavenly body and gives it light.

In the language of Mr. Davis: "Let us praise Leif Erikson for his courage, let us applaud him for his zeal, let us respect him for his motives, for he was anxious to enlarge the boundaries of knowledge. He reached the wished-for land,

" 'Where now the western sun,
O'er fields and floods,
O'er every living soul
Diffuseth glad repose.'

He opened to the view a broad region, where smiling hope invites successive generations from the old world.

"Such men as an Alexander, or a Tamerlane, conquer but to devastate countries. Discoverers add new regions of fertility and beauty to those already known.

"And are not the hardy adventurers, plowing the briny deep, more attractive than the troops of Alexander, or Napoleon, marching to conquer the world, with plumes waving in the gentle breeze, and with arms glittering in the sunbeams? Who can tell all the benefits that discoverers confer on mankind?

"To count them all demands a thousand tongues,
A throat of brass and adamantine lungs.'"

WHAT SCHOLARS SAY
ABOUT THE
HISTORICAL, LINGUISTIC AND LITERARY VALUE
OF THE
SCANDINAVIAN LANGUAGES.

“Der är flagga på mast och den visar åt norr, och
i norr är den älskade jord;
jag vill följa de himmelska vindarnas gång, jag vill
styra tillbaka mot Nord.”

—*Tegner.*

ENGLISH VERSION.

“There’s the flag on the mast, and it points to the North,
And the North holds the land that I love,
I will steer back to northward, the heavenly course
Of the winds guiding sure from above.”

VERY little attention has hitherto been given in this country to the study of Scandinavian history, languages and literatures. We think this branch of study would not be so much neglected, if it were more generally known what an extensive source of intellectual pleasure it affords to the scholar who is acquainted with it. We hope, therefore, to serve a good cause by calling your attention to a few quotations from American, English, German, and French scholars, who have given much time and attention to the above named subject, in order that it may be known what they, who

may justly be considered competent to judge, say of their importance.

I will add that I have not found a scholar, who has devoted himself to this field of study and research, that has not at the same time become an *enthusiastic* admirer of Scandinavian and particularly Icelandic history, languages and literatures.

To scientific students it is sufficient to say, that a knowledge of the Scandinavian languages at once introduces them to several writers of great eminence in the scientific world. I will briefly mention a few.

HANS CHRISTIAN OERSTED won for himself one of the greatest names of the age. His discovery, in 1820, of electro-magnetism — the identity of electricity and magnetism — which he not only discovered, but demonstrated incontestably, placed him at once in the highest rank of physical philosophers, and has led to all the wonders of the electric telegraph. His great work, "The Soul of Nature," in which he promulgates his grand doctrine of the universe, abundantly repays a careful perusal.

CARL VON LINNE (Linnæus) is the polar star in botany. He was professor at the University of Sweden, died in 1788, and is the founder of the established system of botany. As Linnæus is the father of botany, so BERZELIUS might be called the father of the present system of chemistry. He is one of the greatest ornaments of science. He devoted his whole life sedulously to the promotion and extension of his favorite science, and to him is the world indebted for the discovery of many new elementary principles and valuable chemical com-



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narrative; how narrative multiplied and increased until it was committed to writing, and how the written relation eventually became sifted and arranged in chronological order.”

SAMUEL LAING, ESQ.—“All that men hope for of good government and future improvement in their physical and moral condition,—all that civilized men enjoy at this day of civil, religious and political liberty — the British constitution, representative legislature, the trial by jury, security of property, freedom of mind and person, the influence of public opinion over the conduct of public affairs, the Reformation, the liberty of the press, the spirit of the age,—all that is or has been of value to man in modern times as a member of society, either in Europe or in America, may be traced to the spark left burning upon our shores by the Norwegian barbarians.

“There seem no good grounds for the favorite and hackneyed course of all who have written on the origin of the British constitution and trial by jury, who unriddle a few dark phrases of Tacitus concerning the institutions of the ancient Germanic tribes, and trace up to that obscure source the origin of all political institutions connected with freedom in modern Europe. In the (Norwegian) Sagas we find, at a period immediately preceding the first traces of free institutions in our history, the rude but very vigorous demonstrations of similar institutions existing in great activity among those northern people, who were masters of the country under Canute the Great, who for two generations before his time had occupied and inhabited a very large portion

of it, and of whom a branch under William of Normandy became its ultimate and permanent conquerors. It may be more classical to search in the pages of Tacitus for allusions to the customs of the tribes wandering in his day through the forests of Germany, which may bear some faint resemblance to modern institutions, or to what we fancy our modern institutions may have been in their infancy; but it seems more consistent with correct principles of historic research to look for the origin of our institutions at the nearest, not at the most remote, source; not at what existed 1,000 years before in the woods of Germany, among people whom we must believe upon supposition to have been the ancestors of the invaders from the north of the Elbe, who conquered England, and must again believe upon supposition, that when this people were conquered successively by the Danes and Normans, they imposed their own peculiar institutions upon their conquerors, instead of receiving institutions from them; but at what actually existed, when the first notice of assemblies for legislative purposes can be traced in English history among the conquerors of the country, a cognate people, long established by previous conquests in a large portion of it, who used, if not the same, at least a language common to both, and who had no occasion to borrow, from the conquered, institutions which were flourishing at the time in their mother country in much greater vigor. It is in these (Norwegian) Sagas, not in Tacitus, that we have to look for the origin of the political institutions of England. The reference of all matters to the *legislative assemblies of the people* is one of the most striking facts in the Sagas.

“The Sagas, although composed by natives of Iceland, are properly *Norwegian literature*. The events, persons, manners, language, belong to *Norway*; and they are productions which, like the works of Homer, of Shakespeare, and of Scott, are strongly stamped with nationality of character and incident.

“A portion of that attention, which has exhausted classic mythology, and which has too long dwelt in the Pantheons of Greece and Rome, and is wearied with fruitless efforts to learn something more, where, perhaps, nothing more is to be learned, may very profitably, and very successfully, be directed to the vast field of Gothic research. For we are Goths and the descendants of Goths —

“ ‘The men,
Of earth’s best blood, of titles manifold.’

And it well becomes us to ask, what has Zeus to do with the Brocken, Apollo with Effersburg, or Poseidon with the Northern Sea? The gods of our fathers were neither Jupiter, nor Saturn, nor Mercury, but Odin, Brage, or Eger. If we marvel at the pictures of heathen divinities as painted by classical hands, let us not forget that our ancestors had deities of their own — gods as mighty in their attributes, as refined in their tastes, as heroic in their doings, as the gods worshiped in the Parthenon or talked about in the forum.”

M. MALLET says: “History has not recorded the annals of a people who have occasioned greater, more sudden, or more numerous revolutions in Europe than the Scandinavians, or whose antiquities, at the same time, are so little known. Had, indeed, their emigra-



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nourished by a savage and vagabond life. While the gentleness of the climate softened imperceptibly the ferocity of those who settled in the South, colonies of Egyptians and Phenicians mixing with them upon the coasts of Greece, and thence passing over to those of Italy, taught them at last to live in cities, to cultivate letters, arts and commerce. Thus their opinions, their customs and genius, were blended together, and new states were formed upon new plans. Rome, in the meantime, arose and at length carried all before her. In proportion as she increased in grandeur, she forgot her ancient manners, and destroyed, among the nations whom she overpowered, the original spirit with which they were animated. But this spirit continued unaltered in the colder countries of Europe, and maintained itself there like the independency of the inhabitants. Scarce could fifteen or sixteen centuries produce there any change in that spirit. There it renewed itself incessantly; for, during the whole of that long interval, new adventurers issuing continually from the original inexhaustible country, trod upon the heels of their fathers toward the north, and, being in their turn succeeded by new troops of followers, they pushed one another forward like the waves of the sea. The northern countries, thus overstocked, and unable any longer to contain such restless inhabitants, equally greedy of glory and plunder, discharged at length upon the Roman Empire the weight that oppressed them. The barriers of the empire, ill defended by a people whom prosperity had enervated, were borne down on all sides by torrents of victorious armies. We then see the conquerors introducing, among the nations they vanquished, viz., into the very bosom

of slavery and sloth, that spirit of independence and equality, that elevation of soul, that taste for rural and military life, which both the one and the other had originally derived from the same common source, but which were then among the Romans breathing their last. Dispositions and principles so opposite, struggled long with forces sufficiently equal, but they united in the end, they coalesced together, and from their coalition sprung those principles and that spirit which governed afterward almost all the states of Europe, and which, notwithstanding the differences of climate, of religion, and particular accidents, do visibly reign in them, and retain, to this day, more or less, the traces of their first common origin.

“It is easy to see, from this short sketch, how greatly the nations of the earth have influenced the different fates of Europe; and if it be worth while to trace its revolutions to their causes;—if the illustration of its institutions, of its police, of its customs, of its manners, of its laws, be a subject of useful and interesting inquiry, it must be allowed that the antiquities of the *North*, that is to say, everything which tends to make us acquainted with its ancient inhabitants, merits a share in the attention of thinking men. But to render this obvious by a particular example: is it not well known that the most flourishing and celebrated states of Europe owe originally to the northern nations whatever liberty they now enjoy, either in their constitution or in the spirit of their government? For although the Gothic form of government has been almost everywhere altered or abolished, have we not retained, in most things, the opinions, the customs, the manners which that govern-

ment had a tendency to produce? Is not this, in fact, the principal source of that courage, of that aversion to slavery, of that empire of honor which characterized in general the European nations; and of that moderation, of that easiness of access, and peculiar attention to the rights of humanity, which so happily distinguish our sovereigns from the inaccessible and superb tyrants of Asia? The immense extent of the Roman Empire had rendered its constitution so despotic and military, many of its emperors were such ferocious monsters, its senate was become so mean-spirited and vile, that all elevation of sentiment, everything that was noble and manly, seems to have been forever banished from their hearts and minds; insomuch that if all Europe had received the yoke of Rome in this her state of debasement, this fine part of the world reduced to the inglorious condition of the rest could not have avoided falling into that kind of barbarity, which is of all others the most incurable; as, by making as many slaves as there are men, it degrades them so low as not to leave them even a thought or desire of bettering their condition. But nature has long prepared a remedy for such great evils, in that unsubmitting, unconquerable spirit with which she has inspired the people of the North; and thus she made amends to the human race for all the calamities which, in other respects, the inroads of these nations and the overthrow of the Roman Empire produced.

“The great prerogative of Scandinavia (says the admirable author of the Spirit of Laws*), and what ought to recommend its inhabitants beyond every people upon earth, is, that they afforded the great resource to the

* Baron de Montesquieu (L'Esprit de Lois).



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grow in the meadows of earth, and the wool on the backs of sheep. He lived in a credulous age, in the dim twilight of the past. He was

‘The sky-lark in the dawn of years,
The poet of the morn.’

In the vast solitudes around him, the heart of Nature beat against his own. From the midnight gloom of groves, the deep-voiced pines answered the deeper-voiced and neighboring sea. To his ear, these were not the voices of dead, but living things. Demons rode the ocean like a weary steed, and the gigantic pines flapped their sounding wings to smite the spirit of the storm.

“Still wilder and fiercer were these influences of Nature in desolate Iceland, than on the mainland of Scandinavia. Fields of lava, icebergs, geysers and volcanoes were familiar sights. When the long winter came, and the snowy Heckla roared through the sunless air, and the flames of the Northern Aurora flashed along the sky, like phantoms from Valhalla, the soul of the poet was filled with images of terror and dismay. He bewailed the death of Baldur, the sun; and saw in each eclipse the horrid form of the wolf, Maanegarm, who swallowed the moon and stained the sky with blood.”

Professor W. FISKE, of Cornell University, who is undoubtedly the most learned northern scholar in this country, who has spent several years in the Scandinavian countries, and who is an enthusiastic admirer of Iceland and its Sagas, has sent me the following lines for insertion in this appendix:

“It is not necessary to dwell on the value of Icelandic to those who desire to investigate the early history of the

Teutonic race. The religious belief of our remote ancestors, and very many of their primitive legal and social customs, some of which still influence the daily life of the people, find their clearest and often their only elucidation in the so-called *Eddic* and *Skaldic* lays, and in the Sagas. The same writings form the sole sources of Scandinavian history before the fourteenth century, and they not infrequently shed a welcome ray on the obscure annals of the British Islands, and of several continental nations. They furnish, moreover, an almost unique example of a modern literature which is completely indigenous. The old Icelandic literature, which MÖBIUS truly characterizes as ‘ein Phänomen vom Standpunkte der allgemeinen Cultur und Literaturgeschichte,’ and beside which the literatures of all the other early Teutonic dialects—Gothic, Old High German, Saxon, Frisian, and Anglo-Saxon—are as a drop to a bucket of water, developed itself out of the actual life of the people under little or no extraneous influence. In this respect it deserves the careful study of every student of letters. For the English-speaking races especially there is nowhere, so near home, a field promising to the scholar so rich a harvest. The few translations, or attempted translations, which are to be found in English, give merely a faint idea of the treasures of antique wisdom and sublime poetry which exist in the Eddic lays, or of the quaint simplicity, dramatic action, and striking realism which characterize the historical Sagas. Nor is the modern literature of the language, with its rich and abundant stores of folk-lore, unworthy of regard.”

BENJAMIN LOSSING says: “It is back to the Norwegian Vikings we must look for the hardest elements of progress in the United States.”

B. F. DE COSTA.—“Let us remember that in vindicating the Northmen we honor those who not only give us the first knowledge possessed of the American continent, but to whom we are indebted for much besides that we esteem valuable. For we fable in a great measure when we speak of our Saxon inheritance; it is rather from the Northmen that we have derived our vital energy, our freedom of thought, and, in a measure that we do not yet suspect, our strength of speech. Yet, happily, the people are fast 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 right social, political and literary characters, and at the same time, as navigators, assume their true position in the Pre-Columbian Discovery of America.

“The twelfth century was an era of great literary activity in Iceland, 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. Indeed, the natives of Europe, at this period, had no prose literature in any modern language spoken by the people.

“Yet while other nations were without a literature, the intellect of Iceland was in active exercise and works were produced like the EDDAS and HEIMSKRINGLA,—works which, being inspired by a lofty genius, will rank with the writings of HOMER and HERODOTUS while time itself endures.”

Says SIR EDMUND HEAD, in regard to the Norwegian literature of the *twelfth* century: “No doubt there were translations in Anglo-Saxon from the Latin, by Alfred,



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to which all modern emotions appear puny and constrained. Amid the bright sunlight of a far-off time, surrounded by the densest shadows of forgotten ages, we come at once into the midst of gods and heroes, goddesses and fair women, giants and dwarfs, moving about in a world of wonderful construction, unlike any other worlds or creations which God has founded or man has imagined, but still beautiful beyond conception.

“The Icelandic poems have no parallel in all the treasures of ancient literature. They are the expressions of the souls of poets existing in the primeval and uneffeminated earth. They are limnings of men and women of godlike beauty and endowments, full of the vigor of simple but impetuous natures. There are gigantic proportions about them. There are great and overwhelming tragedies in them, to which those of Greece only present any parallels.

“The Edda is a structure of that grandeur and importance that it deserves to be far better known to us generally than it is. The spirit in it is sublime and colossal.”

PLINY MILES.—“The literary history of Iceland in the early ages of the Republic is of a most interesting character. When we consider the limited population of the country, and the many disadvantages under which they labored, *their literature is the most remarkable on record*. The old Icelanders, from the tenth to the sixteenth century, through a period of the history of the world when little intellectual light beamed from the surrounding nations, were as devoted and ardent workers in the fields of history and poetry as any community in the

world under the most favorable circumstances. Springing from the Old Norse or Norwegian stock, they carried the language and habits of their ancestors with them to their highland home. Though a *very large* number of our English words are derived direct from the Icelandic, yet the most learned and indefatigable of our lexicographers, both in England and America, have acknowledged their ignorance of this language.

“The Eddas abound in mythological machinery to an extent quite equal to the writings of Homer and Virgil.”

The learned German writer SCHLEGEL, in his “*Esthetics and Miscellaneous Works*,” says: “If any monument of the primitive northern world deserves a place amongst the earlier remains of the South, the Icelandic Edda must be deemed worthy of that distinction. The spiritual veneration for Nature, to which the sensual Greek was an entire stranger, gushes forth in the mysterious language and prophetic traditions of the Northern Edda with a full tide of enthusiasm and inspiration sufficient to endure for centuries, and to supply a whole race of future bards and poets with a precious and animating elixir. The vivid delineations, the rich, glowing abundance and animation of the Homeric pictures of the world, are not more decidedly superior to the misty scenes and shadowy forms of Ossian, *than the Northern Edda is in its sublimity to the works of Hesiod.*”

PROF. DR. DEITRICH asserts “that the Scandinavian literature is *extraordinarily* rich in all kinds of writings.”

HON. GEORGE P. MARSH.—“It must suffice to remark that, in the opinion of those most competent to

judge, the Icelandic literature has never been surpassed, if equaled, in all that gives value to that portion of history which consists of spirited delineations of character and faithful and lively pictures of events among nations in a rude state of society.

“That the study of the Old Northern tongue may have an important bearing on English grammar and etymology, will be obvious, when it is known that the Icelandic is most closely allied to the Anglo-Saxon, of which so few monuments are extant; and a slight examination of its structure and remarkable syntactical character will satisfy the reader that it may well deserve the attention of the philologist.”

The excellent writer, CHARLES L. BRACE, in speaking of Iceland, says: “The Congress, or ‘Althing,’ of the Icelanders, had many of the best political features which have distinguished parliamentary government in all branches of the Teutonic race since. Every freeholder voted in it, and its decisions governed all inferior courts. It tried the lesser magistrates, and chose the presiding officers of the colony.

“To this remote island (Iceland) came, too, that remarkable profession, who were at once the poets, historians, genealogists and moralists of the Norse race, the Skalds. These men, before writing was much in use, handed down by memory, in familiar and often alliterative poetry, the names and deeds of the brave Norsemen, their victories on every coast of Europe, their histories and passions, and wild deaths, their family ties, and the boundaries of their possessions, their adventures and voyages, and even their law and



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dissolute Pantheon, with gods revelling eternally in earthly vices, and the evils and wrongs of humanity continued forever. Even the ghosts of the Northmen have the muscle of the race; they are no pale shadows flitting through the Orcus. The dead fight and eat with the vigor of the living. But there comes a dread time when destiny overtakes all, both human and divine beings, and the universe with its evil and wrong must perish (Ragnarok). Yet even the crack of doom finds not the Norsemen timid or fearing. Gods and men die in the heat of the conflict; and there survives alone, Baldur, the 'God of Love,' who shall create a new heaven and a new earth.

"It is from Iceland that we get the wonderful poetic and mythologic collections of the Elder and Younger Eddas. In this remote island the original Norse language was preserved more purely than it was in Norway or Denmark, and the Icelandic literature shed a flood of light over a dark and barbarous age. Even now the modern Icelanders can read or repeat their most ancient Sagas with but little change of dialect.

"But to an *American*, one of the most interesting gifts of Iceland to the world is the record of the discovery of Northern America by Icelandic rovers (?) near the year 1000.

"We think few scholars can carefully read these Sagas, and the accompanying in regard to Greenland, without a conviction that the Icelandic and Norwegian Vikings did at that early period discover and land on the coast of our eastern States. * * * The shortest winter day is stated with such precision as to fix the latitude near the coast of Massachusetts and Rhode Island.

* * * Iceland, then, has the honor of having discovered America.

“That volcanic-raised island, with its mountains of ice and valleys of lava and ashes, has played no mean part in the world’s history.”—*Christian Union*, July 15, 1874.

The famous GEORGE STEPHENS, in his elaborate work on “Runic Monuments,” having discussed the importance of studying the Scandinavian languages in order that many of our fine old roots may again creep into circulation, says: “Let *us* (the English) study the Scandinavian languages, and ennoble and restore our mother tongue. Let the Scandinavians study Old English as well as their own ancient records, give up mere provincial views, and melt their various dialects into one shining, rich, sweet and manly speech, as we have done in England. Their High Northern shall then live forever, the home language of eight millions of hardy freemen, our brothers in the east sea, our Warings and Guardsmen against the grasping clutches of the modern Hun and the modern Vandal. The time may come when the kingdom of *Canute* may be restored in a nobler shape, when the bands of Sea-kings shall rally round one Northern Union standard, when one *scepter* shall sway the seas and coasts of our forefathers from the Thames to the North Cape, from Finland to the Eider.

“We have watered our mother tongue long enough with bastard Latin; let us now brace and steel it with the life-water of our own sweet and soft and rich and shining and clear ringing and manly and world-ranging, ever dearest ENGLISH!”

In his preface to his Icelandic grammar, Dr. G. W. DASENT says: "Putting aside the study of Old Norse for the sake of its magnificent literature, and considering it merely as an accessory help for the English student, we shall find it of immense advantage, not only in tracing the rise of words and idioms, but still more in clearing up many dark points in our early history; in fact, so highly do I value it in this respect, that I cannot imagine it possible to write a satisfactory history of the Anglo-Saxon period without a thorough knowledge of the Old Norse literature."

DR. DASENT, in his introduction to Cleasby's and Vigfusson's Icelandic Dictionary, says of Iceland: "No other country in Europe possesses an ancient vernacular to be compared with this." And again: "Whether in a literary or in a philological point of view, no literature in Europe in the middle ages can compete in interest with that of Iceland. It is not certainly *in forma pauperis* that she appears at the tribunal of learning." In another place he remarks: "In it (the Dictionary) the English student now possesses a key to that rich store of knowledge which the early literature of Iceland possesses. He may read the Eddas and Sagas, which contain sources of delight and treasures of learning such as no other language but that of Iceland possesses."

The distinguished German scholar, ETTMÜLLER, in comparing the literature of the Anglo-Saxons with that of the Icelanders, says: "Neither the Goths, nor the Germans, nor the French, can be compared with the Anglo-Saxons in the cultivation of letters. By the *Scandinavians alone*, they are not only equaled, but also sur-



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best — and worst; Alfred de Musset is dead, and Victor Hugo is turned politician. Grillparzer is still a mystery, thanks partly to the darkening medium of Carlyle's hostile criticism. From the ashes of Teutonic transcendentalism rises Wagner like a Phoenix,—a bird too uncommon for ordinary comprehension, but to all intents and purposes an anomaly at best. One tires of anomalies, one sickens of politics, one shudders at the petticoat literature first created at Weimar; and looking east and west, ranging with a true invalid's hunger the literary horizon, one searches for something more natural, for some form of indigenous and unadorned loveliness, wherewith to fleet the time pleasantly, as they did in the golden world.

“That something may be found without traveling very far. Turn northward, in the footsteps of Teufelsdröckh, traversing the great valleys of Scandinavia, and not halting until, like the philosopher, you look upon ‘that slowly heaving Polar Ocean, over which in the utmost north the great sun hangs low.’ Quiet and peaceful lies Norway yet as in the world's morning. The flocks of summer tourists alight upon her shores, and scatter themselves to their numberless stations, without disturbing the peaceful serenity of her social life. * * * The government is a virtual democracy, such as would gladden the heart of Gambetta, the Swedish monarch's rule over Norway being merely titular. There are no hereditary nobles. There is no ‘gag’ on the press. Science and poetry alike flourish on this free soil. The science is grand as Nature herself, cosmic as well as microscopic. The poetry is fresh, light, and pellucid, worthy of the race, and altogether free from Parisian taint.”

“BJÖRNSTJERNE BJÖRNSEN,* one of the most eminent of living Norwegian authors, is something more than even the finest pastoral tale-teller of this generation. He is a dramatist of extraordinary power. He does not possess the power of imaginative fancy shown by Wergeland† (in such pieces as *Jan van Huysums Blomsterstykke*), nor Welhaven’s‡ refinement of phrase, nor the wild, melodious abandon of his greatest rival, the author of *Peer Gynt*;|| but, to my thinking at least, he stands as a poet in a far higher rank than any of these writers.

“In more than one respect, particularly in the loose, disjointed structure of the piece, ‘*Sigurd Slembe*’ reminds one of Goethe’s ‘*Goetz*,’ but it deals with materials far harder to assimilate, and is on the whole a finer picture of romantic manners. Audhild (a prominent character in ‘*Sigurd Slembe*’) is a creation worthy of Goethe at his best; worthy, in my opinion, to rank with Clärchen, Marguerite and Mignon as a masterpiece of delicate characterization. And here I may observe, incidentally, that Björnson excels in his pictures of delicate

* BJÖRNSTJERNE BJÖRNSEN was born in 1832; has written several novels, dramas and epic poems. “*Sigurd Slembe*” is a drama, published in 1863, of which Robert Buchanan says: “It is, besides being a masterpiece by its author, a drama of which any living European author might be justly proud.” Several of his novels, including “Arne,” “A Happy Boy,” “The Fisher-*maiden*,” have been translated into English.

† HENRIK ARNOLD WERGELAND was born in 1808, and died in 1845. He is the *Byron* of the North. His works comprise nine ponderous volumes. He excelled in lyrics.

‡ JOHN SEBASTIAN WELHAVEN, born in 1807, died in 1873. Remarkable for the elegance and chasteness of his style. No poet has more beautifully and correctly described the natural scenery of Norway.

|| The author of “*Peer Gynt*” is HENRIK IBSEN, born in 1828. Was engaged by Ole Bull as instructor at the theatre in Bergen, which position he occupied six years. He has written several dramatic works, chiefly of a polemic and exceedingly satirical nature. Many of his countrymen prefer Ibsen to Björnson. His last work is “*Keiser og Galilæer*.”

feminine types,—a proof, if proof were wanting, that he is worthy to take rank with the highest class of poetic creators.”

I might add to the above quotations from Max Müller, the brothers Grimm and many other eminent writers; but in the first place this article is long enough, and in the next place the works of the last named authors are accessible to all who may wish to investigate this subject further. My object has been to show that, in the opinion of those who have studied the subject, the North has a history, language and literature deserving and amply rewarding some attention from American students. Of the good or ill performance of this task the reader, whom I earnestly request carefully to consider the contents of these pages, must be the judge.



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Nouvelles annales des voyages. Paris, 1831. 2d ser., 21: 53-68. *H.* Recherches sur le pays de Fou Sang; par H: J. von Klaproth.

Gives the story of the Chinese priest in full, with a chart. He thinks it impossible that Fou Sang was a part of America, and gives his reasons at considerable length.

Dupaix, Guillaume. Antiquités mexicaines. Paris, 1834. 1: 119-136. *BA.* Recherches sur les antiquités de l'Amérique du Nord et de l'Amérique du Sud, par D: Bailie Warden.

A long discussion of the Chinese claim. Favorable.

Nipon o dai itsi ran. [A French translation, by I: Tetsingh, under the title of "Annales des empereurs du Japon," with an "Aperçu de l'histoire mythologique du Japon" by H: Julius von Klaproth. Paris, 1834. pp. iv-ix. *H.*]

Klaproth here discusses quite fully the claim of De Guignes, and thinks that there is no truth in the story.

Humboldt, F: H: Alexander von. Examen critique de l'histoire de la géographie du nouveau continent. Paris, 1837. 2: 62-84. *H.*

Humboldt discusses very completely the question of the discovery of America by the Chinese. He grants that the monuments, divisions of time and several myths of the former inhabitants of America offer a striking analogy to the customs of eastern Asia, but yet asserts that De Guignes is mistaken in announcing that the Chinese have known of America since the fifth century of our era. He refers, in support of his position, to the article by Klaproth.

Neumann, F: K: (A tract written in 1841, in German, on the discovery of America.) [An English translation, by C: G. Leland, published in "The Knickerbocker," New York, 1850, 36: 301-320, under the title of "California and Mexico in the fifth century." *H.*]

Makes several remarks about America in the fifth century, taking as his authorities the Chinese histories which contain references to lands which he thinks to be a part of America. This book contains, among other things, the account of Hoel-Shin, in which the author fully believes.

Colombo, Cristoforo. Select letters; edited by R: H: Major. (Hakluyt Society.) London, 1847. pp. xi-xii. *H.*

The introduction, by R: H: Major, gives the account of the Chinese priest, with the names of the chief writers upon the subject.

Rivero, Mariano E., and Tschudi, J: Jakob von. Peruvian antiquities. [An English translation. N.Y., 1853. pp. 16-17. *BP.*]

Speaks of the Chinese claim, which he regards as probable.

Domenech, Em., l'abbé. Seven years' residence in the great deserts of North America. London, 1860. 1: 50-52. *BP.*

Speaks of the claim of the Chinese, and says that Fusang has been proved by Paravey to be Mexico.

Brasseur de Bourbourg, C: Étienne, l'abbé. Popol Vuh. Paris, 1861. pp. xxxix-xli. *H.*

Favorable.

Continental monthly. N.Y. and Boston, 1862, April, pp. 391-392, and May, pp. 530-534. *H.* The Chinese discovery of Mexico in the fifth century, by C: G. Leland.

Gives the account of the Buddhist priest, and expresses the opinion that the story is true, and that he visited Mexico.

Revue archeologique. Paris, 1864-65. n.s., 10: 188-201, 370-385; 11: 42-49, 273-292. *H.*

In this article, by Gustave d'Eichthal, the question of the Chinese is discussed very fully. In the first part the article of De Guignes, which d'Eichthal considers conclusive, is analyzed; the second treats of the manner in which Buddhism is modified and propagated; the third gives a résumé of the observations of Humboldt on the civilization of Asia and America; and the fourth treats of the presence of Buddhism among the North American Indians.

Gentleman's magazine. London, 1869. n.s., 3: 333-335. *H.* The discovery of America by the Chinese, by C: Welles.

Raises the question whether the Chinese did not discover America before Columbus. He gives the account of Hœi-Shin, which he seems to believe. This article was reprinted in the "Historical magazine," *Morrisania*, 1869, 2d s., 11: 220-221.

Notes and queries on China and Japan. Hong Kong, 1869-70. *BP.*

Y. J. N., 3: 58, says he has seen in a home paper that Neumann has found that some Buddhist priests have discovered America. The writer begs to submit it to further enquiry. *Theos. Sampson*, 3: 78-79, attempts to show that the Buddhist priest did not discover America. *S.*, 4: 19, says that M. Léon de Rosny asserts that in Fusang deer and copper are found. The writer argues from this that Fusang must be in the Arctic regions of America.

Chinese recorder and missionary journal. Fouchow, Oct., 1870. Fusang, or who discovered America, by E. Bretschneider. *H.*

A very learned and exhaustive article favorable to the Chinese claim. Reprinted in Leland's "Fusang."

Rosny, Léon de. Variétés orientales. Paris, 1872. p. 80. *H.*

A brief description of Fusang is here given.

Galaxy. N.Y., 1875. 20: 512-514. *H.* Claims to the discovery of America, by J: T. Short.

Discusses at considerable length the Chinese claim, and adds, "We are more disposed to give credence to the theory that the Chinese discovered America at a very early day than to attach much importance to the particular account of that discovery by Hœi-Shin."

Leland, C: G. Fusang, or the discovery of America by Chinese Buddhist priests in the fifth century. London, 1875. *BP.*

Contents. Preface; Memoir of Prof. C: F: Neumann; Narrative of Hoei-Shin, with contents by Prof. Neumann; Remarks on the text of Prof. Neumann; Letter from Col. Barclay Kennon on the navigation of the North Pacific Ocean; American antiquities, with their relations to the Old World; Advocates and opponents of the narrative of Hoei-Shin; Latest discussion of Fusang; Appendix; Index.

The narrative of Hoei-Shin here given is a translation of Neumann's work. The letter from Col. Kennon expresses the opinion that the alleged voyage of the Buddhist priest is easily practicable. Leland speaks of the similarity between the Dakota and Asiatic languages, and thinks this shows that the Dakota tribe came originally from Asia. He does not think that the Buddhist priest came in contact with the Mound-Builders, but believes that he visited Mexico. This book contains a very complete summary of the views of different writers.

Congr s International des Am ricanistes. Compte-rendu de la 1^e session. Nancy and Paris, 1875. 1:114-163. *BP.*

In this article, by Lucien Adam, the question of the Chinese claim is treated at considerable length, with the advocates of which claim the writer agrees. A map of the route of the Chinese and engravings of some bas-reliefs are added.

Bryant, W: Cullen, and Gay, Sidney Howard. Popular history of the United States. N.Y., 1876. 1:85-87. *H.*

Gives the account of the Buddhist priest, referring to Humboldt and Leland as his authorities. After discussing briefly the probability that the story is true, he says that it is too indefinite.

Bancroft, Hubert Howe. The native races of the Pacific states of North America. N.Y., 1876. 5:33-37. *H.*

The account of Hoei-Shin is here given in full, with the authorities upon which it rests. The author does not express any opinion on the subject, but gives quotations from some of its supporters and opponents.

Short, J: T. The North Americans of antiquity. N.Y., 1879. pp. 148-151. *H.*

Same views as those expressed by the author in the "Galaxy," 1875.

Williams, S: Wells. Notices of Fu-sang and other countries lying east of China, in the Pacific Ocean. New Haven, 1881.

Unfavorable: written to controvert Leland's publications; contains translations from the antiquarian researches of Ma Twan-lin, in the 13th and 14th centuries, but identifies his "Fu-sang" with the "Loo-choo" Islands rather than with America. This article was also published in the "Journal of the American Oriental Society," v. 11, 1881.

II. DISCOVERY BY THE NORTHMEN.

Adamus Bremensis. Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum. Written in 1075. [Published at Hamburg, 1846, in v. 7 of Pertz, "Monumenta Germaniae historica," cap. 247. *H.*]



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tion, under the title of "Description of the Province of New Sweden," by P: S. du Ponceau. Phila., 1834. pp. 28-31. *H.*]

Gives briefly the account of the Northmen, which the author is inclined to believe.

Torfæus, Thormodus. *Historia Vinlandiae antiquae*. Havniae, 1705. *H.*

Contains a complete history of the discovery of Vinland, as taken from MSS. found in the libraries of the North. The author does not attempt to identify the places, except that Vinland was in North America.

Torfæus, Thormodus. *Gronlandia antiqua*. Havniae, 1706. [An edition, Havniae, 1715. Chap. 3: 16-17. *BP.*]

Gives the following extract from Ari:—"Inde colligi potest, id genus gentem illic permeasse, quae Vinlandiam incoluit, quam Graenlandi Skraelingia appellant."

Mallet, Paul H: *Introduction à l'histoire de Dannemarc*. Copenhagen, 1755. [An English translation, under the title of "Northern antiquities," v. 1: ch. 11. *H.*]

After discussing at considerable length the discovery of America, he says, "There can be no doubt but that the Norwegian Greenlanders discovered the American continent; that the place where they settled was either the country of Labrador or Newfoundland, and that their colony subsisted there a good while." In an edition by J. A. Blackwell, London, 1847, pp. 244-276, the "Antiquitates Americanæ" has been made use of, and much additional information is given.

Crantz, D: *Historie von Grönland*. Barby, 1765. [An English translation. London, 1767. 1: 241-257. *BP.*]

"'Tis probable that those Indians at present about Newfoundland, who are so very different in their shape and manner of living from the other Americans, may be descended from the Northmen."

Schoning, Gerhard. *Norges Riges historie*. Soroë, 1769. [An edition published by P: F: Suhm. Kjöbenhavn, 1781. 3: 414-423. *H.*]

Gives the discovery of Vinland at considerable length, and believes it to be a part of America.

Franklin, B: Letter to Mr. Mather, July 7, 1773. (*In his Works*, ed. by Jared Sparks, Boston, 1839. 8: 68-69. *H.*)

Says that Kalm, about 25 years since, drew up a note of the discovery of America by the Northmen, and gave it to him. Franklin adds that "the circumstances give the account a great appearance of authenticity." He thinks, too, that the country they visited was southward of New England.

Burnet, James [Lord Monboddo]. *Of the origin and progress of language*. Edin., 1773. [2d ed. Edin. 1774. pp. 590-591, *note.* *H.*

Favorable.

Robertson, W: History of America. London, 1777. 1: 438-439. *H.*

In note xvii, Robertson confesses his inability to examine the literature of the North, and doubts the truth of the story; but thinks, that, if the Norwegians landed in America at all, they probably did so at Newfoundland.

Sprengel, Matthias Christian. Geschichte der Europäer in Nordamerika. Leipzig, 1782. pp. 129-136. *H.*

Favorable; thinks they went as far south as North Carolina.

Filson, J: The discovery, settlement, and present state of Kentucky. Wilmington, 1784. pp. 94-95. *H.*

Here the author mentions that the Danes are recorded to have discovered a land called Vinland; he adds, "The remains of this colony are probably to be found on the coast of Labrador."

Forster, J: Reinholdt. Geschichte der Entdeckungen und Schiffahrten im Norden. Frankfurt, 1784. [An English translation, under the title of "History of voyages and discoveries in the North." London, 1786. pp. 44-88. *H.*]

Forster gives the account of the Northmen, and thinks that Vinland was in Newfoundland or on the coast north of the St. Lawrence.

Pennant, T: Introduction to the Arctic zoölogy. London, 1787. [2d ed., London, 1792. pp. 264-265. *H.*]

Favorable.

American musaeum. Phila., 1789. 6: 159-162. *H.* Accounts of the discovery of Vinland, or America, by the Icelanders, in the 11th century, taken from Mallet's Northern antiquities, volume 1.

A translation of a part of the account given by Mallet. It was to have been continued, but apparently was not.

Belknap, Jeremy. American biography. Boston, 1794. 1: 47-58. *H.*

Belknap takes his account entirely from Pontoppidan, Crantz and Forster. His opinion is: "Though we can come to no positive conclusion in a question of such antiquity, yet there are many circumstances to confirm, and none to disprove, the relation given of the voyages of Biron."

Eggers, H: P: von. Ueber die wahre lage des alten Ostgrönlands. Kiel, 1794. pp. 84-96. *H.*

Uncertain.

Fritsch, J: Gottlob. Disputatio historico-geographica in qua quaeritur utrum veteres Americam noverint necne. Cur. Regnit., 1796. pp. 17-21. *H.*

Contains a brief account of the discovery of America by the Northmen.

The author believes that the story is true, and thinks that they landed in Canada or Carolina.

Boucher de la Richarderie, Gilles. Bibliothèque universelle des voyages. Paris, 1808. 1: 43-51. *H.*

Gives a partial bibliography of the discoveries of the Northmen, with a brief account of the discovery of Vinland.

Annales des voyages. Paris, 1810. 10: 50-87. *H.* Tableau historique des découvertes géographiques des Scandinaves ou Normands, par Malte-Brun.

In favor of the discovery of America by the Northmen. Contains an exact copy of the map of the Zeno brothers, with one showing the discoveries of the Northmen.

Williamson, Hugh. History of North Carolina. Phila., 1812. 1: 4-8, 213-215. *H.*

Speaks of the discovery of America by the Northmen as an established fact, and gives the account at some length, referring to Mallet and Torfæus.

Pinkerton, J: A general collection of the best and most interesting voyages and travels in all parts of the world. London, 1814. 17: xxiii-xxiv. *H.*

The Northmen "discovered Vinland, which seems to have been a part of Newfoundland."

McCulloch, James H. Researches on America. Baltimore, 1816. pp. 8-11. *BP.*

Unfavorable.

Müller, P: Erasmus. Sagabibliothek. Copenhagen, 1816-20. [A German translation of the first part, by Lachmann, Berlin, 1816, entitled "Sagenbibliothek des skandinavischen Alterthums in Auszügen." pp. 213-215. *H.*

Here is given a synopsis of the Saga of Erik the Red and Thorfinn Karls-efne, which Müller says is not older than the 14th century. References are also given to other Sagas which mention the discovery of Vinland.

Malte-Brun, Conrad. Précis de la géographie universelle. Paris, 1817. p. 224. *H.*

Favorable.

Svea. Upsala, 1818. 1: 197-226. Om Skandinavernes Fordna Upptäcktsresor till Nordamerika, ved J: H: Schröder. *BP.*

Treats of the discovery of Vinland, which he believes to have been a part of North America.

Barrow, Sir J: Chronological history of voyages to the Arctic Regions. London, 1818. pp. 1-13. *H.*

Believes that Vinland was either Labrador or Newfoundland.



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Leslie, J., Jameson, Robert, and Murray, Hugh. Narrative of discovery and adventures in the Polar Seas and Regions. N. Y., 1833. p. 87. *H.*

Mentions casually that "during the 11th century chance or enterprise led Greenland navigators southward to another coast, which they called Vinland, and which has been very generally believed to be America." They say further, that after a careful examination of the authorities on which this opinion rests, they have been led to suppose that the new country was merely a more southern point of Greenland.

Priest, Josiah. American antiquities, and discoveries in the West. Albany, 1833. pp. 224-240. *H.*

Favorable.

Dupaix, Guillaume. Antiquités mexicaines. Paris, 1834. vol. 1, no. 9. pp. 48-49. *BA.*

A favorable article, by François Charles Farcy.

Dupaix, Guillaume. Antiquités mexicaines. Recherches sur les antiquités de l'Amérique du Nord et de l'Amérique du Sud, par D: Bailie Warden. Paris, 1834. 1: pp. 146-154. *BA.*

Favorable.

Bancroft, Hon. G: History of the United States. Boston, 1834. 1: 5-6. *H.*

Bancroft mentions the claims of the Northmen, and gives a list of the chief works which support these claims, but considers the whole story as vague, as well as fictitious or exaggerated.

Rafinesque, Constantine Smaltz. The American nations. Phila., 1836. 2: 280-281. *H.*

Favorable.

Humboldt, F: H: Alexander von. Examen critique de l'histoire de la géographie du nouveau continent. Paris, 1837. 1: 84-104. *H.*

Humboldt gives a synopsis of the evidence contained in the Icelandic Sagas, and asserts with great confidence that the Northmen discovered America; he also believes that the parts which they visited were between New York and Newfoundland.

Kongelige Nordiske Oldskrift Selskab. Antiquitates Americanae, sive Scriptorum Septentrionalium rerum Ante-Columbianarum in America. Havniae, 1837. *H.*

Contents. Praefatio; Conspectus codicum membraneorum in quibus terrarum Americanarum mentio fit; Abstract of the historical evidence; Narrationes de Eiriko Rufo et Graenlandis; Historia Thorfinni Karlsefnii et Snorrii Thorbrandi filii; Breviores relationes; Annotationes geographicae; Addenda et emendanda; Index chronologicus; Index personarum; Index geographicus; Index rerum; Genealogiae; Plates.

The object was to prove that the Northmen discovered America, and the account of their discoveries is given in full, as found in the manuscripts of the North. The supposed remains of the Northmen in this country are also discussed at length. Among the plates are fac-similes of parts of the ancient manuscripts, views of the Dighton Rock, and maps of Iceland and Vinland.

Democratic review. Wash., 1838. 2: 85-96, 143-158. *H.*
The discovery of America by the Northmen, by Alexander Everett.

The historical evidence is considered, and the different opinions on the subject are discussed. The author is in doubt about the Dighton Rock, and believes that the Northmen settled in Massachusetts and Rhode Island.

Foreign quarterly review. London, 1838. 21: 89-118. *H.*
The discovery of America by the Northmen, before Columbus.

This article is much the same as that in the "Democratic review," but is at greater length, and the writer speaks of the discoveries of the Northmen as a certainty.

North American review. Boston, 1838. 46: 161-203. *H.*
The discovery of American by the Northmen, by E: Everett.

The writer here discusses at considerable length the probability of the discovery, as well as the authenticity of the accounts, and remarks, "While we are decidedly of opinion that the ancient Icelandic accounts, to which we have called the attention of our readers, have a foundation in historical truth, and that the coast of North America, and very possibly this portion of it, was visited by the Northmen, we deem it exceedingly doubtful whether they made any permanent settlement on the continent."

New York review. N. Y., 1838. 2: 352-357. *BP.*

The "Antiquitates Americanæ" is reviewed, and the whole question is discussed, the chief writers on the subject being referred to. The writer fully believes that the Northmen discovered America, but is inclined to think that the Old Mill and the inscription of the Dighton Rock are not their work.

Royal Geographical Society. Journal. London, 1838. 8: 114-129. *H.*

An abstract of the historical evidence contained in the "Antiquitates Americanæ," in which the writer fully believes.

Biondelli, B. Scoperta dell'America fatta nel secolo x. da alcuni Scandinavi. Milan, 1839. *H.*

A small pamphlet, in which is given a somewhat condensed account of the discovery of Vinland, taken from the "Antiquitates Americanæ."

Smith, Joshua Toulmin. The Northmen in New England, or America in the tenth century. Boston, 1839. *H.*

This book contains an account of the Northmen, put in the form of conversation. The questions of the Old Mill and the Dighton Rock are also discussed, both of which the author attributes to the Northmen. A map of Vinland is added.

American Biblical repository. N. Y. and Boston, July, 1839. 2d ser., 1: 430-449. *H.*

By H: R. Schoolcraft. Gives the Prospectus issued by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquarians; then the question of the discovery is discussed (which the writer believes) and a view of the Dighton Rock is added (though he regards the inscription as Algic); and finally a letter is given from Albert Gallatin, on the use of the letters *v* and *l* in the Eskimau language.

Russell, Rev. Michael. Iceland, Greenland, and the Faroe Isles. Edin., 1840. (Edinburgh cabinet library.) pp. 254–266. A. (Also in Harper's family library, N. Y., 1841.)

Gives the account of the discovery of Vinland, and adds, "The history of Vinland given us by the Icelandic historians is interesting, not merely as connected with the countries of which we are now treating, but as proving that America was known to Europeans five hundred years before the Genoese mariner set foot upon its shores."

Beamish, North Ludlow. Discovery of America by the Northmen. London, 1841. H.

Contents. Sketch of the rise, eminence and extinction of Icelandic historical literature; Saga of Erik the Red; Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefne; Geographical notices; Monuments and inscriptions; Minor narratives; Complete dial of the ancient Northmen; Genealogical tables; Map of Vinland; Engraving of the inscription on the Dighton Rock; General chart of the discoveries of the Northmen in the Arctic Regions of America; Index.

This is little more than an English translation of those parts of the "Antiquitates Americanæ" which the author considered were likely to prove most interesting to British readers.

Malte-Brun, Conrad. Géographie universelle. Paris, 1841. 1: 204–206. H.

Gives at some length the account of the discovery of Vinland, and regards it as beyond doubt that Vinland was a part of North America.

Wilhelmi, K: Island, Huitramannaland, Grönland, und Vinland. Heidelberg, 1842. CB.

Based upon the "Antiquitates Americanæ." Written in support of the Northmen's claim. Contains a chart of their discoveries, identifying Helluland with Newfoundland, Markland with portions of Nova Scotia, Vinland with New England and New York, and Huitramannaland with the coast of Georgia and the Carolinas.

Hermes, K: H: Die Entdeckung von America durch die Isländer im zehnten und eilften Jahrhundert. Braunschweig, 1844. BP.

Contains in detail the account of the Northmen, the "Antiquitates Americanæ" being frequently referred to. An engraving of the Dighton Rock is also given, the inscription on which the author believes to be the work of the Northmen.

Humboldt, F: H: Alexander von. Kosmos. Stuttg. u. Tüb., 1845. [An English translation, under the title of "Cosmos," London, 1849. 1: 603–608. H.]

Gives the account of the discovery of Vinland, and refers to his "Examen critique" for further particulars.



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The account of the Northmen is here given, in which the authors fully believe.

New England historical and genealogical register. Boston, 1853. 7: 13-14. *H.*

A paper by C: C. Rafn contains a synopsis of the discoveries of the Northmen.

Haven, S: F. Archæology of the United States. (*In Smithsonian Institution. Contributions to knowledge. Wash., 1856. v. 8, art. 1, pp. 10, 13, 26, 35, 62, 106-108. H.*)

“The narratives of the voyages of the Northmen, and their discovery of this country, are regarded as well attested, leaving the question open as to the distance in a southerly direction to which their observations extended; and many striking coincidences seem to justify the conclusion that the Vinland of these narratives was really in Narragansett Bay.” However, he regards the Dighton Rock and the tower at Newport as having nothing to do with the Northmen.

Blackwood, F: Temple Hamilton Temple. [*Lord Dufferin.*] Letters from high latitudes. London, 1857. pp. 57-59. *H.*

The claim of the Northmen is mentioned: the author believes it.

Brasseur de Bourbourg, C: Étienne, *l'abbé.* Histoire des nations civilisées du Mexique et de l'Amérique-Centrale. Paris, 1857. 1: 18-22. *H.*

Favorable.

Elliott, C: W. The New England history. N. Y., 1857. 1: 18-37. *BP.*

The account of the Northmen, in which the author fully believes, is given at considerable length. He adds a list of some of the authorities on the subject.

Notes and queries. London, 1858. 2d ser., v. 5. *H.*

Alfred T. Lee, p. 314, remarks that Lord Dufferin says that America was discovered by Icelanders in the 11th century. He asks for corroborative testimony.

W. D. H. replies, pp. 386-387, that the evidence is given in “Antiquitates Americanæ,” “North American review,” v. 46, and the Earl of Ellesmere’s “Guide to Northern archæology.”

W. H. Z. and W: Matthews, p. 458, give a number of the authorities upon which the account rests.

Nouvelle biographie générale. Paris, 1858. 16: 250-251. Eric. *H.*

The account of the discovery of Vinland is here given in brief, but no opinion is expressed as to the truth of it; a partial bibliography of the subject is added.

Palfrey, J: Gorham. History of New England. Boston, 1858. 1: 51-58. *H.*

Gives briefly the account of the discovery of Vinland, together with pictures of the tower at Newport, and of a similar one at Chesterton in Warwickshire. He considers the claims "nowise unlikely," and identifies the places as in the "Antiquitates Americanæ."

Peschel, Oscar Ferdinand. Geschichte des zeitalters der entdeckungen. Stuttg. u. Augsb., 1858. pp. 102-106. *H.*

Favorable.

Beauvois, Eugène. Découvertes des Scandinaves en Amérique. Paris, 1859. *H.*

A translation of the most important parts of the "Antiquitates Americanæ."

Asher, G: M. Henry Hudson the navigator. (Hakluyt Society.) London, 1860. pp. lxvi-lxvii, ccxvi-ccxvii. *H.*

Favorable.

Domenech, Em., l'abbé. Seven years' residence in the Great Deserts of North America. London, 1860. 1:52-64. *BP.*

Gives the account of the Northmen, which the author believes.

Brasseur de Bourbourg, C: Etienne, l'abbé. Popol Vuh. Paris, 1861. pp. lii-liv. *H.*

Mentions the claim of the Northmen, and says that, although they went as far south as North Carolina, their principal station was at the mouth of the St. Lawrence.

Tylor, E: Burnett. Anahuac. London, 1861. pp. 278-279. *H.*

Favorable.

Charnay, Désiré, and Violet-le-Duc. Cités et ruines américaines. Paris, 1863. pp. 10-11, 18, 23. *BP.*

Favorable.

Wilson, Daniel. Prehistoric man. London and Camb., 1863. [3d ed., London, 1876. 2:82-111. *H.*]

Favorable.

Riant, Paul. Expéditions et pèlerinages des Scandinaves en Terre Sainte au temps des Croisades. Paris, 1865. pp. 19, 23-4, 50, 235, 340, 362, 364-5, and 420. *BN.*

Several times mention is here made of the coast of Labrador as being a colony of Norway during the time of the Crusades.

Massachusetts Historical Society. Proceedings, 1865. Boston, 1866. pp. 175-201. *H.*

This is a communication by Dr. Webb on Prof. Rafn. The work done by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquarians is stated, the whole question of

the Northmen is discussed, and the views held by the chief writers set forth. Also contains many letters of interest from Prof. Rafn to Dr. Webb on the subject.

Historical magazine. N.Y., December, 1865. 9: 364–365. *H.*

An article by D. G. B. to prove that Huitramannaland was on the coast of Virginia or the Carolinas.

De Costa, Rev. B: Franklin. Pre-Columbian discovery of America by the Northmen. Albany, 1868. *H.*

Contents.—Preface; General introduction; Gunnbiorn and his rocks; Eric the Red's voyage to the coast of America; Leif Ericson's voyage to Vinland; Thorstein Ericson's attempt to seek Vinland; Thorfinn Karlsefne's settlement in Vinland; Freydis's voyage and settlement in Vinland; Are Marson's sojourn in Huitramannaland; Voyage of Biorn Asbrandson; Gudleif Gudlangson's voyage; Allusions to voyages found in ancient manuscripts; Geographical fragments.

The aim was to place within the reach of the English-reading historical student every portion of the Icelandic Sagas essentially relating to the Pre-Columbian discovery of America by the Northmen.

North American review. Boston, 1869. 109: 265–272. *H.*
De Costa's discovery of America, by J. Lewis Diman.

A short criticism of De Costa's work.

De Costa, Rev. B: Franklin. Notes on a review of "The Pre-Columbian discovery of America by the Northmen," in the "North American review" for July. Charlestown, 1869. *H.*

A reply to the criticism in the "North American review."

Historical magazine. Morrisania, January, 1869. 2d ser. 5: 30–31. *H.*

An article by Joseph Williamson. States that the remains of some very early settlements have been found in different parts of Maine, and the writer, referring to the account of the discovery of America by the Northmen, suggests that they may have been left by them.]

Historical magazine. Morrisania, March, 1869. n.s. v. 5, no. 3, pp. 170–179. *H.* The Ante-Columbian discovery of the American continent by the Northmen, by F. Boggild.

The account is given, and the inscription on the Dighton Rock is discussed, which the writer does not consider the work of the Northmen. To this article De Costa adds a note, showing some mistakes into which the writer has fallen.

Gaffarel, Paul. Études sur les rapports de l'Amérique et de l'Ancien Continent avant Christoph Colomb. Paris, 1869. pp. 225–260. *BP.*

Speaks of the maritime activity of the Northmen; gives at considerable length the account of discoveries of the Northmen in the Atlantic before 1000; discusses the probability that the Toltecs discovered America before this time, but does not believe it; gives the voyages of the Northmen in the 11th century; shows that Vinland was known in Europe; treats of the commerce of



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Contents.—Route de l'Amérique; Les enfants d'Erik le Rouge; Thorfinn Karlsefne et Gudrida; Excursions méridionales; Excursions boreales; Prédications crétiennes en Amérique; Nouvelle découverte de l'Amérique à la fin du 14^e siècle; Décadence et ruine des colonies normands de l'Amérique; Preuves archéologiques du séjour des Normands en Amérique. Also has a map of the discoveries of the Northmen in America, a map of the Zeni, and an engraving of the inscription on the Dighton Rock.

Puts full credit in the account of the discovery, and assigns to the Northmen the tower at Newport and the inscriptions on the Dighton Rock. The identification of places is the same as that given in the "Antiquitates Americanæ." His foot-notes and references are very full.

North American review. Boston, 1874. 119: 166–182. *H.*
Gravier's Découverte de l'Amérique, by H: Cabot Lodge.

A criticism on Gravier's work; and gives the account of the discovery of Vinland. It also discusses the question of the Dighton Rock and the tower at Newport, and adds, "Gravier's book is almost valueless, beyond calling attention to an interesting field of investigation."

Goodrich, Aaron. A history of the character and achievements of the so-called Christopher Columbus. N.Y., 1874. pp. 69–87. *BP.*

Gives the account of the Northmen. The author believes it, and identifies the places as in the "Antiquitates Americanæ."

Royal Historical Society. Transactions. London, 1874. n.s., 3: 75–97. *H.*

Gives the account of the Northmen, and the authorities upon which it rests are stated.

Kingsley, Rev. C: Lectures delivered in America in 1874. Phila., 1875. pp. 65–97. *H.*

This is a popular account of the discovery, which the writer regards as history.

Anderson, R. B. America not discovered by Columbus. Chicago, 1874. *H.*

Contents.—The Norsemen, and other peoples, interested in the discovery of America; Norse literature has been neglected by the learned men of the great nations; Antiquity of America; Phenician, Greek, Irish, and Welsh claims; Who were the Norsemen? Greenland; The ships of the Norsemen; The Sagas and documents are genuine; Bjarne Herjulfson, 986; Leif Erikson, 1000; Thorfinn Karlsefne and Gudrid, 1007; The discovery of America by Columbus; Other expeditions by the Norsemen; Conclusion; The Scandinavian languages.

A small book containing much information not to be conveniently found elsewhere. It gives fully the account of the discovery of Vinland. The author puts great confidence in the account, as well as in the tower at Newport, the Dighton Rock, and the skeleton in armor. He also believes that Columbus knew of the discovery of America by the Northmen, and concludes by giving quotations from several eminent scholars in regard to the Scandinavian languages.

Abbott, J: S. C. The history of Maine. Boston, 1875. pp. 13–21. *BP.*

Gives the account of the Northmen, which the author takes from the "Antiquitates Americanae." He agrees with it in every particular, and says of the Old Mill, "It is not unreasonable to suppose that the venerable tower remains a memorial of the Northmen's visit."

Drake, S: Adams. Nooks and corners of the New England coast. N.Y., 1875. p. 369. *H.*

The connection of the Northmen with the Old Mill at Newport is taken up. "The discovery of any portion of the coast of New England by Northmen belongs to the realms of conjecture."

Galaxy. N.Y., 1875. 20: 514-518. *H.* Claims to the discovery of America, by J: T. Short.

Gives briefly the account of the Northmen, which he considers probable; but he does not believe in the Dighton Rock and the Old Mill.

Potter's American monthly. Phila., 1875. v. 5; no. 48. pp. 906-907. *H.* The visits of Europeans to America in the 10th and 11th centuries, by M. R. Pilon.

Gives the account of the Northmen, which he believes.

Carlyle, T: The early kings of Norway. N.Y., 1875. pp. 50-51. *H.*

Mentions that it is believed that Erik the Red discovered America in 985. The author then states the parts which he is thought to have visited.

Higginson, T: Wentworth. Young folks' history of the United States. Boston, 1875. pp. 25-30. *H.*

After giving the story of the Northmen, expresses the opinion that Vinland was Rhode Island or Nova Scotia.

Congrès International des Américanistes. Compte-rendu de la 1^e session. Nancy et Paris, 1875. 1: 37-93. *BP.*

In this article, by Eugène Beauvois, the question of the Northmen is discussed at great length, and profuse references are given. A map of the discoveries of the Northmen is added.

Bryant, W: Cullen, and Gay, Sidney Howard. Popular history of the United States. N.Y., 1876. vol. 1, ch. 3. *H.*

Gives a very complete account of the discovery of Vinland, and discusses the probability of the story. His notes and references are also very copious. This chapter is accompanied by engravings of the Dighton Rock, and of a similar one near Steubenville, Ohio, as well as of the tower at Newport, and of a similar one at Chesterton, in Warwickshire; but the author puts no confidence either in the tower or the Dighton Rock. He says, "The main facts related in the Icelandic Chronicles are unquestionably true"; and again, "There seems no good reason for doubting that the Northmen did cross the Atlantic from coast to coast."

Bancroft, Hubert Howe. The native races of the Pacific States of North America. N.Y., 1876. 5: 102-115. *H.*

Gives at considerable length the account of the discovery of America by

the Northmen, which he is inclined to believe. He adds an exceedingly full bibliography of the subject.

Kneeland, S: An American in Iceland. Boston, 1876. pp. 217-231. *H.*

Gives, in brief, the account of the discovery of Vinland, and discusses the probability of it. The author thinks it is true, and that Vinland was on the coast of New England.

Higginson, T: Wentworth. A book of American explorers. Boston, 1877. pp. 1-15. *H.*

Gives a popular account of the Northmen discovery, taken from the "Massachusetts quarterly review," 1849.

Slafter, Edmund Farwell. Voyages of the Northmen to America. Boston, 1877. (Prince Society.) *H.*

Contents.—Map of Vinland; Preface; Introduction; General Map of Northern Europe and America; The Saga of Erik the Red; Extracts from the Heimskringla of Snorro Sturleson; The Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefne; Geographical notices; Minor narratives; Prof. Rafn's Synopsis of historical evidence; Opinion of Prof. Rafn as to identity of places; Dial of the ancient northmen, by Prof. Magnusen; Names given to the parts of the day by the Northmen; Bibliographical, etc.

The object was to collect in a suitable form for American readers the evidence contained in the "Antiquitates Americanæ," and Beamish's work.

Farnum, Alexander. Visits of the Northmen to Rhode Island. Providence, 1877. (Rhode Island hist. tracts, no. 2.) *H.*

Gives briefly the account of the Northmen, in which the writer fully believes. He, however, considers the Old Mill and the Dighton Rock as having nothing to do with the Northmen.

Foster, J: Wells. Pre-historic races of the United States. Chicago, 1878. pp. 399-400. *H.*

Unfavorable.

Sinding, Paul Kristian. The Scandinavian races. (A new edition, with a few slight changes, and a little additional matter, of the author's "History of Scandinavia.") N. Y., 1878. pp. 76-84. *H.*

Gives fully the account of the discovery of Vinland, and mentions the parts of America which the Northmen are thought to have visited. "The claim that the Northmen were the very first discoverers of America seems to be placed on good foundation."

Short, J: T. The North Americans of antiquity, N. Y., 1879. pp. 152-154. *H.*

A criticism in favor of the claim.

Metcalf, F. The Englishman and the Scandinavian. London, 1880. pp. 25, 193, 297, note. *H.*

Favorable.



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Malte-Brun, Conrad. *Géographie universelle*. Paris, 1841. 1:186-187. *H.*

Gives the account of the Arabs, and thinks it probable that they visited the Canaries.

Colombo, Cristoforo. *Select letters*; ed. by R: H: Major. (Hakluyt Society.) London, 1847. pp. xxii-xxiii. *H.*

Gives the account of the Arabs, but considers the assertion that they reached the coast of America as without foundation.

Lelewel, Joachim. *Géographie du moyen âge*. Brux., 1852. 2:78-79. *BP.*

Gives the account of the Arabs very briefly, but says that they landed on some islands. Does not hint at America.

Haven, S: F. *Archæology of the United States*. (*In Smithsonian Institution. Contributions to knowledge*. Wash., 1856. vol 8, art. 1, p. 9. *H.*)

Gives the account of the Arabs, with the names of its principal supporters.

Peschel, Oscar Ferdinand. *Geschichte des zeitalters der entdeckungen*. Stuttg. u. Augsb., 1858. pp. 39-41. *H.*

Story mentioned, but nothing said of America, and the story itself doubted.

Major, R: H: *Life of Prince Henry of Portugal*. London, 1868. pp. 147-149. *H.*

Gives the account of the Arabs, and adds the observations of D'Avezac on the subject, with which he is inclined to agree, *i.e.*, that they went to Madeira.

Gaffarel, Paul. *Études sur les rapports de l'Amérique et de l'Ancien Continent avant Christophe Colomb*. Paris, 1869. pp. 208-211. *BP.*

Gives the account of the Arabs, of which he says, "The Arabs advanced very far into the Atlantic, but of their journey, or of their stay in America, we have no proof."

Bryant, W: Cullen, *and* **Gay**, Sidney Howard. *Popular history of the United States*. N. Y., 1876. 1:64-66. *H.*

Gay is the real author of this work; he gives the account of the Arabs, and refers to Humboldt and Major. He thinks that they could not possibly have gone west of the Azores.

IV. DISCOVERY BY THE WELSH.

Caradoc de Lann-Carvan. *Britannorum successiones*. Written about 1150. [An English translation, under the title of "The

history of Wales," by Dr. Powell, augmented by W. Wynne. London, 1774. 1:195-197. *BP.*

Here it is said that Madawc, son of Owen Gwynedh, left Wales in 1170, and sailed westward; "and, leaving Ireland to the north, he came at length to an unknown country, where most things appeared to him new and uncustomary, and the manner of the natives far different from what he had seen in Europe." It is further stated here that H. Lloyd says he came to some part of Nova Hispania or Florida, and that Dr. Powell thinks it was Mexico.

Hakluyt, R: Principal navigations, voyages, and discoveries of the English nation. London, 1589. [An edition, London, 1810. 3:21-22. *H.*]

Gives the story of Madoc, which he says he takes from Powell's History of Wales. Adds some verses on the subject, written by Meredith, son of Rhesus, about 1477. His opinion is that Madoc went to the West Indies.

Hawkins, Sir R: The observations of Sir Richard Hawkins, Knight, in his voyage into the South Sea, 1503. London, 1622, p. 72. *H.*

Favorable. Republished by the Hakluyt Society, London, 1847.

Purchas, S: Purchas his pilgrimage. London, 1617. [3d ed., book 8, p. 903. *H.*]

Unfavorable.

Abbott, G: A briefe description of the whole world. London, 1620. pp. 125-126. *H.*

Abbot speaks of a vague account of a Welshman who went to America, which he says "doth carry some show with it."

Smith, J: The generall historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles. London, 1626. p. 1. *H.*

The story of Madoc is mentioned, and it is added, "Where this place was no history can show."

Herbert, Sir T: A relation of some yeares' travels into Africa and Asia the Great. London, 1634. pp. 394-397. *H.*

Favorable. He believes Madoc probably landed at Newfoundland.

Fox, Capt. Luke. North-west Fox. London, 1635. p. 13. *CB.*

The story of Madoc is given, as found in Hakluyt, the opinion being expressed that he came to some part of the West Indies.

Howell, James. Epistolæ Ho-Eliaenæ, familiar letters. London, 1645-55. [5th ed. London, 1678. pp. 354-355. *H.*]

Says of the Madoc claim, "This, if well proved, might well entitle our crown to America, if first discovery may claim a right to any country."

Laet, J: de. Notae ad dissertationem Hugonis Grotii de origine gentium Americanarum. Paris, 1643. pp. 137-151. *H.*

The story of Madoc is given, with reference to Dr. Powell and Hakluyt. Comparisons of words in Welsh and Huron are given. Favorable.

Hornius, G: De originibus Americanis. Hagae Comitum, 1652. pp. 13, 134-137. *H.*

Claim of Madoc discussed, and considered probable, though not certain.

Montanus, Arnoldus. De nieuwe en onbekende weereld. Amst., 1671. pp. 35-36. *H.*

Favorable.

Campanius, T:, of Holm. Kort beskrifning om Provincien Nye Swerige uti America. Stockholm, 1702. [An English translation, under the title of "Description of the Province of New Sweden," by P: S. du Ponceau. Phila., 1834. pp. 28-31. *H.*]

Claim of Madoc mentioned, but no opinion expressed.

Torfæus, Thormodus. Historia Vinlandiæ antiquæ. Havniae, 1705. Preface. *H.*

Madoc's claim is spoken of as "by no means absurd."

Stüven, J: F: De vero Novi Orbis inventore dissertatio historico-critica. Francof. a. M., 1714. pp. 31-35. *H.*

Story believed, but thought not to refer to America.

Campbell, J: Lives of the admirals and other eminent British seamen. London, 1742. [3d ed. London, 1761. 1:251-252. *H.*]

Though the author doubts whether Madoc came to America, he says, "There are authentick records, in the British tongue, as to this expedition of Madock's, wherever he went, prior to the discovery of America by Columbus."

Carte, T: History of England. London, 1747. 1:638. *H.*

Carte says that Madoc came "to a land unknown, probably the coast of Florida, or some more northern part of America."

Lyttleton, G: History of the life of King Henry the Second. London, 1767. 4:371-374. *H.*

Unfavorable.

Beatty, C: Journal of a two months' tour in America. London, 1768. pp. 24-28. *H.*

Here is given some information, derived from a man named Sutton, and another named Levi Hicks, relative to the Welsh origin of the Indians of Pennsylvania.



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Carey's American museum. Phila., 1792. 11: 152, 209, etc. *H.*

An extract from J: Williams' work.

Belknap, Jeremy. American biography. Boston, 1794. 1: 58-66. *H.*

The author gives everything that he could find on the subject of Madoc. He thinks it not improbable that the story was invented by Hakluyt to detract from Columbus' fame.

Burder, G: The Welsh Indians. London, 1797. *H.*

Here is given the whole story, with copious references, and many proofs not to be found elsewhere. The criticism is entirely favorable.

Owen, W: The Cambrian biography. London, 1803. p. 233. *BM.*

"I have collected a multitude of evidences, in conjunction with Edward Williams, the bard, to prove that Madog must have reached the American continent."

Philadelphia medical and physical journal. Phila., 1805. vol. 1, pt. 2. pp. 79-96. *BP.*

A letter by Harry Toulmin, republished from the "Kentucky Palladium," telling of some Welsh-Indians in America. To this is added an unfavorable discussion by B: Smith Barton.

Southey, Robert. Madoc. Edin., 1805. *H.*

The poem is based upon the Welsh claim, which Southey seems to believe.

Lewis, Meriwether. The travels of Capts. Lewis and Clarke. London, 1809. p. 215. *H.*

The claims set forth, but no opinion expressed.

Stoddard, Amos. Sketches, historical and descriptive, of Louisiana. Phila., 1812. pp. 465-488. *H.*

A favorable discussion of the subject.

Pinkerton, J: A general collection of the best and most interesting voyages and travels in all parts of the world. London, 1812. 12: 157;—1814. 17: xxiv. *H.*

In 12: 157: "That the country [Madoc] went to was really America, is more, I think, than can be thoroughly proved; but that this tale was invented after the discovery of that country, on purpose to set up a prior title, is most certainly false." In 17: xxiv, the Welsh claim is spoken of as "a ridiculous Welsh tale."

Brackenridge, H. M. Views of Louisiana. Balt., 1817. pp. 166-170. *H.*

Speaks of Welsh remains in the valley of the Mississippi, but considers it impossible that any such exist.

Biographie universelle. Madoc. Paris, 1820. 26: 95-96. *H.*

Gives Madoc's claim, but expresses no opinion.

Yates, J: V. N., and Moulton, Joseph White. History of the State of New York. N. Y., 1824. pp. 45-57. *H.*

Gives an extended discussion, and expresses his own doubt on the subject.

Murray, Hugh. Historical account of discoveries and travels in North America. London, 1829. 1: 12-13. *H.*

Murray believes Madoc went to Spain.

Priest, Josiah. American antiquities, and discoveries in the West. Albany, 1833. pp. 224-240. *H.*

Favorable.

Cooley, W: Desborough. History of maritime and inland discovery. (Lardner's cabinet cyclopædia.) London, 1830. 1: 215. *H.*

Unfavorable. This book was reprinted in the "Edinburgh cabinet library."

Dupaix, Guillaume. Antiquités mexicaines. Paris, 1834. *BA.*

In 1: 49-50 is a favorable article by François C: Farcy; in 1: 154-158 is an unfavorable one by D: Bailie Warden.

Humboldt, F: H: Alexander von. Examen critique de l'histoire de la géographie du nouveau continent. Paris, 1837. 2: 142-149. *H.*

Unfavorable

Rafinesque, Constantine Smaltz. The American nations. Phila., 1836. 2: 281. *H.*

Favorable.

North American review. Boston, July, 1838. 47: 179. *H.*

Claim mentioned, but no opinion expressed.

Gentleman's magazine. London, 1840. 10: 103-105. *H.*

A favorable article by Theophilus Evans.

Catlin, G: Letters and notes on the manners, customs, and condition of the North American Indians. N. Y., 1842. 1: 206; 2: App. A. *H.*

Madoc probably landed at Florida, or else entered the Mississippi river at the Balize.

Colombo, Cristoforo. Select letters; ed. by R: H: Major. (Hakluyt Society.) London, 1847. pp. xxiii-xxv. *H.*

Madoc's claim considered improbable, but by no means impossible.

Robinson, Conway. Account of discoveries in the West until 1519, and of voyages to and along the Atlantic coast of North America, from 1520 to 1573. Richmond, 1848. pp. 10-11. *H.*

The claim mentioned, but no opinion expressed.

Alexander, Sir James E: L'Acadie. London, 1849. 1: 89-90. *BA.*

Favorable.

Cambrian Archæological Association. Archæologia Cambrensis. London, 1849. 4:65. *BM.*

The article by R. and M., giving two communications in regard to the Welsh claim, which appeared in the "London Times" in 1846.

Warburton, G: The conquest of Canada. N. Y., 1850. 1: 35-36. *H.*

Unfavorable.

Haven, S: F: Archæology of the United States. (*In Smithsonian Institution. Contributions to knowledge. Wash., 1856. v. 8, art. 1. pp. 10, 26, 31, 35. H.*)

The account is given, but no opinion expressed.

Palfrey, J: Gorham. History of New England. Boston, 1858. 1:59. *H.*

The author says that the story is not without important corroboration, but that if Welshmen settled in America, it was in Florida or west of the Mississippi.

Brasseur de Bourbourg, C: Étienne, l'abbé. Popul Vuh. Paris, 1861. p. lxi. *H.*

Unfavorable.

Nouvelle biographie générale. Madoc. Paris, 1863. 32: 634-635. *H.*

Gives the account of Madoc, and adds, "If there is any truth in the story, Madoc probably landed to the North of Virginia."

Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde. Berlin, April, 1864. *BM.* Ostasien und Westamerika, von K: F. Neumann.

In favor of the populating of America from Asia. Contains the claim of Hwei Shin, which the writer believes.

American biblioplist. N. Y., Feb., 1869. pp. 47-50. *H.*

An excellent bibliography of the Madoc claim.



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V. DISCOVERY BY THE VENETIANS.

Zeno, Nicolò and Antonio. De i commentarii del viaggio in Persia di M. Catarino Zeno il K. e delle guerre fatte nell' imperio Persiano, dal tempo di Ussuncassano in quà. Libri due. E dello scoprimento dell' isole Frislanda, Eslanda, Engrovelanda, Estotilanda, e Icaria, fatto sotto il Polo Artico da due fratelli Zeni, M. Nicolò il K. e M. Antonio. Libro uno. Con un disegno particolare di tutte le dette parte di tramontana da lor scoperte. Venetia, 1558. pp. 45-58. *BM.*

This book consists of letters collected by Nicolo Zeno, who says they were the correspondence between his ancestors, Nicolo and Antonio Zeno, between the years 1380 and 1404. He says the letters, with a map, had remained in possession of the family until he saw their value and had them published. In these letters is a very circumstantial account of the lands mentioned in the title. The publisher was Francesco Marcolini. The copy in the British Museum is without the map.

Ramusio, Giam Battista. Delle navigationi e viaggi. Venezia, 1550-59. [An edition, Venezia, 1583. pp. 230-233. *H.*]

The story, taken from Marcolini's book, is given in full.

Ortelius, Abraham. Theatrum orbis terrarum. Anvers, 1575. fol. 60. *H.*

The whole account is given in Latin, with the map.

Hakluyt, R: Principall navigations, voyages, and discoveries of the English nation. London, 1589. [An edition, London, 1810. 3: 157-166. *H.*]

Hakluyt gives perfect credence to the Zeni voyage, and inserts in full a translation of the work of Marcolini.

Mercator, Gérard. Atlas, sive geographicæ meditationes de fabrica mundi et fabricata figura. Duisbourg, 1595. [An edition, under the title of "Historia Mundi," London, 1635. pp. 25, 30-31, 34-35. *H.*]

Speaks of Estotiland as a part of America, and tells what Zeno says about Greenland and Iceland, though he speaks as if the Zeni story was not very well authenticated. He does not seem to have known that the Zeni discovered, or even arrived at, Estotiland.

Wytfliet, Cornelius. Descriptionis Ptolemaicæ augmentum. Lovanii, 1597. p. 188. *H.*

Mention is here made of the Zeni voyage; and on the map of America which Wytfliet gives, Labrador is called Estotiland. Thus Wytfliet is the first to connect the Zeni's discoveries with any part of America.

Botero, Giovanni. Relaciones universales del mundo. Valladolid, 1603. pp. 183 reverse-184. *H.*

Says that Nicolo Zeni discovered the isle of Frisland, and also the isle of Drogio; but says nothing of America.

Purchas, S: Purchas, his pilgrimage. London, 1625. 3: 610–611. *H.*

The Zeni story is believed in the main, but no mention is made of America in connection with it.

Pontanus, I: Rerum Danicarum historia. Amstelodami, 1631. pp. 755–765. *BP.*

Here the Zeni story is given in full, and the author seems to agree with Wytfliet, to whom he refers, that the Zeni went to Labrador.

Fox, Capt. Luke. North-west Fox. London, 1635. pp. 5–12. *CB.*

The printing of this book is very imperfect and confusing. The Zeni story is given at length, taken from Hakluyt. Considers the lands discovered to be portions of America.

Grotius, Hugo. De origine gentium Americanarum dissertatio. Amst., 1642. [An ed. published in Petrus Albinus' "Commentatio de linguis peregrinis atque insulis ignotis." Vitebergae, 1714. p. 39. *BM.*]

Speaks of Estotiland as a part of the American continent, and says that the Zeni discovered Frisland, but the author does not seem to have known that they claimed also the discovery of Estotiland.

Morisotus, Claudius Bartholomaeus. Orbis maritimi sive rerum in mari et littoribus gestarum generalis historia. Divione, 1643. p. 593. *BM.*

Favorable.

Laet, J: de. Notae ad dissertationem Hugonis Grotii de origine gentium Americanarum. Paris, 1643. pp. 20–22. *H.* [Also, Amst., 1644. pp. 11–12. *H.*]

We here read, "The Zeni story is deserving of suspicion."

La Mothe le Vayer, François de. La géographie du prince. Paris, 1651. [In his Œuvres. 3^e éd. Paris, 1662. p. 819. *H.*]

Favorable.

Hornius, G: De originibus Americanis. Hagae Comitum, 1652. pp. 155–156. *H.*

Unfavorable. "Such errors, so widely diffused, must be expunged, that the remarks of impostors may not be considered true by those who are unacquainted with the matter."

Hornius, G: Ulyssea. Lugduni, 1671. p. 335. *BM.*

Mentions the Zeni voyage, which he believes, considering Estotiland to be either Scotland or Scetland.

Montanus, Arnoldus. De nieuwe en onbekende weereld. Amst., 1671. p. 29. *H.*

Favorable.

Riccioli, J: Baptista. Geographiae et hydrographiae reformatae. Venetiis, 1672. p. 89. *BM.*

Says that in 1381 the Zeni sailed to Labrador, to which some Frisland fishermen had already penetrated about 1340, and that Labrador is divided from Estotiland by the river Nivosus, usually called Rio Nevado.

Beemann, J: C. Historia orbis terrarum geographica et civilis. Francof. ad Oderam., 1673. [3^a ed. 1685. pp. 152–153. *BM.*]

Speaks of Frisland as probably a small island of North America. Says that not much is known about it, but that Ortelius tells us it was discovered by Nicolo Zeno.

Torfæus, Thormodus. Historia Vinlandiæ antiquæ. Havniae, 1705. Preface. *H.*

“The stories which are told of the Zeni may be true.” Also, “I do not quarrel about the name, since Sanson d’Abbeville and the recent geographers recognize Terram Novam Laboratoris and Estotilandiam as synonymous; yet I suspect that this is not the same land as the Zeni describe.”

Stüven, J: F: De vero Novi Orbis inventore dissertatio historico-critica. Francof. a. M., 1714. pp. 35–36. *H.*

Unfavorable. Fully recognizes that the Zeni story was a claim to the discovery of America.

Foscarini, M: Della letteratura veneziana. Padova, 1752. 1: 406–408. *H.*

The voyage of the Zeni is given as an authentic piece of history, with references to Marcolini’s book; but no connection with America is suggested.

Tiraboschi, Girolamo. Storia della letteratura italiana. Modena, 1772–87. [2d ed., Modena, 1789. 5: 132–135. *H.*]

Gives the Zeni story, of which Tiraboschi says, “The judgment of Ch. Foscarini alone, who has not the least doubt of the sincerity of the story, is sufficient to make me believe it.”

Forster, J: Reinholdt. Geschichte der entdeckungen und schiffahrten im Norden. Frankfurt, 1784. [An English translation, under the title of “History of voyages and discoveries in the North.” London, 1786. pp. 178–209. *H.*]

Favorable. Considers Estland to be Shetland; Engroneland, Greenland; Estotiland, Newfoundland; and Drogio, Florida.

Institut de France. Académie des Sciences. Histoire pour 1784. Paris, 1787. pp. 430–453. Mémoire sur l’île de Frisland, par M. Buache. *H.*



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Barrow, Sir J: A chronological history of voyages into the Arctic regions. London, 1818. pp. 13-26. *H.*

Favorable.

Daru, P: Antoine Noël Bruno. Histoire de la république de Venise. Paris, 1819. [2^e éd. Paris, 1821. 6; 295-298. *H.*]

Unfavorable.

Hoff, K. Ernst Adolf von. Geschichte der durch überlieferung nachgewiesenen natürlichen veränderungen der erdoberfläche. Gotha, 1822. 1: 178-202. *BM.*

Favorable.

Biographie universelle. Zeno. Paris, 1828. 52: 228-238. *H.*

Inclined to be favorable.

Irving, Washington. History of the life and voyages of Christopher Columbus. London, 1828. pp. 217-224. *H.*

Here the Zeni question is discussed at great length, and Irving says, "The whole story resembles much the fables circulated shortly after the discovery of Columbus, to arrogate to other nations and individuals the credit of the achievement."

Murray, Hugh. Historical account of discoveries and travels in North America. London, 1829. 1: 28-36. *H.*

Unfavorable. Murray thinks that Estotiland was Ireland; Drogio, Spain or the south of France; and Estland, Shetland.

Cooley, W: Desborough. History of maritime and inland discovery. (Lardner's cabinet cyclopædia.) London, 1830. 1: 221-225. *H.*

Favorable. Considers Engroneland to be Greenland; Estotiland, Newfoundland; and Drogio, Nova Scotia or New England. This book was reprinted in the "Edinburgh cabinet library."

Biddle, R: A memoir of Sebastian Cabot. London, 1831. pp. 328-332. *H.*

Speaks of the Zeni claim as "that memorable fraud."

Priest, Josiah. American antiquities, and discoveries in the West. Albany, 1833. pp. 224-240. *H.*

Favorable.

Leslie, J.; Jameson, Robert, and Murray, Hugh. Narrative of discovery and adventure in the Polar Seas and Regions. N.Y., 1833. pp. 88-89. *H.*

Of the Zeni claim the authors say, "We incline to think that the passages which have suggested this conclusion are either misunderstood or interpolated."

Nordisk Tidsskrift for Oldkyndighed. Kjöbenhavn, 1833. 1: 1-35. *H.* Bemaerkninger om de Venezianerne Zeni tilskrevne reiser i Norden, ved C: C. Zahrtmann.

Unfavorable. Says that the chart was compiled from hearsay information, that Frisland is the Feröe Islands, and that the story is replete with fiction.

Dupaix, Guillaume. Antiquités mexicaines. Paris, 1834. 1: 162-163. *BA.* Recherches sur les antiquités de l'Amérique du Nord et de l'Amérique du Sud, par D: Bailie Warden.

Favorable. The claim is also mentioned in an article by François C: Farcy (v. 1, no. 9, p. 51), but no view is expressed.

Zahrtmann, C: C. Remarks on the voyages to the Northern Hemisphere ascribed to the Zeni of Venice. (Royal Geographical Soc.) London, 1835. 5: 102 sq. *BP.*

This is very much the same article as that in the "Nordisk Tidsskrift."

Rafinesque, Constantine Smaltz. The American nations. Phila., 1836. 2: 282. *H.*

Favorable.

Humboldt, F: H: Alexander von. Examen critique de l'histoire de la géographie du nouveau continent. Paris, 1837. 2: 120-124. *H.*

"The isolation of facts, and the absence of all recrimination, remove all suspicion of deception, while the extreme confusion in the distances and days of sailing seem to prove the disorder in the compilation, and the sad condition of these manuscripts, which the descendants of the voyagers Zeno confess to have torn in pieces, being ignorant of their value."

North American review. Boston, July, 1838, 47: 177-206. *H.*

A favorable article by Hon. G: Folsom.

Malte-Brun, Conrad. Géographie universelle. Paris, 1841. 1: 207-211. *H.*

Favorable. Considers Estotiland to be Newfoundland; and Drogio, Nova Scotia and New England.

Grönlands Historiske Mindesmaerker. Kjöbenhavn, 1845. 3: 529-624. *H.*

An exhaustive article, by J. H. Bredsdorf, in favor of the claim.

Colombo, Cristoforo. Select letters; ed. by R: H: Major. (Hakluyt Society.) London, 1847. pp. xxv-xxvii. *H.*

Zeni claim mentioned by Mr. Major, but no opinion expressed.

Robinson, Conway. An account of discoveries in the West until 1519, and of voyages to and along the Atlantic coast of North America, from 1520 to 1573. Richmond, 1848. pp. 11-20. *H.*

Unfavorable.

Lelewel, Joachim. Géographie du moyen âge. Brux., 1852. 4: 79-108. *BP.*

The discussion is chiefly in regard to the map. Considers Estland to be Shetland; Frisland, the Ferøe Isles; Estotiland, the mouth of the St. Lawrence; and Drogio, Nova Scotia and New England.

Haven, S: F. Archæology of the United States. (*In Smithsonian Institution. Contributions to knowledge. Wash., 1856. v. 8, art. 1. pp. 10-11. H.*)

Zeni story mentioned, but no opinion expressed.

Brasseur de Bourbourg, C: Étienne. *l'abbé*. Histoire des nations civilisées du Mexique et de l'Amérique-Centrale. Paris, 1857. 1: 22. *H.*

Favorable.

Palfrey, J: Gornam. History of New England. Boston, 1858. 1: 59-60. *H.*

Claim mentioned, but no opinion expressed.

Peschel, Oscar Ferdinand. Geschichte des zeitalters der entdeckungen. Stuttg. u. Augsb., 1858. p. 107. *H.*

Unfavorable.

Domenech, Em., *l'abbé*. Seven years' residence in the Great Deserts of North America. London, 1860. 1: 60. *BP.*

Claim mentioned, but no opinion expressed.

Asher, G: M. Henry Hudson the navigator. (Hakluyt Society.) London, 1860. pp. clxiv-clxvii. *H.*

He says that in solving the Zeni question, "No very satisfactory result has yet been attained."

Gaffarel, Paul. Études sur les rapports de l'Amérique et de l'Ancien Continent avant Christophe Colomb. Paris, 1869. pp. 261-279. *BP.*

Favorable. Considers Friesland to be the Ferøe Isles; Estland, Shetland; Bres, Bressa; Minant, Mainland; Island, Unst; Talus, Teal; Broas, Buras; Trans, Tronda; Engroveland, Greenland; Icaria, Anticosti, Prince Edward Island, or Baffin's Land; Estotiland, Labrador or Newfoundland; and Drogeo, Nova Scotia or New England.

Willis, W: Documentary history of the State of Maine. (Maine Hist. Soc. 2d ser., v. 1.) Portland, 1869. vol. 1. History of the discovery of the East Coast of North America, by J. G. Kohl. pp. 93-106. *H.*

Favorable. A map of the Zeni discoveries is given, and conjectures as to the particular spots are offered.



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Bryant, W: Cullen, and Gay, Sidney Howard. Popular history of the United States. N. Y., 1876. 1: 76-85. *H.*

Bryant believes that the Zeni story is a fabrication.

Foster, J: Wells. Pre-historic races of the United States of North America. Chicago, 1878. pp. 399-400. *H.*

Unfavorable.

VI. DISCOVERY BY THE PORTUGUESE.

Barrow, Sir J: A chronological history of voyages into the Arctic Regions. London, 1818. pp. 37-39. *H.*

Speaks of it as an established fact that John Vaz Costa Cortereal discovered Newfoundland in 1463 or 1464. He refers to Antonio Cordeiro, "Historia insulana das ilhas a Portugal sugeytas no Oceano Occidental," Lisbon, 1717. He does not mention the page, however; and no one else has ever been able to find in that book anything about this claim of Cortereal's.

Cooley, W: Desborough. History of maritime and inland discovery. (Lardner's cabinet cyclopædia.) London, 1830. p. 138. *H.*

Of Cortereal, the author says, "There seems little reason to doubt that he discovered Newfoundland long before the time of Cabot." This book was reprinted in the "Edinburgh cabinet library."

Biddle, R: Memoir of Sebastian Cabot. London, 1821. pp. 286-298. *H.*

Unfavorable. Accuses Barrow of never having looked into Cordeiro's book; and adds, "Thus does the evidence, in support of this preposterous claim, disappear."

Humboldt, F: H: Alexander von. Examen critique de l'histoire de la géographie du nouveau continent. Paris, 1836. 1:279. *H.*

Unfavorable.

North American review. Boston, July, 1838. 47:179. *H.*

Hon. G: Folsom says: "There is little, if any, ground for the claim."

Colombo, Cristoforo. Select letters; ed. by R: H. Major. London, 1847. (Hakluyt Society.) pp. xxvii-xxx. *H.*

Mr. Major's opinion is unfavorable.

Haven, S: F. Archæology of the United States. (*In Smithsonian Institution. Contributions to knowledge. Wash., 1856. v. 8, art. 1, p. 9. H.*)

Claim mentioned, but no view expressed.

Palfrey, J: Gorham. History of New England. Boston, 1858. 1:60. *H.*

Claim mentioned, but no view expressed.

Gaffarel, Paul. Études sur les rapports de l'Amérique et de l'Ancien Continent avant Christophe Colomb. Paris, 1869. pp. 328-330. *BP.*

Unfavorable.

Willis, W: Documentary history of the State of Maine. (Maine Hist. Soc. 2d ser., v. 1. Portland, 1869.) vol. 1. History of the discovery of the East Coast of North America, by J. G. Kohl. pp. 165-166. *H.*

Of Cortereal's claim, Kohl says, "For this there is no reliable evidence."

Bryant, W: Cullen, and **Gay, Sidney Howard.** Popular history of the United States. N. Y., 1876. 1:140-141, *note.* *H.*

Says Biddle has shown that there is no good authority for the claim.

VII. DISCOVERY BY THE POLES.

Gomara, Francisco Lopez de. Historia general de las Indias, con la conquista del Mexico y de la Nueva-España. Medina, 1553. [A French translation, under the title of "Histoire generale des Indes Occidentales et Terres Neuves qui jusques à present ont este decouvertes," par Martin Fumée. Paris, 1578. p. 48, chap. 37. *H.*]

Says casually, "The people of Norway have also been there [i.e. to Labrador] with the pilot Jehan Scolve and the English with Sebastian Gavoto."

Belle-forest, François de. L'histoire universelle du monde. Paris, 1577. p. 356, reverse. *BP.*

Favorable.

Wytfliet, Cornelius. Descriptionis Ptolemaicæ augmentum. Lovanii, 1597. p. 188. *H.*

Here it is stated that in 1476 Scolvus was carried to Labrador and Estotiland.

Pontanus, I: Rerum Danicarum historia. Amst., 1631. p. 763. *BP.*

Favorable. Quotes from Wytfleit.

Morisotus, Claudius Bartholomaeus. Orbis maratimi sive rerum in mari et littoribus gestarum generalis historia. Divione, 1643. p. 593. *BM.*

Favorable.

Hornius, G: Ulyssea. Lugduni, 1671. p. 335. *BM*.

Says that in 1476 Scolnus discovered "fretum Anian et Terram Laboratoris."

Placido Zurla. Di Marco Polo e degli altri viaggiatori veneziani. Venezia, 1818. 2:26, note. *BP*.

Favorable.

Dupaix, Guillaume. Antiquités mexicaines. Paris, 1834. v. 1, no. 9, p. 51. *BA*.

Claim mentioned in an article by François Charles Farcy, but no view expressed.

Humboldt, F: H: Alexander von. Examen critique de l'histoire de la géographie du nouveau continent. Paris, 1837. 2:152-153. *H*.

Acknowledges that he is doubtful.

North American review. Boston, July, 1838. 47:179. *H*.

Claim mentioned, but no opinion expressed.

Grönlands Historiske Mindesmaerker. Kjöbenhavn, 1845. 3:555-556, 628-630. *H*.

A favorable article, by C. Pingel.

Colombo, Cristoforo. Select letters; ed. by R: H. Major. (Hakluyt Society.) London, 1847. pp. xxv-xxvii. *H*.

Claim mentioned, but no opinion expressed.

Lelewel, Joachim. Géographie du moyen âge. Brux., 1852. 4:105-106. *BP*.

The author says that Scolnus went to Labrador.

Palfrey, J: Gorham. History of New England. Boston, 1858. 1:60. *H*.

Claim mentioned, but no opinion expressed.

Asher, G: M. Henry Hudson, the navigator. (Hakluyt Society.) London, 1860. pp. xcvi-xcix. *H*.

He thinks Kolnus went to Greenland.

Willis, W: Documentary history of the state of Maine. (Maine Hist. Soc. 2d ser., v. 1.) Portland, 1869. Vol. 1, History of the discovery of the East Coast of North America, by J. G. Kohl. pp. 114-115. *H*.

Kohl says the voyage "probably never took place, or, at all events, had nothing to do with Vinland or Maine."



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Murr, Christoph Gottlieb von. *Diplomatische Geschichte des Ritters Behaim*. Nürnberg, 1778. [A French translation in C. Amoretti's translation of Pigafetta's "Premier voyage autour du Monde," by H. J. Jansen. Paris, 1801. *H.* Also an English translation in J: Pinkerton's "General collection of the best and most interesting voyages and travels in all parts of the world." London, 1812. 11: 392-420. *H.*]

Behaim's claim is discussed, and a portion of his chart is given. "The history and the globe of Behaim absolutely destroy all these pretensions, and prove that he had no knowledge of America."

American Philosophical Society. *Transactions*. Phila., 1786. 2: 263-284. *H.*

A letter from Mr. Otto to Dr. Franklin, in which it is claimed that Martin Behaim first discovered America. Among other proofs the writer cites a terrestrial globe made by Behaim, now in the archives of the library at Nuremberg, on which we find the land that he discovered in such a position that it must be the present coasts of Brazil and the environs of the Straits of Magellan, says Mr. Otto.

Belknap, Jeremy. A discourse intended to commemorate the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus. Boston, 1792. pp. 85-99. *H.*

Unfavorable. This article was reprinted in Jeremy Belknap's "American biography." Boston, 1794. 1: 128-141. *H.*

Cladera, Don Cristobal. *Investigaciones historicas sobre los principales descubrimientos de los Españoles*. Madrid, 1794. *H.*

An exhaustive work on the claim of Behaim, attempting to overthrow it entirely. It contains a map of a portion of Behaim's globe. A translation into Spanish of Murr's article on Behaim is also given.

Amoretti, C: Preface to a French translation of Pigafetta's "Premier voyage autour du Monde." Paris, 1801. pp. 21-28. *H.*

The claim of Behaim is considered, and the writer thinks that, though Behaim first discovered America, he did not know it until after he had compared his own discoveries with those of Columbus.

North American review. Boston, 1822. 14: 37-38. *H.*

J. G. Cogswell speaks of the assertion that Behaim discovered America before Columbus as "a trifling error."

Yates, J: V. N., and **Moulton**, Joseph White. *History of the State of New York*. N. Y., 1824. p. 104. *H.*

Claim mentioned, but no view expressed.

Irving, Washington. *History of the life and voyages of Christopher Columbus*. London, 1828. pp. 208-212. *H.*

The question of Behaim is taken up at considerable length, and Irving explains the claim as "founded on the misinterpretation of a passage interpolated in the chronicle of Hartmann Schedel."

Dupaix, Guillaume. *Antiquités mexicaines*. Paris, 1834. 1: 136-138. *BA*. Recherches sur les antiquités de l'Amérique du Nord et de l'Amérique du Sud, par D: Bailie Warden.

Unfavorable. Mentioned, but no opinion expressed, by François C: Farcy, vol. 1, no. 9, p. 50.

Humboldt, F: H: Alexander von. *Examen critique de l'histoire de la géographie du nouveau continent*. Paris, 1837. 1: 256-309. *H*.

A long discussion. Unfavorable.

Colombo, Cristoforo. *Select letters*; ed. by R: H: Major. (Hakluyt Society.) London, 1847. pp. xxxi-xxxii. *H*.

Mr. Major does not favor the claim.

Lelewel, Joachim. *Géographie du moyen âge*. Brux., 1852. 2: 131-132, *note*. *BP*.

Simply says that "numerous conjectures and fables have been invented about Martin Behaim," and he refers for them to Murr and Ghillany.

Ghillany, F. W. *Geschichte des Seefahrers Ritter Martin Behaim*. Nürnberg, 1853. pp. 51-70. *BP*.

Favorable.

Haven, S: F. *Archæology of the United States*. (*In Smithsonian Institution. Contributions to knowledge*. Wash., 1856. v. 8, art. 1, p. 10. *H*.)

Claim mentioned, but no view expressed.

Major, R: H: *The life of Prince Henry of Portugal*. London, 1868. pp. 326-328. *H*.

Here is taken up the claim of Behaim, "to whom," says the author, "has been erroneously attributed the first idea of the discovery of America."

Gaffarel, Paul. *Études sur les rapports de l'Amérique et de l'Ancien Continent avant Christophe Colomb*. Paris, 1869. pp. 307-313. *BP*.

Inclined to be unfavorable.

Harper's new monthly magazine. N. Y., 1871. 42: 425-435, 527-535. *H*. An examination of the claims of Columbus, by Rev. M. Maury.

Gives a map of Behaim's globe, but thinks that he placed on it land which corresponds to America, simply supposing it to exist there, though he had never himself discovered it.

Bartlett, J: Russell. *Bibliotheca Americana: a catalogue of books relating to North and South America in the library of the late J: Carter Brown*. Providence, 1875. 1: 15-16. *H*.

Gives an English translation of the passage in Schedel's work, on which is based Behaim's claim. States that "the 'Chronicle,' in the handwriting of Schedel, is preserved at Nuremberg; but the passage contained in the extract above given is added in a different hand." Bartlett therefore considers the claim unfounded.

IX. DISCOVERY BY COUSIN OF DIEPPE.

Mémoires chronologiques pour servir à l'histoire de Dieppe, et à celle de la navigation française. Paris, 1785. 1: 91-98. *BM*.

Says that Cousin left Dieppe at the beginning of 1488, and at the end of two months arrived at the mouth of a great river, which he called "Maragnon," and which has been since named the "Fleuve des Amazones." He returned to Dieppe in 1489. Vincent Pinçon, one of Cousin's captains, deserted the people of Dieppe and went to Geneva, where it is thought he told Columbus of Cousin's discoveries. The author of the "Mémoires" does not give his authorities for these facts.

Estancelin, L: Recherches sur les voyages et découvertes des navigateurs normands en Afrique, dans les Indes Orientales et en Amérique. Paris, 1832. pp. 332-361. *BP*.

Discusses the question whether Cousin discovered America before Columbus, and whether it was from him that Columbus obtained his knowledge. The author is scarcely inclined to believe it.

Guérin, Léon. Les navigateurs français. Paris, 1846. pp. 47-49. *BP*.

Claim mentioned, but no opinion expressed.

Parkman, Francis. Pioneers of France in the New World. Boston, 1865. pp. 169-170. *H*.

"The story may not be quite void of foundation."

Gaffarel, Paul. Études sur les rapports de l'Amérique et de l'Ancien Continent avant Christophe Colomb. Paris, 1869. pp. 314-324. *BP*.

Favorable.

Bryant, W: Cullen, and Gay, Sidney Howard. Popular history of the United States. N. Y., 1876. 1: 139. *H*.

Unfavorable.