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<th>14X</th>
<th>18X</th>
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<th>26X</th>
<th>30X</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
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<th>28X</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
</table>
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A VIEW and ACCOUNT of the Countries round the NORTH POLE laid down from the

AMERICA
HISTORY
OF THE
VOYAGES
AND
DISCOVERIES
MADE IN THE
NORTH.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF
JOHN REINHOLD FORSTER, I. U. D.

AND ELUCIDATED BY
A NEW AND ORIGINAL MAP OF THE COUNTRIES SITUATED ABOUT THE NORTH POLE.

Orbis situm dicere... impeditum opus et facundiae minime capax... verum aepici tamen cognosciue dingissimuni.

POMPONIUS MELA in Proemio.

DUBLIN:
Printed for LUKE WHITE, Dame-street, and PAT. BYRNE, Grafton-street.
MDCCLXXXVI.
# CONTENTS

## Book I.

**Of the most ancient discoveries**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chap.</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. The voyages and discoveries of the Phœncians</td>
<td>ibid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. The voyages and discoveries of the Grecians</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. The voyages and discoveries of the Romans</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Book II.

**Discoveries made in the middle ages**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chap.</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Discoveries of the Arabians</td>
<td>ibid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Discoveries of the Saxons, Franks, and Normans</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Discoveries of the Italians and some other nations</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sec. I. Travels of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sec. II. of Johannes de Pinao Carpini</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sec. III. of Andreas Luciumel</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sec. IV. of William of Ruysbroek</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sec. V. of Haitho, King of Armenia</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sec. VI. of Marco Polo of Venice</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sec. VII. of Oderic of Portenau</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sec. VIII. of Sir John Mandeville</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sec. IX. of Francisco Balducci Pegoletti</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sec. X. of John Schildberger</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sec. XI. of the ambassadors, of Miza Shah Rokh</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sec. XII. of Josaphat Barbaro to Tanna</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sec. XIII. of the Chevalier Nicolo Zeni</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sec. XIV. of Pietro Quirini</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A 2

GENERAL
## CONTENTS.

**GENERAL VIEW of the state of affairs at this period** 232  
**Structures and Remarks** 242

### BOOK III.

**DISCOVERIES MADE IN THE NORTH IN MODERN TIMES**

**GENERAL OBSERVATIONS** 252  
ibid.

**Chap. I. Discoveries of the English in the North** 265

- **Sec. I. 1497. John Cabot and his three sons** 266
- **Sec. II. 1553. Sir Hugh Willoughby** 268
- **Sec. III. 1555. Richard Chancellor** 271
- **Sec. IV. 1556. Stephen Burrough** 272
- **Sec. V. 1567. Martin Frobisher** 274
- **Sec. VI. 1577. Frobisher's second voyage**
- **Sec. VII. 1578. Frobisher's third voyage** 280
- **Sec. VIII. 1580. Arthur Pet and Charles Jackman** 287

- **Sec. IX. 1583 Sir Humphry Gilbert** 289
- **Sec. X. 1585. John Davis** 298
- **Sec. XI. 1586. Davis's second voyage** 302
- **Sec. XII. 1587. Davis's third voyage** 308
- **Sec. XIII. 1591. George Weymouth** 311
- **Sec. XIV. 1605. John Knight** 317
- **Sec. XV. 1607. James Hall** 320
- **Sec. XVI. 1607. Henry Hudson** 324
- **Sec. XVII. 1608. Hudson’s second voyage** 327
- **Sec. XVIII. 1603, 1611. Divers voyages made to**  
  Cherry or Bear Island 328
- **Sec. XIX. 1610. Hudson’s third voyage** 332
- **Sec. XX. 1612. Thomas Button** 344
- **Sec. XXI. 1614. Capt. Gibbons** 347
- **Sec. XXII. 1614. Fotherby and Baffin** 348
- **Sec. XXIII. 1615. Fotherby** 349
- **Sec. XXIV. 1615. Robert Bylot** 350
- **Sec. XXV. 1616. Robert Bylot and William Baffin** 352

- **Sec. XXVI. 1616, 1631. William Hawkbridge** 357
- **Sec. XXVII. 1631. Lucas Fox** 359
- **Sec. XXVIII. 1631. Thomas James** 367
- **Sec. XXIX. 1668. Zachary Gillam and De Ger-**  
  feiller 376

- **Sec. XXX.**
CONTENTS

Sec. XXX. 1676. John Wood and William Flawes Page 383

Sec. XXXI. 1719. Knight and Barlow 386
Sec. XXXII. 1722. Capt. Scroggs — 387
Sec. XXXIII. 1737. The Hudson's Bay Company sends out two ships 390
Sec. XXXIV. 1741. Christopher Middleton and William Moor — 390
Sec. XXXV. 1746. William Moor and Francis Smith — 392
Sec. XXXVI. 1773. Captain Constantine John Phipps, now Lord Mulgrave 397

Sec. XXXVII. 1776. James Cook — 399
Sec. XXXVIII. 1776. Richard Pickersgill 407
Sec. XXXIX. 1777. Michael Lane — 409

Chap. II. Discoveries of the Dutch in the North — 410
Sec. I. 1593. Cornelia Cornelissen Nay and William Barentz — 411
Sec. II. 1595. Seven ships from Amsterdam, Zealand, Enkhuysen, and Rotterdam 416
Sec. III. 1596. Jacob van Heemskerk, William Barentz, and Cornelia Ryp 417

Sec. IV. 1609. Henry Hudson — 421
Sec. V. 1611. Jan Mayen — 422
Sec. VI. 1614—1614. Voyage of a ship fitted out by Dutch merchants 423
Sec. VII. 1614. Dutch Greenland Company 423
Sec. VIII. 1633. Wintering of certain sailors at Spitsbergen — 423
Sec. IX. 1640 or 1645. Ryke Yse's voyage 424
Sec. X. 1643. Voyage of the ships Castricom and Breukes — 424

Sec. XI. 1644, 1641. Voyage round the North Pole at the distance of two degrees from it — 426
Sec. XII. 1654—1707. Various discoveries made at different times — 428

Chap. III. Discoveries of the French in the North — 430
Sec. I. 1504. Voyages of the Biscayans, Normans, Bretons, and others — 431
Sec. II. 1524. Juan Verazzani — 432
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chap.</th>
<th>Discoveries</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IV.</td>
<td>of the Spaniards in the North</td>
<td>445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>1524. Estévan Gomez</td>
<td>447</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td>1542. Juan Rodriguez de Cabrillo</td>
<td>448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td>1556. Andrea Urdianetta</td>
<td>448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.</td>
<td>1582. Francisco Gualle</td>
<td>448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>1592. Juan de Fuca, alias Apostolos Valerianos</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI.</td>
<td>1596. Sebastiano Vizcaino</td>
<td>453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII.</td>
<td>1602. His second voyage</td>
<td>453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII.</td>
<td>1640. Bartholomeo de Fuente's pretended voyage</td>
<td>454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX.</td>
<td>1775. Don Bruno Heceta, Don Juan de Ayala, and J. Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra</td>
<td>455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>Discoveries of the Portuguese in the North</td>
<td>458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>1500. Caspar de Corte Real</td>
<td>460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td>1578. Fifty Portuguese vessels fish off Newfoundland Bank</td>
<td>461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td>1555. Martin Chaque</td>
<td>462</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.</td>
<td>1620, 1621. Father de Angelis and Jacob Carvalho</td>
<td>463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>1621, 1649. Joao de Gama</td>
<td>464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI.</td>
<td>1660. David Melgner</td>
<td>464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI.</td>
<td>Discoveries of the Danes in the North</td>
<td>466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>1564. Dithmar Bleksens</td>
<td>467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td>1609. Gottke Lindenau and James Hall</td>
<td>467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td>1606. Their second voyage</td>
<td>468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.</td>
<td>1607. Karsten Richardt</td>
<td>469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>1619. Jens Munk</td>
<td>470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI.</td>
<td>1636. The Danish Greenland Company</td>
<td>471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII.</td>
<td>1769. Baron von Uhlefeld's pretended voyage</td>
<td>472</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chap. VII
CONTENTS

Chap. VII. Discoveries of the Natives in the North — 473

General observations on the discoveries made in the
North, together with physiological, anthropological, geological,
and anatomical reflections on the objects of the
Chap. VII. Discoveries of the Natives in the North — 473
The Translator's PREFACE.

The Author of the work, of which the following sheets are a translation, is too well known to stand in need of any recommendation to the public. That he had, for a long time previous to this publication, made the Northern Geography of Europe his particular study, we are informed by the Hon. Mr. Daines Barrington, in the Preface to his elegant Edition of Alfred's Orofius. If, to this consideration, we add the circumstance of his having himself made a long and successful voyage of discovery in the coldest climates, his multifarious erudition, and more particularly his great acquisitions in natural science, we shall be ready to own, that it would not be very easy to find a Historian fitter to record the Northern Discoveries, than the Writer of the present compilation.

The subject is confessedly of the greatest importance; and, though treated in a very different manner, bears a strong affinity to that of the justly-admired History of the European Settlements, to which, if it is inferior in point of style and rhetorical ornaments, it will perhaps be found equal in profundity of reflection and philosophical investigation, and superior with respect to accuracy and extent of information.—Errors there must be in every
every human undertaking, and consequently this compilation is not without its share. Many of these have been rectified in silence by the Translator, who has carefully compared almost every page with the original writers, whence this work is chiefly extracted. Other mistakes of his Author he has openly noticed, and that principally for the sake of foreigners, and those who have read the book in its original language. Such is the note to page 341, in which, however, the Translator has perhaps gone too far in asserting, that the anecdote there referred to has not even the shadow of truth to support it. In fact, he rather supposes, on the contrary, that Dr. Forster himself, or else (which is more probable) his informers have, by confounding two different stories, inadvertently blended truth with falsehood, and thus rendered the whole anecdote subject to contradiction.

The Translator has likewise omitted a long note full of invective against Mr. Barrington, as he could by no means prevail on himself to make the following sheets, which were so happily calculated for instruction and innocent amusement, the vehicles of abuse and calumny.—Mr. B. it seems, neglected to mention Dr. Forster's name in his edition of Alfred's Orofius, probably for the same reason as he omitted to mention the name of the person who laid down the map for the Spanish Voyage, published in his Miscellanies, viz. because he did not attach any high degree of glory to the business of map-making, and was conscious of his right to publish what he had purchased. This omission, however, might have been considered in some measure as blameable, had not the Doctor
Doctor himself, by a silence of more than eleven years, entirely exculpated him in this respect. Why Mr. B. did not own the obligation afterwards in his Miscellanies, is a question that no one perhaps but Dr. F. will ask. Again, why the Doctor did not claim his property before, he himself best knows, and perhaps may not wish any one to enquire. Mr. B. in his Preface to his Version of Alfred's Orosius, has done ample justice to Dr. F.'s remarks. The map was not worth contending for; but if it were, no one would be disposed to dispute it with the author of those excellent remarks.

Of Mr. B.'s Version the Translator has made a free use in the following pages, excepting in those few passages in which it differs from that of Dr. Forster.
The Author's Preface.

The work here offered to the public is of a very different kind from those with which it is continually pestered, and which are the joint produce of illiterate writers and greedy booksellers. This, on the contrary, has employed the whole of my attention and industry for these last eighteen months; though, like every other production of human nature, it still has its faults and imperfections.

The numerous researches, upon which, more especially in the ancient part and that relative to the middle ages, I was obliged to enter, the multifarious departments of learning from which I have derived some of the following notes and remarks, the orthography of a proper name, the expression of a number, may appear at present very easy to many of my readers; and perhaps I shall hardly gain credit for the assertion, or at least it may be considered as a mere boast, when I confess that a short annotation, the proper name of a place or person, or the expression of a number, has frequently cost me whole hours, and sometimes days.

Not content with merely stating facts, I was also desirous to place them in the clearest light. With
AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

With this view I have laid down a new map of the countries about the North Pole as far as the 50th, and in some places, the 45th degree, comprises the latest discoveries, with tolerable accuracy and precision; and must on that account, it is presumed, merit the preference to all others of the kind.

As this work contains a great number of proper names as well as facts, I thought proper to annex at the end of it a very complete Index, of the great utility of which I was perfectly convinced by the recollection that, for the sake of finding some short trifling passage, I have often found myself under the necessity of reading the major part of a book.
INTRODUCTION.

Among all the discoveries which have tended to enlighten mankind, to promote commerce, and to advance Europe to the glorious zenith of power and refinement in which it appears at present, navigation has indubitably contributed much, if not more than all the rest. On this account alone, even were we not to consider the numerous, bold, and curious manoeuvres, and the grand, though minute and complicated mechanism which it constantly displays, it might justly claim an exalted place, if not a distinctive preference amongst the arts. We commonly regard sailors merely as a rustic and unpolished race of men: visiting, as they do, many different countries, and those frequently at a great distance from each other, their dress cannot, without much trouble, be any where in the fashion, neither can they be expected, nor indeed would it be rational for men in their situation to attend to elegance and finery, rather than to convenience and ease. This singularity of appearance is alone sufficient to render them ridiculous in the eyes of the more polished inhabitants of towns and cities, and the plain and homely manners which they generally contract in long voyages, sequestred as they are from the rest of mankind, are apt to inspire some of the most refined amongst us with disgust; whence the transition is easy to an utter contempt of their way of life, as also of this
this very useful profession which connects the most distant parts of the world in the bands of society and concord.

Of all the arts and professions which have at any time attracted my notice, none has ever appeared to me more astonishing and marvellous than that of navigation, in the state in which it is at present, an art which doubtless affords one of the most certain and irrefragable proofs of the amazing powers of the human understanding. This cannot be made more evident, than when, taking a retrospective view of the tottering, inartificial craft, to which navigation owes its origin, we compare it with a noble and majestic edifice, containing 1000 men, together with their provisions, drink, furniture, wearing apparel, and other necessaries for many months, besides 100 pieces of heavy ordnance; and bearing all this vast apparatus safely, and as it were on the wings of the wind, across immense seas to the most distant shores. We are so much accustomed to talk and to judge of many different subjects in the gross, that such particular and decomposed ideas as these occur to us but seldom; and very frequently we are not possessed of a sufficient degree of speculative knowledge to be able to trace an idea of this kind up to first principles. The following example may serve for the present to delineate at full length, as it were, the idea above alluded to. But first I must premise, that a huge, unwieldy log of wood, with the greatest difficulty, and in the most uncouth manner, hollowed out on the inside, and somewhat pointed at both ends, and in this guise set on a river, for the purpose of transporting two or three persons belonging to one and the same family across a piece of water a few feet deep, by the assistance of a pole pushed against the ground, cannot with any propriety be considered as the image of navigation in its first and earliest state. For it seems evident to me, that people in the beginning only took three or four trunks of trees, and fastened them together, and then, by means of this kind of raft, got across such waters
INTRODUCTION.

waters as were too deep for them to ford over, and
across which they could not well swim with their
children and various kinds of goods which they might
wish to preserve from being wet. The canoe, how-
ever, is a specimen of the art in a more advanced
state, as this kind of craft is capable of having direc-
tion given to it, and even of so capital an improve-
ment as that of having a sail added to it. For which
reason I chuse this vehicle for a standard, in prefer-
tence to a mere raft, to which, imperfect as it is, it is so
much superior. Let us, then, compare this with a
large majestic floating edifice, the result of the inge-
nuity and united labour of many hundreds of hands,
and composed of a great number of well-proportioned
pieces, nicely fastened together by means of iron nails
and bolts, and rendered so tight with tow and pitch,
that no water can penetrate into it. Now, in order
to give motion and direction to this enormous machine,
some astonishingly-lofty pieces of timber have been
fixed upright in it, and so many moveable crofs pieces
have been added to it, together with such a variety
of pieces of strong linen cloth, for the purpose of catch-
ing the wind and of receiving its impule and propell-
ing power, that the number of them amounts to up-
wards of 30. For changing the direction of these
yards and tails, according to particular circumstances,
it has also been requisite to add a vast quantity of
cordage and tackling, and nevertheless, even all this
would not be sufficient for the perfect direction and
government of the vessel, if there was not fastened to the
hinder part of it, by means of hinges and hooks, a
moveable piece of wood, very small indeed in propor-
tion to the whole machine; but the least inclination of
which to either side is sufficient to give immediately a
different direction to this enormous large mass, and that
even in a storm, so that two men may direct and go-
vorn this swimming island with the same or rather with
greater ease than a single man can do a boat. But it,
besides, we consider that, in a vessel like this, not a single
piece is put in at random, but that every part of it has its determinate measure and proportion, and is fixed precisely in that place which is the most advantageous for it; that, throughout every part of it, there is distributed an astonishing quantity of blocks, stays, and pulleys, for the purpose of diminishing the friction, and of accelerating the motion of these parts; that even the belonging and vaulted part of the fabric, together with its sharp termination underneath, are proportioned according to the nicest calculations and the most accurately determined rules; that the length and the thickness of the maits, the size of the booms and yards, the length, width, and strength of the sails and tackling are all in due proportion to one another, according to certain rules founded upon the principles of motion: when we consider all this, I say, our admiration increases more and more at this great masterpiece of human power and understanding. Still, however, there are wanting a few traits to complete this description. A man in health consumes, in the space of 24 hours, about 8 pounds of victuals and drink; consequently 8000 lb. of provisions are required per day in such a ship. Now let us suppose her to be fitted out for 3 months only, and we shall find that she must be laden with 720,000 lb. of provisions. A large 42-pounder weighs about 6100 lb. if made of brass, and about 5500 lb. if of iron; and generally there are 28 or 30 of these on board a ship of 100 guns, the weight of which, exclusive of that of their carriages, amounts to 183,000 lb.: on the second deck there are 30 twenty-four pounders, each of which weigh about 5100 lb. and therefore all together, 153,000 lb. and the weight of the 26 or 28 twelve-pounders on the lower deck amounts to about 75,400 lb.; that of the 14 six-pounders on the upper deck, to about 26,600 lb.; and besides that, on the round tops even there are three-pounders and swivels. Now, if to this we add, that the complete charge of a forty-
INTRODUCTION.

A forty-two pounder weighs about 64 lb. and that at least upwards of 100 charges are required for each gun, we shall find this to amount nearly to the same weight as the guns themselves. In addition to this we must reflect, that every ship must have, by way of providing against exigencies, at least another set of sails, cables, cordage, and tackling, which altogether amount to a considerable weight. The stores likewise consisting of planks, pitch, and tow; the chests belonging to the officers and sailors; the surgeon's stores, and various other articles requisite on a long voyage; as also the small arms, bayonets, swords, and pistols, are no inconsiderable load; to which we must finally add the weight of the crew, which is not very trifling, so that one of these large ships carries at least 2162 tuns burthen, or 4,324,000 lb. and at the same time is served and governed with as much care as the smallest boat. Now, the consideration of these circumstances alone are sufficient to excite the most serious reflections in a contemplative mind; and yet, if such a ship failed along the coast only, and never lost sight of the shore, as the navigators of old used to do, we might still be tempted to look upon navigation as an easy and trifling business. But the finding the straightest and shortest way over an ocean of more than 60 or 80 degrees in longitude, and 30 or 40 in latitude; or across a tract from 4000 to 6000 miles in extent, by day or by night, in fair weather or in foul, as well when the sky is overcast, as when it is clear, and often with no other guide than the compass (which does not even point directly to the north in all places) and the being able to determine the true position of the ship at sea by the height of the sun, though this latter be enveloped in clouds, or to direct one's course by the moon and the stars with such exactness and precision, as not to make a mistake of the value of half a degree or 30 miles; this at least shews the progress and great perfection of an art practiced by a set of people of whose understandings...
INTRODUCTION.

standings many conceited and supercilious landmen have but a mean opinion, and whose plain and simple manners they frequently take the liberty of turning into ridicule.

A violent storm of wind will make us tremble with fear, even in a strong well-built house, and in the midst of a populous city; yet we have seldom or never either seen or experienced the vast power of the enraged waves, when beat about by the winds, and dashed against each other, till they seem transformed into froth and vapour, and the whole surface of the ocean presents to the eye a confused scene of immense watery mountains, and bottomless precipices; and yet on such a sea as this the true seaman, provided he has but a good ship, rides with calm and unshaken courage, and thinks himself as safe in the midst of the ocean as in the best fortified castle.

This art, carried to that height of perfection in which we have described it, closely connects the most distant regions, furnishes the houses and spreads the tables of the luxurious natives of Europe with the rarities, dainties, and treasures of both the Indies, bears protection and safety to the remotest shores, and diffuses terror and destruction beyond the most extensive seas. In short, it is the greatest and most astonishing of all human inventions, and produced by the most vigorous exertion of the intellectual faculties of man, whom, in despite of his natural debility and feebleness, it must necessarily inspire with the highest degree of pride; were he not, on other accounts, but too liable to that failing.

It is, however, gradually, and by little and little only that this art has attained to that degree of perfection in which it now subsists, after having for whole ages before advanced towards it with a slow and almost imperceptible pace. A minute enquiry into the whole system of nature; into the powers of the loadstone; into the nature of the planets; their determinate periodical revolutions; their influence upon each other, and upon the winds and tides; a more accurate knowledge of the nature of the air; of its periodical currents; of
of its constituent parts, and of the various density of its different strata; a knowledge of the difference of the gravitating power at the different parts of the earth; and of many other sciences, in which by the help of the mathematics in these later times only, considerable advances have been made, have also of late greatly contributed towards the perfection of navigation; and as undoubtedly these sciences are very far from having as yet arrived at their highest pitch, they must of course receive a daily increafe, and by consequence likewise continually impart new improvements to this art.

Before navigation could attain to its present perfection, it must have advanced slowly through many successive gradations; and how rude and imperfect must it have been above 2000 years ago? How contracted and limited also must the ideas of mankind have been with regard to foreign countries and nations? This our northern part of the globe, however, and Europe, began at an early period to contribute to the extension of human knowledge in relation to foreign countries and nations, by means of voyages of discovery, by commerce and by conquest. These three sources of the enlargement of our knowledge of people and countries I mention together, because we are used with an implicit confidence to repeat after the great Montefquieu (a), "that countries are now discovered by voyages on the sea, but that formerly the sea was discovered by the conquest of countries." And I may with great justice add more chance likewise, as a source not less fruitful than the former. The peopling of the islands in the South Sea by a Malayan nation, is perhaps to be attributed to mere accident alone. They probably set out for a neighbouring island, in order to see their friends, and were driven by a storm to an island, of which they had not the least previous knowledge. When in the year 1774, we landed for the second time at Huabine, we found three men and a woman from the island of O-matevo, or O-matea, who in their boat had been cast away on this former island by a storm; and Capt. Cook, in his last voyage in 1777, found in an island at a great

(a) Esprit des Loix, lib. xxxi. c. 7.
INTRODUCTION.

distance from O-raiedea, three countrymen of Omai's, who were the only survivors of 50 persons, the rest having been gradually destroyed by the storm, and by hunger and thirst.

In fact, voyages made for the gratification of curiosity, and for the extension of commerce, seem to have greatly contributed to the promotion of knowledge, and to the introduction of milder manners and customs into society. For it is highly-cultivated nations only, that explore distant countries and nations for the sake of commerce, in like manner as the seeking them for the gratification of curiosity, presupposes a still higher degree of cultivation and refinement.

On the other hand, the more rude and uncivilized, march armies into foreign territories for the sake of conquest. Though it cannot be denied, that even in this way, nations, which have arrived at a high degree of culture, have added considerably to the knowledge they were before possessed of, with respect to different nations and countries. All these are the varied means which an infinitely wise Being has appointed for the purpose of humanizing mankind, of drawing them, if I may so express myself, out of their native state of barbarism, and of diffusing amongst them the liberal arts and gentler courtesies of life. It is, however, by Navigation principally that we learn, that men and nations exist not for themselves alone, but likewise for the sake of others. In long and distant voyages the bands of society and friendship, too apt to be relaxed when we find ourselves independent, are cemented by our wants, of which it is impossible at that time not to be sensible. Urged by distress and hardship, we are then willing to receive the assistance we cannot do without, even from strangers. Our mutual necessities give rise to mutual favours and reciprocal benefits, till the gentle spirit of humanity and kindness, thus kindled from a spark of laudable self-interest, and gradually increasing by repeated exertions, bursts forth at last into a glorious blaze of habitual benevolence and universal philanthropy.

Without voyages and without navigation, uncultivated and savage nations look upon themselves as the only, or at least as the principal, inhabitants of the earth.
INTRODUCTION.

The ancient inhabitants of our native country assumed the name of Teutonic, i.e. Germans, from the word Thiud, which signifies a people. Before other names were introduced, every habitable part of Egypt was called Thebe (b), from Thwak (Thrœch) the habitation. The people of Greenland call themselves Inuit men, i.e. natives, and the Kamtchadalese assume the name of Ket men, or inhabitants; for the same reason the Europeans are likewise called by the Greenlanders Kablunas, i.e. strangers, or foreigners, in like manner as all strangers among the Moguls were termed Uigur, or Jugur. Thus, too, the Sassi, or Saxons intitled themselves the constant, fixed inhabitants of the country. And influenced by the same principles, the Chinese, who, though far from being in a state of high cultivation, are extremely proud and conceited, are of opinion that their country is the center of the universe, and that their nation is the only one, which, on account of their knowledge and understanding may be said to have two eyes, whilst on the contrary, all other people on the earth have but one; as also that they are the face of the world, and other nations only the backside of it; or, as the French would say, qu'ils appartiennent aux parties bontéfes du monde. It is only in consequence of repeated intercourse between distant nations, that the knowledge of nations and countries has been developed. In the beginning, all the Scævonian nations were called Sauromates; when they became better-known, it was found, that each tribe called itself in general Slaue, or Slavæ, with another peculiar or specific name annexed to it, e.g. Russian, Polonian, Bohemian, Serbian, Polabian, Vandalian, Crobatian, and Bulgarian slaves.

The greater the distance of the discovered countries was from the respective seats of learning and civilization at any particular period, the longer time it was, before in consequence of repeated voyages and expeditions, any certain information concerning them was diffused through these more refined and cultivated parts of the world. But then this knowledge of distant nations and countries was likewise always in proportion to the state in which the discovering nation itself was, with respect to learning.

(b) Herodot. Lib. II. Cap. 15.
INTRODUCTION.

ing, culture, and refinement of manners. It was at a late period only that the Romans learned that Great-Britain was an island; and even in the days of Homer, it was supposed that a total darkness pervaded Crimea, or the land of the Cimmerians, because in that country the nights were much longer than in Greece. The cold induced the Arimaspians to wrap themselves up during the winter in such a manner that there appeared but one aperture in their head-dress for them to look through; this circumstance gave occasion to the Bosphorian Scythians to inform Herodotus that these people had but one eye. In like manner, too, they told him that beyond the country of the Arimaspians there was nothing but feathers, by which they meant nothing more than a great quantity of flakes of snow (c).

The most remote northern regions could not possibly have been discovered all at once, but only one after another, and by degrees; and so long as upwards of 3270 years ago, the Phenicians and Egyptians had some knowledge of Tartessus, or Tarshish, for at that time lived Moses, who makes mention of Tarshish; and Herodotus, who was alive so long as 2101 years ago, was acquainted, though imperfectly, with Great-Britain and Prussia. The first he knew to be the country of Tin, and the second that of Amber. So early as about 2106 years ago, Pytheas of Marcellus had knowledge of the same countries, as also of Thule, or Iceland.

In less enlightened times, a great deal of this knowledge was lost, and accordingly in the time of Vespasian, the Romans thought they had made a great discovery, when they had found that Great-Britain was an island (d).

In still darker times, geographical knowledge became yet more contracted, till at length in our days new discoveries have been made, which have brought us better than ever acquainted with the North, and have left us little more to discover with respect to these regions.

(c) Herodot. L. IV. Cap. 27 and 31.
(d) Tacitus, via Agricola.
HISTORY
OF THE
VOYAGES, &c.

BOOK I.

OF THE MOST ANCIENT DISCOVERIES
MADE IN THE NORTH.

CHAP. I.

Of the Voyages and Discoveries made by the Phoenicians.

The north was certainly not a region likely to be chosen by any people voluntarily and without compulsion for a habitation, as long as there was room for new colonies towards the east and the west. It might however happen that famine, dissensions with their countrymen, and many other causes, compelled several families and tribes to remove farther towards the north. For the greater degree of the cold of the winters there, the deficiency of such plants as grew spontaneously, and might be used for food, together with the earth being shut up by the frost for the space of many months, were sufficient to deter any race of people from making choice of those regions for their abode. Notwithstanding which, history informs us, that these countries were inhabited even
even at an early period. It is, however, no less cer-
tain, that the notions entertained by the antients, re-
relative to the north and its inhabitants, or, as the Gre-
cians usually called them, the Hyperboreans, were different at
different periods. Accordingly it will be our en-
davour, in the following pages, to shew, how this idea has
been extended by degrees, in proportion as new discoveries
were made in geography, and the different nations with
which the earth was peopled, became better known.

It has been known from time immemorial, that
the Phoenicians were the first people who attained to
an extensive knowledge of the earth and its inhabi-
tants; a knowledge which they acquired indeed by the
great extent of their voyages and commerce. That we
may be the better enabled to shew, with any tolerable
degree of certainty, at how early a period the voyages of
discovery made by the Phoenicians began, and how
far they extended, it will be necessary for us to take a
short view of the history of this people.

At a very early period of antiquity, there existed a
race of men on the shores of the Red Sea, or of the
moft northerly part of the Arabian Gulph. They dwelt
in caves formed by nature in the range of hills that
ran along the sea-coast, and spread themselves also by
degrees farther away from the sea-side into the deferts,
where, in like manner, they inhabited indifferently, and
without making any fixed settlement, every hole and
cavity in the earth, nay, under every thorn [Rhamnus
Paliurus Linn. & Nabeca Forskal] whose branches
could afford them even a scanty shelter. They had
neither cattle nor any kind of agriculture; but near the
sea, lived on fish and other marine animals, and in the
deferts on locusts, and on the tender tops and young
shoots of broom, and some miserable, paltry fruits from
off the few plants that grew wild in those parts. This
wretched way of life procured them various names and
appellations from their more polished and civilized neigh-
bours. The Hebrews called them Horites, and the
children of Enak; both which denominations had a
reference to their living in holes and caves; and the
Grecian name of Troglodytes is merely a translaton of
the former of these terms. From their diet they were
likewise called in Greek Ichthyophagi or fish-eaters, Acri-
dophagi
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.

do phagi or l-cust-eaters, and Hylodaphagi or wood-eaters. This is an evident proof, that when they separated from the other tribes who were occupied in cultivating the earth and tending cattle, they were not upon good terms with them; and that, in all probability, they carried nothing with them, when they fled into the wilder-ness to avoid the effects of the displeasure and vengeance of their brethren. Consequently, they looked on all their neigh-bours in the light of enemies; and whoever went unarmed into the deserts which they inhabited, was sure to be robbed by them. On the other hand, whenever any one of this race went near the dwellings of the more civilized tribes, there was a general hue-and-cry raised immediately, which quickly obliged him to betake himself again to the wilderness. In the mean time necessity made them bold and inventive. They were the first to venture on the Red Sea, on a wretched float made of the leaves of trees fastened together, (a) in order to get their livelihood by fishing. By land they were obliged to range alone all over the deserts in quest of food; when, if they met with a woman of their race, she was perforce obliged to satisfy their lust: the next thorn, or hollow in the rock, was their bed-chamber; and none of them, in this case, ever spared even their nearest of kin. On this account the whole race was held in the greatest detestation by the other nations. It is thus likewise that they are described by Job (b), and the very same picture of this people we find in Diodorus (c).

Part of this people went so early as before the call of Abraham, into the Land of Promise (d). In this country they took from CANAA, the father of their tribe, the name of Canaanites; a name they gave themselves in public monuments * so late as after the victory of Alex-

(a) Plin. Lib. vii. c. 56.
(b) Job, chap. 30. v. 1—8.
(d) Genesis, chap. 12. v. 6. 13. v. 7.

* The celebrated Mr. John Swinton in the Gentleman's Magazine for Dec. 1760, p. 560, has given a description and drawing of a coin struck by the City of Laodica, and bearing a Spanish or Phoenician inscription; on which coin Laodicea is called a Mother-City, or Metropolis in Canaan.

B 2 ander
Voyages and

Under the Great, in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, which constitutes a period of more than 1742 years. The shepherds possessed the internal part of the country; and the part inhabited by the Canaanites extended from the lake of Genezareth quite to the Mediterranean. In this new habitation, commerce, together with the fabrication of a few articles of luxury and curiosity, was their chief employment, and what they subsisted by. This they carried to such an extent, that at last Canaanite and merchant became synonymous terms. To the Greeks this nation was known by the name of Phanicians, a name, which this latter people probably bestowed on them on account of the palms (φοινικες) which grew in that country in great abundance.

The form of their government, and their manners still retained a great deal of their primitive rude and wild state. To every little tribe they had a king or prince. The same spirit of freedom and independence, by which they were actuated in the wilderness and on the shores of the Red Sea, still remained with them at the time when they lived under the government of a prince in walled and fortified cities. Even so late as a thousand years after this, they were reproached with their licentiousness, impure desires, and shameful practice of promiscuous copulation; and in like manner the deceitfulness of their dispositions, their avarice, cruelty and perfidy became almost proverbial.

The wars of the Elamitic princes (c), together with the earthquake (f) which followed soon upon these, induced the few Horites, which still remained scattered on the shores of the Red Sea, to go over to their brethren in Palestine. Here their occupation, immediately after their arrival, was navigation and commerce (g); and they carried Egyptian and Median commodities from one place to another in the Mediterranean. In the very first commencement of their na-

* It is possible, however, that Edom's other name, Edum, which signifies red, and whom the Greeks have changed into a king Eretria, may have also contributed towards the appellation of Phanicians; as φοινικες signifies like a red date-colour.

(c) Genesis, chap. 14. v. 1, 4.
Lib. xviii. c. 3.
(g) Herodotus, i. c.
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH

vigation, they made use of long ships, and arrived at such an acquaintance with nations and countries, as at that period, in the infancy of the world, naturally astonished the rest of mankind. For about 600 years after Noah’s flood, the navigations of the Sidonians in the Mediterranean, their trade, and the flourishing circumstances they were in in consequence of these, were so famous, as to be made mention of by the dying patriarch Jacob. (b)

Very early we find mention made of Tarhish, the Spanish Tartessus (i), as of a European people. For so far, at least, is true, that Moses must have heard from the Phoenicians, that there actually existed such a people; which people, consequently, must have been visited by them. But this fact he learned in the flower of his age, when he was less than 40 years old, at the time when he accompanied the Egyptian King Sethoris in his grand expedition through Asia and Europe; consequently about 730 years after the deluge*. According to this calculation the Phoenicians had at that period extended their navigation as far as Spain, and even as far as to the other side of the Straits of Gibraltar; and by consequence they were acquainted with all the coasts of the Mediterranean: for in those days, in all their voyages, navigators followed the coasts, and went as little distance from it as possible. This distant navigation was continually extending; and, beyond the Straits, they went as well to the left hand and southwards along the coast of Africa, as likewise to the right hand and northwards along the coasts of Spain and Gaul, till they at last reached the British shore, and there found both lead and tin, both which metals were known so early as in the time of Moses (k). And these metals were, according to the universal testimony of the ancients, no where to be found but in the British islands (I). Accordingly

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*(b) Genes. chap. 49. v. 13.
(i) Genes. chap. 10. v. 4.
* Vide J. R. Forster Epistola ad Jo. Dav. Michaelem, huius scriptum, geographiae Hebraeorum et Graecorum, 1742 years. || Herodotus, Lib. iii. cap. 114, where he confesses, that it was brought along with amber from the farthest extremity of Europe.

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cordingly they were called the Scilly or Scilly islands; likewise the Caftterides, or Tin-islands; and in the language of the country, this land is called Bro-or Bre-
tain, viz. the land of tin: an appellation which it pre-
erved in the times of the Romans, and indeed has pre-
erved it even to this day. Nay, as Pliny expressly says ** that a certain Midacritus first brought lead and tin
from the Caflterian islands, we have reason to suppose
that the name of this person was corrupted, and we can
almost take upon us positively to assert, that it is a Phoe-
nician name. Besides tin and lead, which the Phoeni-
cians, and no other nation whatever, fetched from Brit-
tain (m), they likewise brought amber from the most remote regions of Europe. To the Greeks amber
was known so early as in the times of Herodotus, and
perhaps of Homer; and yet we are well assured, that it
was only to be had from the countries bordering on the
German Ocean; but no Greeks ever went to those parts:
for the utmost extent of their commerce was to the
Phoenician colony of Cadiz; consequently, the
trade of the Phoenicians must have extended as far as
Prussia, which is one of the most astonishing voyages
that ever was undertaken by any people in the infancy
of the world.

This early acquaintance of the ancients with the north
of Europe cannot be denied under the pretext, that af-
Afterwards, in the times of the Greeks and Romans, ra-
ther lefs, if any thing, was known of these regions than
is supposed to have been known to the Phoenicians: for
it is the very same case with respect to the circumnaviga-
tion of Africa. It is at present proved almost to a
demonstration *, that the Phoenicians and Egyptians

** Plini. Hifl. Nat. L. VII. cap. 56. Indeed the name of MEAKAP-
tox appears originally to have been MEAKAPTOS, which was properly
one of the appellations of the Phoenician or Tyrian Hercules. And the
word Hercules or Harokel in the Phoenician language signified a mer-
cant.

(m) Strabonis Geograph. Lib. iii. sub finem.
Herculom Navigationibus at the end of his edition of the Orphic; likewise
Aug. Lud. Schlemer's Sketch of a General History of Commerce and
Navigation in the remotest antiquity; and the Chevalier Joh. Dav.
Michaeline's Spicilegium Geographic Hebræorum extra post Bochartum. 2
pars prima, p. 84—103.
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.

have more than once undertaken and happily accomplished the circumnavigation of this quarter of the globe. Even the celebrated voyages to Ophir of the Phcenicians and Hebrews in Solomon's time, were nothing else than circumnavigations of Africa +, and yet they were all forgotten; and when Vasco Gama in the years 1497 and 1498 failed round Africa to the Indies, it was considered as an absolutely novel undertaking, and a voyage that had never been attempted before.

In order the better to secure to themselves the very important commerce of these countries, the Phcenicians founded colonies and cities every where in the most commodious places, as far as their voyages extended.

About 80 years after the Trojan war, the city of Gades (or Cadiz) was founded in a small island not far from Tartessus in Spain, and soon afterwards that of Utica in Africa (n). They had long before this traded thither, and had already found their way to Britain; they had likewise made voyages to Greece, Thrace and Italy, and had even peopled and founded cities in Cittium, Thera, Argos, Thebes, Samothrace and Tharsus; nay, they had, in all probability, extended their commerce as far as the Black Sea to Bithynia and Colchis. Their very lucrative traffic however to Africa, and especially to Spain, induced them to erect on the hither side of it, on

† The land of Ophir, in my opinion, the same with that which was otherwise called Africa. The Phcenicians sent out for the purpose by the Egyptian King and Conqueror Seulos and his father Panaetor or Amasis I. gradually discovered, together with the Egyptians who were joined with them, the coasts of all Africa; hence we meet with such admirable, and, in fact, comprehensive accounts of the natives of Africa so early as in Moles's time, in the sixt book of Genesis. Now gold and other precious commodities being found in many parts of Africa, this newly discovered country became celebrated and got a great name: and this in the Egyptian language is Ou-foo, and, with the addition of the word w4r, which signifies a country, Ou-foo-w4r, (i.e. the celebrated country) Ophir and Ophirikah. The third epoch of the circumnavigation of Africa fell in the time of Solomon, nearly 500 years later. Three hundred and eighty years after this Necho gave orders for the circumnavigation of Africa to be performed; and in the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes II. one Exdorus failed on more round Africa, which is 450 years later than the voyage of Necho; and yet in Strabo's time many people doubted of the possibility of making the tour of Africa by sea.

an island near Tartessus, a fortified place, which they might make use of as a repository or storehouse for the Spanish trade. From hence they spread as far as Britain and Prussia, and filled their magazines with the commodities which they had got by way of barter for their glass, purple dye, cloth, and all sorts of manufactures and productions of ingenuity and art, and vended again in Phoenician and all the countries and towns on the shores of the Mediterranean, and that almost always to advantage.

Shortly after this, we find Phoenician colonies on every island in the Mediterranean, in the Balearic islands, in Sardinia, Corsica, Sicily, Malta, and many parts of the northern coast of Africa.

Nothing, however, is more worthy of remark, than the foundation of a new Phoenician State on the African Coast. About 140 years after the building of the Temple of Solomon at Jerusalem, Elissa or Dido fled from Tyr in order to avoid the solicitations and persecutions of her brother, who was king of that place. She landed first in Cyprus, an island on which at that time there had long been Phoenician trading towns and colonies, and which her father had very lately brought more under subjection than ever. Here she was accompanied by a priest, and her followers took wives along with them; and so she failed with her younger brother Barcas and her sister Anna to Africa. As soon as she arrived, she bought a piece of ground of the Africans, for the purpose of building on it a fortification; to this, from the oxes hide, on which when she made the negotiation, she fat by way of carpet after the eastern manner, she gave the name of Byrsa. About 25 years after this, just under the fort which was situated on an eminence, and whither more and more Phoenicians continually resorted, she laid the foundation of a new city, which accordingly was called Carthage or New-town: or as it was abbreviated by the Greeks, Karchedon, and according to the Latin pronunciation, Carthago. The fertility of the adjacent soil, the excellence of the harbour, the happy situation of the town, in the center of so many

(1) Virgilis Ennis, L. I. v. 621, 622.
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.

rich islands and countries conveniently situated for carrying on a lucrative commerce, together with the industry of the inhabitants, all contributed greatly to the rapid increase and improvement of the colony. It was not long before, in consequence of the enlargement of its territory, it became a separate State; and this considerable State soon increased to a kingdom, which, from the first building of the city to its destruction, in all 700 years, extended its dominion over a considerable portion of Africa, and over a great part of Spain, Sicily, Corsica, and Sardinia, as likewise over the Balearic Islands.

The internal regulation of the State, the most perfect and refined policy often shewn and practised by it, the numerous wars carried on for the protection and extension of its commerce; the emoluments arising to it from this commerce (which was extended to the most remote countries) as well as from the silver mines of Spain, and from the active diligence and unwearied industry of its inhabitants, contributed very much to the rapid increase of their power, of their riches, and of their prosperity in general.

The great variety of professions and arts, which subsisted at Carthage in the most flourishing state; the spirit of emulation, the skill arising from experience, and the great art exhibited by them in the construction and navigation of their ships; the spirit of enterprize and the courage regulated by prudence which manifested itself in all their undertakings, soon put them in a condition to extend their commerce to those nations with which the Phoenicians had, till then, carried on an exclusive trade.—Soon after the State of Carthage had acquired a sufficient degree of firmness and confidence, the power of the Phoenicians decayed. For about 120 years after the building of Carthage, Salmanassar, king of Assyria, made war on the united States of Phoenicia; and the cities in Cyprus, as well as the cities of Akra, Sidon and old Tyre, revolted from the kingdom of Tyre. These internal troubles and insurrections among the Phoenicians themselves, joined to the victories of the Assyrians, considerably weakened their power. In the space of 150 years more the States of Tyre, after having sustained a 13 years siege, became subject to Nebu-
Accurate Thus and that on on! "m't amtfLhatka fragment. drawn voyages the hands throw now the hands throw, and was, therefore, that about this period, or rather later, they formed the design of getting into still more branches of the trade of the most remote countries, by means of voyages of discovery made for the purpose. Being therefore at that time in the height of their prosperity, they sent out two squadrons of ships with this view. One of these was under the command of Hanno, and went out of the Straits of Gibraltar to the southward, along the African coast. The other was commanded by Himilco or Hmilco, and failed out of the Straits northwards along the coasts of Spain and Gaul to Britain. Accurate accounts of both these voyages were drawn up and were preserved in the archives of Carthage. The southern voyage is described in a Greek fragment. And on the subject of that of the northern Admiral, there are extant some obscure, mutilated Latin verses. In short, it appears that the voyages which had been relinquished by the Phoenicians in consequence of

(p) Pliniii H'fior. nat. Lib. ii. Cap. 67, & l. v. c. i.

* Rufus, Philus Avienus, Ora maritima, versi 17-415. Avienus says expressly: that all which he there relates, is taken out of the Punic Himilco, which he had seen himself; and that he had extracted from the very inmost of the Punic Annals, and had made it public to please his friend Thubes. Notwithstanding this assertion, this geographical fragment appears to be very much mutilated, and very incoherent. In it he speaks much of lead and tin, and of ships caled with leather, (which in Kamekhutka would be called Mailers, and in Wales Coracles) and mentions that in those parts the East-rumni lived, to whom the people of Tartessus and Carthage went for the purpose of trading with them. Yet I will not deny, but that it sometimes appears, as if these tin countries (agreeably to what Avienus says) all lay in Spain; on which account I consider this fragment of Avienus as very imperfect and much mutilated. Thus much, however, is certain, that at the very fame time that Hanno failed to the southward, Himilco made a voyage towards the North, to the tin countries, and that an accurate account of this voyage was preserved in the annals of Carthage, which were still extant in the middle of the 5th century, at the time when Avienus wrote (viz. about the year 450). Perhaps the East-rumni were situated at the promontory of Casino in Britain.
the destruction of their towns and of the state of slavery to which they were reduced after the conquest made of them by the Assyrians and Chaldeans, gave occasion to the Carthaginians to make themselves better acquainted with the countries whence their kinmen and allies the Phœnicians, had derived such considerable advantages, and being once in possession of those advantages, they used every means in their power to exclude others from participating with them. It is therefore not to be wondered at, that although some few reports got abroad, that Brætain was the tin-country, or that Baltia on the river Rhodun, where the Aesti lived, not far from the Guttoni, was the country that produced amber, nevertheless their posterity in later times had not the least knowledge left of the true situation of these countries, it being the interest as well of the Phœnicians as of the Carthaginians after them, to conceal as much as possible the real situation of these countries from others. In a subsequent period the Romans, being as desirous to discover these sources of the wealth of the Carthaginians as they were to conceal them, sent a vessel out for that purpose, with orders for it to fail in the wake of a Phœnician ship bound for Britain. This was soon observed by the wary Carthaginian, in consequence of which he ran his vessel purposely among the rocks and sand-banks, that it was lost together with that of the inquisitive Roman. The patriotic commander of the former was indemnified for his loss by his country: and thus the way to the British tin mines was for a considerable time longer (q) concealed from the Romans. But now the North likewise, together with all the nations and regions in that quarter, continued to be unknown; and an acquaintance with it was rendered still more difficult by this selfish concealment; and in all probability the civilization and refinement of the manners of mankind was still farther retarded by this circumstance.

(q) Strabo Lib. iii. sub facem.
Of the Voyages and Discoveries made by the Grecians.

The Grecians were originally a people, that had at an early period of time passed from Asia Minor to the peninsula which they inhabited. In process of time they were civilized by new-comers from Asia Minor, Phœnicia and Egypt. From Asia they received many arts and professions, together with agriculture and the cultivation of the vine. The Egyptians seem to have introduced among them the regulations of civil establishment, matrimony, laws, and many of their religious doctrines. From the Phœnicians they learned navigation, commerce, astronomy and the use of letters.

As soon as they had got some kind of establishment, which was merely in the form of little independent States, they began to practice navigation: and their rude, unsettled way of life, their internal commotions and mutual dissensions, together with their warlike turn of mind, disposed them to piracy. But when they arrived at a higher degree of civilization, they were insensibly led to commerce. At an early period they undertook an expedition towards the North, through the Straits which separate Asia from Europe, into the Black Sea as far as the river Phasis, celebrated for its golden sands. They returned by some rivers, which they sailed up, and after a considerable time and going a great way about, at length arrived again in their native country. As romantic as this expedition appears, it is nevertheless founded upon truth. The Argonauts, without doubt, visited a great many countries in the North. Only we cannot at this period of time determine what circuit they took in their way back. They went, no doubt, to the Hyperboreans, a nation, the situation of which was, according to circumstances, frequently varied by the Grecians. Indeed, every tract of country that lay towards the North, or that was sheltered by its situation from the violence of the north wind, might lay claim to this appellation.

Thus
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.

Thus they at first met with the Hyperboreans beyond those tracts of Thrace, which lie to the north of Greece; for Boreas, the ravisher of Orythia, lived in the land of the Cicones. (s) Afterwards, when the world had acquired a more extensive acquaintance with the northern regions, they removed this people to the other side of the Black Sea, the Danube and the Adriatic Sea, where lived the Sauromates, the Arimaspans and the Celts. (n) At a still later period they placed them beyond the Riphaean mountains, where they had six months day and six months night, and where, without contentions and quarrels, in a warm and extraordinarily fertile country, they passed their days in repose and happiness, till fatigued with life, their heads adorned with flowers, they precipitated themselves from a certain rock into the sea. (u) It is easy to perceive that these accounts are formed out of various others awkwardly put together. In the infancy of navigation there went a report among the Grecians concerning certain Fortunate Islands (as they were termed) lying at a great distance to the westward (probably the Canary Islands and the Island of Madeira) which were warm and fertile, and peopled with a race of men living to a great age, in a calm, delightful state of repose and happiness. (x) On the other hand, the account of days and nights of six months long belongs to the description of Thule, as indeed we shall have occasion in the sequel to mention. Were these northern regions where the nights and days were imagined to be of such an extraordinary length, actually the same with the Fortunate Islands, they might in this case be the Hyperborei of the Grecians. But unfortunately they have nothing in common with these others, but their being situated beyond the Straits of Gibraltar. The Fortunate Islands lie to the southwest of the Straits, and Thule almost directly to the northward of them.

Probably at an earlier period, and before the Fortunate Islands were pitched upon as the seat of the Hyperboreans, the residence of these people was transferred to Spain.

(s) Hymnus Orphicus (79) in Boreas. v. 2, & Ovid. Metam. vi. 709.
(x) Strabo, Lib. ii.

For,
For, according to some accounts, the presents which this nation sent to Delos for Apollo, came through the hands of the Scythians (or Celts) to the Adriatic Gulf, from thence to the Dodoneans, then by the Sinus Maliacus to Carytus and Tenos, and so at last to Delos. (y) One sees very plainly from the track by which these presents came, that they came from the westward: and as beyond the Adriatic Celts, there lay only the Spaniards farther on towards that quarter, the Hyperboreans and these people, according to the foregoing accounts, must have been one and the same nation. There it is likewise probable that they might have offered up asses in sacrifice, which are uncommonly beautiful in this country, (z) where the laurel, with which they were wont to encircle their temples, grew in abundance, and whence Hercules brought the olive which he planted in Pisa. (a) The different situations of the country of the Hyperboreans here mentioned, shew very evidently the progress of human affairs and opinions. At first the Greeks were very near the extremities of the North. But in proportion as their knowledge of different countries and nations increased, the extremity of the North was carried farther back; indeed in the infancy of navigation they had no just idea of the situation of countries with respect to the Heavens. They therefore continually carried their North farther on to the westward, viz. to Poland and Bohemia on the other side of the Riphei, to Gaul, to Spain, and at last to the Canary Islands.

The first celebrated Grecian writer, who had any knowledge of the North, though that was but very imperfect, was Homer. He speaks of the Cimmerians, who live in constant darkness. (b) This is undoubtedly an error, for the Cimmerians did not live in Italy; but in the Crim, and beyond that in Russia, where the nights in winter are very long, which gave rise to this fable. But Homer, in his travels to Phcenicia and Egypt, had collected many accounts from travellers who had undertaken long and distant voyages; and he made a point

(y) Herodot Lib. iv. 31.
(z) Pindar. Pyth. Ode. x. 46, & seq.
(a) Pindar. Olymp. iii. 55.
(b) Homer. Odyss. A. 14—19.
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.

To interweave every thing he had heard into the body of his poems. Consequently, it is not so much to be wondered at, if he was sometimes mistaken in the situation of countries with which he was acquainted only by hearsay; but, on the other hand, those which he had actually seen himself, were so much the more present to his imagination. His descriptions of Greece appeared so striking to the Greeks, and so decisive on account of their exactness, that in every dispute concerning their respective boundaries, they applied to the poems of Homer, and the authority of those records was respected and acknowledged by all parties.

In describing what Telemachus saw at the house of Menelaus, Homer makes mention of Eleftrum or Amber; and in two places more he describes "golden collars set with amber," which makes it probable either that those materials had been brought to Greece by the Phoenicians; or else that Menelaus had received them by way of present from the King of Sidon. This mineral, which was so much esteemed by the ancients, was brought to them from Prussia; consequently, neither it, nor the country it came from, could be totally unknown to the Greeks, any more than tin, a metal with which Homer was likewise acquainted, and which probably was in those days brought from Britain.

These meager accounts, however, are not calculated to give us much information. Herodotus, who lived 408 years before Christ was born, even at that early period was acquainted with the Caspian and Black Seas, with the Wolga, the Don, a great part of Russia and Poland, together with the Crim and Bessarabia, and the Rivers Moldau and Danube. His knowledge of those places was undoubtedly very exact, as he had conversed much with the Scythians, and from them he had learned the situation of those countries, seas, and rivers, and the manners and customs of the respective inhabitants of those regions. With the country of the Celts, however, he was not at all acquainted, for he affirmed that

(c) Homeri Odys. A. 73. O. 459; & I. 395.
(d) Homeri Iliad. 2. 474.
VOYAGES AND

the latter took its rise in the country of the Chinese and Piritheni. The Cañtiterian Islands, whence tin was brought, were known to him by name; and in like manner he had heard of the country that produced amber, situate at the extremity of Europe; but to the true situation of these countries he was an utter stranger.

About 70 years after the time of Herodotus, the Phœcean colony, Maffilia, appears to have formed the design of partaking of the wealth which the Phœnicians and Carthaginians had acquired by their commerce. The expeditions of Hanno and Himilco were every where spoken of; but the way to the Tin Country, and to the western part of Africa, remained unknown to all. The Maffilians, therefore, about this time, sent out Euthymenes, to search for the way which Hanno had taken, when he made his discoveries in the South; and Pythias was commissioned to follow the track of Himilco, and to make discoveries in the North. Of Euthymenes, (e) little more than the name is handed down to us; but concerning Pythias, divers writers give us information. (f) He was certainly a man that had great knowledge of nature, was thoroughly versed in astronomy, and was induced in a high degree with courage, and a true philosophical spirit of observation. He was one of the first among the Greeks who were acquainted with the real cause of the ebbing and flowing of the sea, and ascribed these phenomena to the influence of the moon. In the Mediterranean, the ebb and flood is so small, that it has been hitherto supposed that it could not be observed there at all. We find, however, by the latest observations made at Toulon, that even there, three hours fifteen minutes after the moon has passed its meridian the tide rises one foot, and in the highest spring tides, augmented by the concurrence of other causes, it swells as high as two feet. This elevation,

however, was so inconsiderable, that none of the ancients took notice of it, but as soon as they had got through the Straits of Gibraltar into the great Ocean, the tide became so new and so striking a phenomenon to them, that they then for the first time looked on it as a subject of wonder and astonishment. Such, in fact, it appeared to Seneca, when he bore up against the Carthaginian fleet, commanded by Adherbal in these Straits. The light Carthaginian vessels were obliged to give way more to the tide, and two of them were sunk by one Roman ship (g). Alexander's fleet suffered greatly at the mouth of the Indus (b), and Julius Cæsar was likewise very little acquainted with the currents caused by the tide, when he arrived in the British Ocean (i), on which occasion he lost a good many ships. This phenomenon, as may be supposed, excited all the studious men of antiquity to give their opinions concerning it. Cicero, Strabo, Seneca, and Pliny, have all made mention of it, and attributed the cause of it to the moon (k). But these writers lived three hundred years after the decease of Pytheas, of whom it is recorded, that he affirmed "that the flood-tide depended on the increase of the moon, but the tide of ebb on its decrease (l)." Were we at present in possession of the works of Pytheas, which, in fact, were still extant in the fifth century, we might then know, whether the author, who has handed down to us this saying of Pytheas, has reported it precisely in the terms in which it was delivered; for I have some reason to doubt whether his meaning has been rightly understood. It is not the tide of flood, but the increased height of the tide of flood that depends on the new and full moon, in like manner as the lesser height of it is observable in the first and last quarters. This could not possibly escape the observation of Pytheas, who had failed so far upon this sea, and

(g) Livii Hist. Lib. xxi. c. 30.
(l) Plutarchus de Placitis & Deiâ Philosop. Lib. iii. art. 17.

(agreeably
VOYAGES AND

(agreeably to the method practised at that time) constantly along the coast. But it is not at all unlikely that some Philosopher, who without having ever actually seen the Ocean, had contented himself with navigating it in his own chamber, should have not been able to comprehend this passage of Pytheas, and have misrepresented it accordingly.

Pytheas, even before he set out on his journey, appears to have occupied himself in observing the Heavens. Before his time, it was believed, that the Polar Star, or the outermost star in the Bear's Tail, was next to the Pole: but he pointed out three more stars, with which the North Star formed a square, and in this square was the true place of the Pole. (m) He likewise erected at Marsilles, his birth place, a pillar or gnomon, and from the proportion which the height of this gnomon bore to the length of the shadow cast by it at the summer solstice, he found, with great exactness and precision, the northern latitude of the City of Marsilles, or its distance from the Equator. Hence Eratosthenes, and Hipparchus, inferred very justly, that this latitude amounted to 34 deg. 17 min. a precision, which in the then infant state of Astronomy, one could hardly suppose any person capable of. In fact, Wendelin prevailed upon Gassendi to correct this observation; who accordingly found that it hardly differed a minute from the real latitude (n).

It must be confessed, that Pytheas, with such extensive as well as solid acquisitions in science, was perfectly well qualified for the great enterprise to which he was appointed. He failed out of the Straits along the coasts of Portugal, Spain, and Gaul, till he described that of Britain, along which he likewise coasted till he came to the very northernmost point of it, and from thence failed six days longer till he discovered Thule (o), where at the summer solstice, the sun did not set for 24 hours. From this description of Thule, some have imagined it to be

(m) Hipparchi Comment. in Arat. Lib. ii. c. 5.
Iceland. But if we consider, that in the manner of failing used at that time, it was impossible to get from the northernmost point in Britain, to Iceland, in the space of six days, we shall rather be inclined to suppose that it was the Shetland Islands that he reached. For though, in fact, it is only within the Arctic Circle, or in lat. 66° 6 deg. that the day is 24 hours long at the summer solstice, yet it cannot be denied, but that by means of the refraction of the atmosphere it is still so light at this period, even the 60th degree of latitude, that one may read, write, and transact any business whatever without any other light than that of the sun. And indeed, this great man's knowledge of Astronomy enabled him to infer with great certainty the total elevation of the sun above the horizon; for at every place he came to, he asked the inhabitants in what part of the heavens the sun rose and set. Now, these points he found approached each other in proportion as he went farther to the Northward; whence he might easily conclude, that at about the 66th degree, the sun never set at the time of the summer solstice.

Pliny says likewise that Pytheas had seen the tide on the British Coast rise to the height of 80 cubits, or 120 feet. But we know, that it is only in narrow seas, such as the British Channel, that the tide rises to any great height. The greatest height to which it rises at Bristol, is 23 feet. In Bristol too, it mounts as high as 42; and in St. Malo, to 48 feet. The text, therefore, in Pliny, is certainly corrupted.

A day's journey on the other side of Thulo, according to Pytheas, the sea was coagulated, whence it is called Cronium. The fact is, that he knew from

* Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. ii. c. 97. Ofogenis cubicis supra Britanniam intumescere aquis, Pytheas Maffiliens insulam ct. Perhaps the syllable vi has been omitted, after Oxis by the copyists, so that the passage should be read, Ocis vicenis cubicis, &c. which makes it 42 feet, i. e. equal to the greatest height of the tide at Bristol.


Iceland.
from the relations made him by the inhabitants, the part of the North Sea in severe winters was covered with ice; which part indeed at times, in case of a hard frost, was concreted in such a manner, and, as it were, coagulated in the space of one night, as to be entirely converted into ice.

Pytheas, however, not content with having made these discoveries, was desirous likewise of becoming acquainted with the region whence the Phœnicians used to fetch their amber. He must certainly have had some directions, either oral or written, which he followed in his enquiries: otherwise it must appear absolutely impossible for him to have penetrated quite to the farthest part of the Baltic, and there hit exactly on the very spot of the Southern Coast where it is found in the greatest abundance. And yet, we have great reason to suppose him to have been perfectly well acquainted with the spot; as we may very plainly perceive even from the fragments of Pytheas preferred in the writings of the later Geographers, that he knew the situation of the whole place, and that he was likewise acquainted with the neighbouring nations, and the adjacent rivers; and that he was even no stranger to the names given to these places by the inhabitants themselves.


Πόθεν μεν αξίων Πεισποτα τη Κρόνιον τη
Αλλα θαυ και Νεκρόν εφεμενην, ευνν κομπαρήν
Παθιν·
And Orpheus, Argonautic, v. 1079, 1080.

Επιτει τη Σκίλων, Κρόνιον ει εκνατηνες
Παθιν Τιερσεπς ημων ει Νεκρον ει Δαλαστην.

Strabo, Lib. ii. observes from Pytheas of Marseilles, that in the vicinity of Thule to the Northward, the sea is neither land, nor sea, nor air, but a mixture of all.

One may plainly perceive that all the authors cited above, have taken the expressions by which they described the Frozen Northern Ocean, from one and the same source, viz. from Pytheas of Marseilles, who had heard them himself made use of by the Celtic or Gælic inhabitants of the neighbouring regions; for even the names mentioned here are Gælic and Welsh. Mori-marula comes undoubtedly from Mor, in Welsh, Sea, and Mare, dead; which Pliny has very properly translated "the Dead Sea." Mori-cronus in the Irish language signifies an incrusted, thick, coagulated sea; and consequently the epithet of *Mora Cronum* is by no means to be derived from *Kronos* or Saturn. The
The information he gives us on this subject is as follows: "on the shores of a certain Bay (Aestuari-um or Firth) called Mentonemon, lives a people "called Gudde, and at the distance of a day's voy-"age from thence is the island Abalus, (called by "Timeus Baltia) upon this the waves throw the am-"ber, which is a coagulated matter cast up by the "sea; they use it for firing instead of wood, and "also fell it to the neighbouring Teutones (p)". All this is as exact as it is possible for it to be; for upwards of 1700 years after, we find traces of the truth of this; the provinces of Nadräuen and Scha-
"lanonia are to this very day called Gudde, and their "inhabitants Guddei, in the Lithuanian tongue of the "Sudavians, Galindians, and Natangians (q). The "Bay is the Frijb and Curíb Haf, or sea. It is from 8 "to 16 miles wide, and this used to be a short day's "trip, consequently the opposite island or islands, "were on the very same spot where they are now. "The name of Mentonemon signifies the promontory of pine-
trees, (mendaniemi) and in fact on both peninsulas or "necks of land here, we find large forests of these "trees. The spot on Samland, where the amber was "cast most plentifully on the shore, bore, so late as in "the time of the Crusades, the name of Wittland, or "Wittlandes Ort, i. e. Whiteland; now this in the Li-
"thuanian tongue is Baltikka, from Baltos, i. e. white; "and therefore I should prefer reading in Pliny, Abal-
tica or Baltia, instead of Abalus. Neither was it cu-
tomary with the inhabitants to burn amber instead of "wood, but only to set it on fire, probably by way of "fumigation or perfume; and they sold it to those "Teutones or Germans that lived nearest to them. "From Pytheas's, or some other ancient relations of "the Greeks, it was moreover known, that the sub-
fstance known by the name of amber, came from the "river Radubn, and this name was soon changed by "the Greeks into Eridanus, (viz. the Po) or Rhodanus, "i. e. the river Rhone; in like manner as the Wends,"or Vandals, who lived to the westward of the Vitu-
la, were, without the least shadow of reason, con-

(a) Plin. Lib. xxxvii. c. 2.  
founded with the Veneti, residing on the coast of the Adriatic. Consequently, with Æschylus, they looked for amber in Iberia or Spain, or with Euripides and Apollonius, on the shores of the Adriatic.

This is the substance of the relations of the Discoveries made by Pytheas; relations, which even after all the falsifications of names made by those who copied after him, are found to be as accurate and exact as they are imported. But of what consequence these Discoveries of Pytheas were to his native country, we are entirely ignorant, as not the least intelligence on this subject has been preserved to our days. Since that time, the affairs of the Greeks continually declined more and more; so that we hear nothing farther of any Voyages or Discoveries made by them in the North, as their power and dominion passed into the hands of a quite different nation.

CHAP. III.

Of the Voyages and Discoveries of the Romans in the North.

The Romans in the first years subsequent to the settling of their state, gave themselves very little trouble about knowledge or learning of any kind; agriculture and war being their principal occupations; insomuch, that they sometimes set Generals at the head of their armies, who, a few days before, had held the plough with their own hands. Consequently they likewise knew very little of such countries and people, as lay beyond their next neighbours.

At a period when the Phœncicians had long before visited the coasts of Spain and Britain, when the Grecians had in like manner already navigated the whole Mediterranean, the Romans had hardly any knowledge at all of commerce and navigation. Those Greeks who had carried their arts into Hetruria, and
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.

and who sometimes strayed as far as Rome itself; had, however, diffused in Rome so much information concern-ning Greece, that they had in this city some knowl-edge of the famous oracle of Delphi, and had heard of the laws of Draco and Solon. Moreover, when commerce had brought the Carthaginians to the coasts of Italy, the Romans, soon after they had expelled the royal family of the Tarquins, made a treaty with this people. For 364 years after the foundation of their state, they had not yet heard of that great and numerous people the Gauls, who at that time lived not fourscore miles from the gates of their city; and, indeed, at that very juncture likewise took it, but were not able to keep possession of their conquest. About 107 years after this event, the Romans were continually employed in fighting these Gauls in the neighbourhood of the city of Rome. About 64 years after this, the Romans must have already been in some measure acquainted with Spain, as they had at this period made a league with the Sagunti; and two years after this, the first Ro-man army, that ever was in Spain, marched thither under the command of the Scipios; and in about ten years subsequent to this, they had entirely driven the Carthaginians out of the country, and remained sole possessors of that very wealthy region. All Italy had by this time been over-ran and conquered by the Romans. The Gauls, who resided in the upper part of it, were already subject to them. And they now, in the 156th year antecedent to the Christian era, for the first time waged war on the other side of the Alps. In 33 years after this, that part of Gaul, which is bounded by the sea to the southward, by the Alps to the eastward, and by the Pyrennean Mountains to the west, and extends northwards from Geneva, along the river Rhone, to the Cevennian Mountains, and along these, westward, to the Garonne and the Pyrenees, was a Roman Province. But of the remaining part of Gaul, the Romans had but very confused ideas. Their merchants, indeed, carried their wines to the thirsty Gauls all over the coun-try; just as the Britons, at this time do run to the North Americans, and the Europeans trading to the Western Coast of Africa and to Gui-
neā, do brandy to the Negroes. This occasioned the internal part of Gaul to be better known to the Romans than it had been before. Scarcely eight years had paffed since the subjection of the Provincia Narbonensis, when they had the news at Rome of the approach of two northern nations, which were called Cimbri and Teutones. The former of these probably had that appellation from Kampfen, to fight, viz. Kampfur, or combatants; for long after the period here alluded to, the northern heroes continued to distinguish themselves by this name. The latter apparently got their title from being the allies, or Theodan, i.e. companions of the Kämpers. According to the accounts given

* Some may perhaps chafe to derive this name rather from Thiod, a folk or people, than from Theodan, a companion; but I confess I do not see why the name of people should be given to the Teutones in preference to the rest of the nations of Germany, as it is notorious, that all the ancient Germans, when there were several of them together, and they were asked, who they were? used to call themselves Thiod, i.e. people, an appellation which the Romans mislook for the proper name of this nation. Besides, they are not called, Thiod Thiod, or Thiod, i.e. Teutonic, Dutch, or Germans; but Theodan, or Teutons. Finally, the word Thiod may perhaps itself be derived from Theodan. A folk, or people, is a society of men connected together by some band or tie, either that of their common origin, or that of their mutual interest. Besides this, many denominations of several of the German tribes, as handed down to us, seem to owe their origin to some such appellation or other misconstructed by the Romans. It is plain, for example, that the different hordes when they made their entrance into Gaul under the command of Ario-stus, must have answered to the enquiries of the Romans, that they were Wèbmann, Guèrman, or German, i.e. warriors; an appellation, however, which was adapted to them, only as long as they kept together, and composed one great army. The confederacy German nations on the banks of the Upper Rhine, which subsisted about the time of Constantine and Julian, and in virtue of which, every man fit to bear arms, was obliged to take the field, occasioned them to be called Allemand, i.e. all men. The confederated nations of lower Germany, who in consequence of their love of liberty, as well as in the defence of it, were high-spirited, brave, and brawny, were called Franks, or Franks. It has, however, even been doubted by many, whether the Cimbri were really Germans or not. But the fact is, that they dwelled quite in the northern extremity of Germany, which was afterwards inhabited by the Jutlanders. Nay, according to Strabo, Lib. 7, they were even to be found between the Rhine and the Elbe. They subsisted in his time till on the same spot where they had lived first; and had then made a pretence to Augustus of a large cataract. With large and fluent bodies, they had red hair and blue eyes, like all the Germans of those times; and according to Plutarch, in his life of Marius, it was the custom among the Germans to call all Marsaunders, or such as made war and plundering their kindred, Kinber, or Kämpers, i.e. combatants. It is therefore very evident, that these people were the Goths and Saxons who dwelt on the peninsula, situated to the north of the Elbe, on occasion of an extraordinary and dreadful inundation, many of them were induced,
given of this people, they made their first appearance at Noricum, viz. in the southern part of what is now called Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, and the Ukrain. It was there that they beat Papirius Carbo. A few years after this, we find them already in Gaul, in the country of the Allobrogi, and in the year after, near Toulouse; then, after having conquered Mallius and Capio, they advanced as far as Spain, where they remained near two years, and at length, in the course of the third year, returned towards the East, but divided and left the Teutones and Ambrones (a people from Helvetia) to oppose Marius; while the Cimbri, on the other hand, retired through the upper part of Germany, as far as Trent, and to the banks of the Etich, where Catulus had taken his post. The Teutones and Ambrones were the first that were routed by Marius; and the same fate befell also the Cimbri after the two armies had made a junction near Vercelli, about 101 years before Christ. This action, however, gave the Romans a high idea of the valour of the Germans; and they now learned that they were a numerous nation, inhabiting a tract of country that extended even to the North-Sea.

In the year 59 before Christ, Cæsar was made Conful; and immediately began a war in Gaul, which lasted almost ten years, during which time the Romans, under the command of Cæsar, not only became perfectly well acquainted with Gaul, and the country of the Belgæ, but likewise crossed the Rhine twice, and forced their way into Germany: Cæsar even built a fleet, with which he crossed the British Channel, and landed twice in Britain.

duced, having probably lost all their cattle by the flood, to quit their country and turn robbers. They became therefore Kempters, in like manner as the descendants of their northern neighbours became Wickingers. The route their army took, as well as that of their companions, the Teutones, who were likewise Germans, stretched along the Elbe as far as Bohemia, where they were repulsed by the Boii. Upon this they turned about to the east, going along the Carpathian mountains, till they came to the Black-Sea and the Danube; here, turning about again to the west, they marched to the Skordikers and Tartifers, two nations from Gaul, and directly upon this they met with the Roman Conful near Novoja for the first time. We may therefore safely conclude, that as in succeeding ages, in consequence of their being better informed, the Germans and their name have been lost and totally vanished; in like manner the denomination of Kempters and Kimbers, or Cimbri, has likewise sunk into oblivion, these people having been found to be Saxons and inhabitants of Jutland.

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VOYAGES AND

The opportunity which had before offered to the Romans by the conquest of Mithridates, as well as at his death, of getting acquainted with the Bosphorus and the environs of Crimea, presented itself to them again, when, about 37 years before Christ, Ariobarzanes, who had made himself master of the Bosphorus at the death of Pharnaces, was nominated king by Augustus Caesar. During the life of this same Augustus Caesar, the Romans got also better acquainted with the western shores of the Black-Sea or Thrace; and in like manner the whole range of Caucasus, together with the numerous petty nations dwelling in those parts, were laid open to them by the victorious arms of Pompey.

So early as ten years before the birth of Christ, Drusus advanced with an army as far as the Elbe; and it seems probable, that Domitian, the grandfather of Nero, crossed it six years after. Eight years after this, Tiberius was seen on the banks of this river. Next Varus and his whole army were slain by the Germans between the Ems and the Lippe; and Germanicus went thither also in order to explore those countries which had been so fatal to Varus. In the year 17, he went to the Weser by the North Sea, or German Ocean; and on that occasion discovered near the mouth of the Weser and that of the Elbe, many islands; some of these were rich in amber, which the Germans called glasfs, and the islands themselves, the Glass-islands. Here the Romans got better acquainted with amber, which was still held in great esteem among them.

A.D. 41, Claudius made an expedition to Britain, and from this period the Romans continued to spread all over Britain; and though the Britons now and then used all possible means to defend their liberties, and struggled hard to shake off the yoke, the Romans nevertheless went on, advancing gradually with victorious arms towards the north, till at last the whole of Britain, quite to the Grampian mountains, submitted to their empire. Agricola sent the Roman fleet to the Orkneys, and subdued them also. Thule, however, was only seen at a distance; and the Roman fleet having in very calm weather circumnavigated all Britain, ascertained this extensive country
try to be an island. Agricola took this opportunity to procure, by means of the merchants trading to Hibernia or Ireland, an exact account of the situation, extent, and population of this country, as well as of the manners and customs of its inhabitants. From what he could collect from these accounts, he was of opinion, that one Roman legion, with their attendants and ships, would be sufficient to submit this island to the dominion of the Romans, and to prevent any insurrection therein. This is therefore a fresh proof of the truth of the assertion, that the ancients did not make their discoveries merely by their military expeditions, but that, very frequently, navigation assisted in enlarging their knowledge of different countries and people. In fact, it was not their conquests which merely served to enlarge the circle of their information; but their merchants were also very eager to push still further forward than their victorious armies. For in general men are capable of the greatest and most difficult undertakings, when their designs and actions are actuated by ambition, avarice, and other passions; and they execute them with judgment and resolution; and the beneficent Creator of mankind makes use even of the passions of men, to accomplish his infinitely great and benevolent designs of introducing into all parts of the world civilization and refinement of manners, together with the knowledge of the true and only God.

The victories as well as the defeats of the Romans in the western and north-easter parts of Germany, served likewise to this purpose, that it gave them at least some idea of the vast extent of this brave and never perfectly subdued nation, whose assistance in war they counted on account of its known valour. The Romans and Italians had been enervated by luxury and despotism, so that they were become unfit for military service; particularly, as the manner of carrying on war at that time required strength of body, personal valour, strict discipline, great skill in tactics, and great presence of mind. The fine-bred youth of the young Romans had been debilitated, and the growth of their limbs had been checked by early enjoyment and excess of voluptuousness. In fact, a delicate smooth-faced youth, vain of his person, which it is his}

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DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH. 27

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chief study to set off to advantage, and whose whole care is to recommend himself to the great, by wit, druts, and flattery, has seldom the courage to face death and dangers without shrinking. The spirit of dissipation and licentiousness, which at this time reigned in Rome, rendered the youth of that state unfit to live under the constraint of subordination; and, indeed, how is it to be supposed that they could possibly exhibit any marks of spirit in a way of life which they detested; or that they should have presence of mind, or be fit for forming quick and sudden resolves in circumstances and occurrences to which they were absolute strangers? Whole armies, therefore, were raised amongst the Batavians, Germans, Pannonians, and other nations on whom luxury had not as yet shed its baneful influence. But the fidelity and valour of the Germans made them deserve the honour of being chosen in preference to others to be the body-guards of the Emperors. (a) This circumstance gave occasion to the Romans to become better acquainted with the situation and nature of the country, and the manners and customs of a people which had found means to acquire such honorable distinctions by its intrepidity and valour.

The desire of getting amber in great quantities determined Nero to send Julianus, a Roman Knight, to the amber coast. He landed safely in Prussia, and reckons it almost 600 miles from Carnuntum in Pannonia to the coast. He brought home an immense quantity of amber, which was all to serve for the pomp and decoration of one day, on which the Emperor gave an entertainment of gladiators. How much better like a merchant Julianus may have carried on this amber-trade, yet still he could not have avoided learning a great deal concerning the country and its inhabitants, by being amongst them. But Pliny, who relates this event to us (b), seems himself to have known but imperfectly where this coast was. For instance, amber had been found in great abundance, in his days, along the coast of Friesland, near the mouth

(b) Plin. Hfl. Nat. Lib. xxxvii. c. 3.
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.

of the Ems. The island on which the sea had cast it, was called Burchena; in our days, Berkum. Now Pliny seems to have mistaken this amber island for the real native country of amber, and consequently it seems evident, that the conceptions the Romans had of the North, were not altogether clear and accurate; for in general, Pliny supposed, that the Baltic was connected with the Caspian and the Great Indian Seas (c), though Herodotus had already shown, that the Black and Caspian Seas, to the northwards, did not join to any other sea; consequently, all the sea beyond Germany and Prussia, was in the days of Pliny less known than it had been long before, in the times of the Phoenician navigations.

It is true, that the conquest of Dacia under Trajan, had served to extend the boundaries of the empire towards that side; but his immediate successor, Adrian, withdrew all the Roman armies out of this new province, and thereby again precluded the means of procuring any more intelligence concerning this part of the North.

The great Marcomannian war, which Marcus Aurelius was obliged to enter upon, furnished opportunities of collecting many particulars which might serve to determine with greater accuracy than before, the extent and situation of those countries. But this period was destitute of historians, at least of such as might have transmitted to us exact accounts of the situations of the belligerent powers. Luxury, depravity of manners, the decline of the army and of the whole Roman state, paved the way, at a distance, to the great revolutions which threatened this distracted empire. It was among the Romans themselves that the northern nations learned the arts which enabled them to conquer them with greater facility, and to shake the very foundations of their government. Ignorance and a vitiated taste, which always go hand in hand with effeminacy and luxury, continually inculted themselves more and more into the Roman state, while true learning and genuine useful knowledge daily decreased.

VOYAGES AND

Of the Finlanders, Esthoniens, or Aestiers, together with all the Schalavonian tribes, in those times known only by the appellation of Sauromates, or Northern Medes, (of which nation they either were, or pretended to be, the descendants) as also of the Goths, the Romans scarcely knew any thing but the names, Norway (Nerigom) Sconen (Scandia) Dumney * and Yvoere, were, according to them, islands lying near the Icy Sea, as well as Thule, whither they used to fail from Norway, as well as from the northernmost point of Scotland. These obscure notions of the Romans respecting the geography of the northern nations, are consequently still very incoherent, and of no manner of use.

* Pliny expresses himself thus, Lib. iv. c. 16. Sunt qui & alias (influlas) prodant, Scandiam, Dumnam, Bergos: maximeque omnium Nernigom, ex qua in Tule navigatur. A Thule unius diei navigatione, mare concretum, a nonnullis Cernium appellatum. It is evident, that the whole coast is meant here; and though the learned Confellor Schleusner, whose information on these points in general is universally respected, in his Introduction to the Universal History of the North, an excellent work, chuses to understand by Bergos, one of the two sons of Hercules mentioned by Mela, via. Albion and Bergion, who gave the names of Albion and Bergion (or Oepa Juvera, Hibernia) to the British Islands; yet, I cannot peruse myself to take it in this light; and it seems more probable to me, that the appellations of Dumnna and Bergos belonged to the islands Dumnoe, or Dumney, near Helgoland, and Yvoere, near Malfrom, for the continued series in which these countries are dropped, seems to render this supposition a manner necessary. For the same reason, I should never think of looking for Thule in Iceland, but rather in Shetland.
BOOK II.

OF THE DISCOVERIES MADE IN THE NORTH IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

CHAP. I.

Of the Voyages and Discoveries of the Arabians in the North.

ROME had been so much weakened and enervated by its riches and luxury; by the neglect of discipline among the military; by the division of its power into an eastern and a western empire; by the ambition of a great number of private men, who all pretended to the imperial crown; by the absolute corruption of manners among the people, and by the scholastic dissensions of its bishops; that the neighbouring nations soon perceived this weakness, and began to attack the Empire with united force. Even before the division of the empire had taken place, the Marcomanni and their allies from 166 to 180, had driven the great Emperor Marcus Aurelius to such straits, that he had been compelled to dispose of the sumptuous imperial wardrobe and furniture by public auction, in order to provide the supplies necessary for carrying on the war; a step which shews very plainly the desperate situation of the empire. At so early a period as the year 240, the Franks constituted a confederacy of undaunted nations in Lower Germany, which at length, in the fifth century, A. D. 486, laid the foundation of the Frankish, or French kingdom. The Goths likewise, so early as in 244, were in motion in Dacia, and soon after we find Rome plundered by king Alaric, and his Western, or Visigoths, and a new empire founded by his successors in the southern parts of Gaul and Spain. The East, or Ostro-Goths, under Dietrick of Bern, went to Italy and re-took this empire from the Heruli, who had born the sovereign sway about 20 years.
years after the termination of the western empire; this lasted about 60 years, viz. till 554. In the south-western part of Germany, so early as in the year 268, arose the confederacy of the Allemanii, which existed for a long while after. Soon after this, viz. in the year 286, we find the Anglo-Saxons and Franks making their predatory incursions into Britain, till the Britons, on account of the oppressions they suffered from the Picts and Scots, found it necessary to call in the Saxons to their assistance, who in 449, arrived under their Kings Hengist and Horfa, but kept possession of the country themselves, and established several small states, which in process of time were united into one. The Vandals, Suevi and Alani, ravaged the Roman dominions in 407, as far as Spain, and the former of these people at length even went over to Africa to establish a new dominion there. So early as in the beginning of the fifth century, the Burgundi had advanced from their ancient abodes on the shores of the Baltic, to the river Maine; and for the assistance they had afforded the Romans against the Westro-Goths, took a part of Gaul to themselves. In the land of Rügen on the Baltic, and in that part of Germany which is now called Brandenburg, were the Longobardi, or Lombards, who in the year 548 were received by the Emperor Justinian in Pannonia, where, in concert with the Awari, they subdued the empire of the Gepides, and A. D. 568, established a new sovereignty in the upper part of Italy, which lasted upwards of 200 years. Thus was the Roman Empire dismembered and parcelled out by numerous armies composed of the different nations of Germany, and the whole western part of it was now in the hands of princes descended from Germans. The East was ravaged by the Schalawanions, Huns, Awari, Bulgars, and a variety of other nations; and the great power of the Persians had even forced its way to the shores of the Hellespont, whilst the Christians in the Roman Empire, forgetful of the principles of their great founder, who preached as well as practiced universal love and benevolence, were continually quarrelling, prosecuting, and killing each other on the score of difference of opinion in matters of religion.
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.

To such a state of moral corruption and political debility, the Great Roman Empire, in those days the pride of all nations, the envy of all Barbarians, and the terror of all Nations, was now reduced. At this period there flourished in Arabia an illustrious family, whose name and glory have been for ages past the subject of the most valuable memoirs. The descendants of the house of Abrahám, the patriarch of the Jewish nation, had settled in that eastern province, and had erected a kingdom over the conquered nations of the Hebræans. The Roman army, under their able and victorious generals, had subdued the Saxons and other nations of the British islands, and the British were now united into several small states, under one monarch, who was styled King of the Britons.

The Roman emperor, living in the full possession of his power and influence, was now overthrown by a powerful and determined enemy, who, in the year 269, made an attack on the Roman Empire, and succeeded in capturing the city of Rome. The emperor, in the midst of his wealthiest court, was killed by his own guards, and the empire was divided into several smaller provinces, each governed by a governor, who was appointed by the emperor. In this state of divided power, the emperor was unable to resist the attack of the enemy, and the empire was soon reduced to a state of confusion and anarchy. The emperor, in a state of despair, committed suicide, and the empire was at last reduced to a state of complete ruin and desolation.
Strengthened by so powerful a support, the enthusiastic prophet became a persecutor. His new party became the tool of his revenge. He took Mecca, and thereby procured himself an addition of territory, and a fresh army of proselytes. The sword being once drawn, victory and the new religion soon spread over all Arabia. The predatory tribes of Arabia were now united by the strongest ties of religion, and, with the enthusiastic zeal of proselytes, subjugated everything, from the Indus to the Pyrenean Mountains, to the religion and dominion of the successors (or Caliphs) of Mohammed. Upon this the sciences soon began to flourish amongst these people formerly so rude and illiterate; and poets, physicians, philosophers, natural-philosophers, historians, and geographers, now made their appearance. With but few of these last, however, the Europeans are acquainted, either on account of their ignorance of the language, or because the writings of these men are, for the greater part, to be found only at Morocco, in Egypt, in Syria, and at Constantinople, buried as it were in Turkish libraries, inaccessible to Christians; and the remainder, in the almost-as-inaccessible libraries of Rome and Spain; or else, perhaps, because the printing of such works actually produces but little profit either to a bookseller or editor; and the great are generally more inclined to employ their fortunes on the means of their own advancement, or to bestow them on their flatterers, and on the indulgence of their passions, than by their liberalties to encourage an edition of an old Arabian geographer. In fact, the only Oriental authors, who have written geographical works that have been printed, and are now extant, are, Seberif al Edrifi, who wrote his Geographical Reconstructions in 1153; Abulfeda, Prince of Hamath, who published a system of geography in 1321; Naffir Ed-din, of Tus, in Persia, the friend of Holaku Chan, whom he persuaded to make the conquest of Bagdad, and to abolish the Caliphate, wrote in 1260, his Ilchchanian Tables on the longitude and latitude of places; and Ulugbek, the nephew of the great Timur, who, in 1437, wrote his Geographical Tables.

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The Arabian generals had long before this been ordered by the Caliphs to transmit, in the course of their victories, exact and accurate descriptions of the nations and countries conquered by them; none, however, of the works we have referred to above, can certainly be reckoned in the number of such as were drawn from these authentic geographical records. Some of them content themselves with communicating merely what they have gathered from common report, concerning distant nations; for this reason, these accounts are no where lefts to be depended on, than where they relate to our northern part of the globe.

The author of the extracts from Scherif al Edrissi is a Christian, and though it seems as if he had extracted from the original author all that he says in the Seation on the sixt climate, there is neverthelesss room to suppose, that this Christian abbreviator has advanced what is found in his work relating to the Christian countries, either from his own knowledge of these countries, or from the accounts given of them by other authors. But whether these relations are original or borrowed, they are so meagre and mutilated, that it is evident they have contributed but little to give us any information concerning the regions of the North. The countries they are acquainted with are Brittany and Poitou; then come France, Normandy, Flanders, Hiin (i. e. Hainault). Lorrain, and Berri; with some countries of the Frank Burgundians, and the Allemannian Burgundians; then Limania, or Allemania; the land of Bakir (doubtless for Bavir, or Bavaria) Carentana (or Garinthia) Louvain, Friesland, Savoy, and some parts of the island of England. In Allemannia and Saxony, he names the towns of Harbok, Kulozat, Majchliat, and Hallah. Towards the north, on all parts, is the dark sea. Germania, Gothilia, and Rusia; the land Bergian, or Bergen, Russia and Komania, Heratia on the Black sea; the countries of Wailakan (or Walachia) Chozaria (or Chaza- ria) Bohysaria, Befegert, Lan (or Alania). In the land of the Aconian Turks is the river Arel (or Wolga) which falls into the sea Tabafertan (or the Caspian Sea). The land Samricki, or of the Walthian Turks;
the land Sifian, the land Chosfach (i.e. of the Cefsucks the land Torkos, and the wall of Jaugg and Magog (in the Caucasus) which was built by Dufelcarnaini (or Alexander); in the dominions of a certain Chakan Odkos, who was a Mahometan. Beyond this wall arrived the travellers, dispatched by the Caliph, at the towns of Lochman, Araban, Berfagian, Turant, and Samarkand. From thence their route passed over Ray (or Rages, in Media) to Sarramanrai. In the dark sea are defart islands, and ruined cities, to which, whilst they were inhabited, ships used to go in order to buy amber and coloured stones. Then he describes the island called England in the dark sea, the island of Scotia (or Scotland) and the island Irlanda (or Ireland). The land Bolonia, Sveda, Island, Island, the farther Romania, Bolghar (or Bulgaria) Bejegert, and Begenak. This, is pretty nearly the idea he had of Europe and the northern regions. Many of those countries the reader will undoubtedly be able to recognize; others of them are totally unknown to us, in like manner as it is impossible to know again the greatest part of the towns in these countries.

The Prince of Hamath says, he knows in the north the countries of the Franks and of the Turks. Amongst them is the empire of Buligah, i.e. Apulia, Kallafrijab (Calabria) Baslissa (perhaps Basiliatica, the ancient Lucania) al-Mara (i.e. Morea) part of which belonged to the Grecian Emperor, and part to a nation of the Franks, called Kitbahan, i.e. Catalonians. Close by this is the land Malfaguth (or Amalfi) and to the westward the land Ithens; then he describes Rome, and St. Peter's church; then follows the land Tuscan, i.e. Tuscany, and the two Barkan, or Volcanos, one of which is in Sicily. The province Olkirm, or Crimea, with the cities of Solgat, Sudac, and Kafa. Then he describes the Bosphorus and Constantiople. To the countries of the North appertain also Kumager*, a city in the empire of the Tatar.

* Kumager seems to be the ruins of a large town, which are even at present to be found on the coast of the river Kuma, not far from the place where it receives the Byumara, and which is still called Madchiar.

This
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.

Tatar Borkab, which lies in the middle between the Iron Port (Derdend) and Azak, or Afaph. Next to this lie the Lokzi, or Leski. In the habitable part of the North, are also the Russian countries, which are situated towards the north of the town Bolar (or Bulgaria). Then follows Barthanyah (i.e. Britainia) in the sea; Brandil, (Burdegal, Bourdeaux) Schont Jakub, a town in Gallijah, i.e. Galicia, and their capital Samurah, perhaps Santa Maria, or San Maria. Piza, or Piscia, i.e. Pisa. On the opposite side is the island Sardaniagh (i.e. Sardinia) Lombardia (Lombardy) Gavanah (Genoa) Bandakiagh (Venice). One of the citizens here is their Prince, and is called Duk. They are in possession of the island Nakrapant, i.e. Negro-ponte. Rumijah el Kobra, i.e. Rome the Great, situated on both sides of the river Tefri (viz. the Tiber) the seat of the Caliph of the Christians, who is called Al-Pap. Borshen, or Borgen, the capital of the Burgans, i.e. Burgundians, who have been conquered by the Allemanni. Itshbaniagh, i.e. Athens, the city of the wife Greeks: Konstanthiniagh, or Buzantbija, i.e. Constantinople, or Byzantium. Makdunijah, the city of Alexander the Great. Sakgi (Azak, or Afaph) a town at the mouth of the Thana (Tanais, or Don) where it empties itself into the sea Nithafch (the Palus Meotis and the Black Sea). Abzu, a town situated eastwards on the Bosporus, or Straits of Conflanti- nople. This is probably Abydus, Aka Karman, on the sea Nithafch, is Akerman. Thernau is situated at three days journey from Sakgi, or Afaph, and is therefore in all probability Taganrok. Sari Karman (probably a place called Inkerman, in the peninsula of Crimea) is five days journey from Kirm, or Selgat, i.e. Esfi Crimia. Kerki is a Turkis word, signifying 40 men, and by this name is called a certain very strong castle on the top of an inaccessable mountain.

This is the town which Prince Abulfeda means, and, from the situation on the Kama, it may perhaps formerly have been called Kameyer, just as a part of the Hungarians, or Madjebari, from the circumstance of their dwelling near this river, were called Kumani, or Kizani.

Close
Close by it is the highest mountain of all, Ghater Tog (at present called Tichettirda). Sudae is a fortified harbour, and still bears the same name. Sulgat was formerly called el Kerm, but at present the province is called by this name. (In our times Eghri-Krim). 

Koja lies on a plain to the east of Sudae, and is a port and staple town; opposite to it is Tharapezun (Trebi-fond) but to the east and the north is the desart of Kasfjevbyak. Ol-Kars (now called Kersch) is a small town between Koja and Azok, at the mouth of the sea of Azok. Azok is a famous city at the mouth of the Thana, in the sea of Azok, which in ancient books is called the sea of Manijatsb, or Manjeta. 

Serai ***, a large town, and the residence of the Tartars, which in my (viz. Albufeda's) time, are the Uzbekes. It is situated in the plain, at the distance of two days journey from the Caspian Sea, to the south-east. The river Atol, i.e. Wolga ***, runs from the north-west to the south-east; on the northern coast of it is Sarai. (The remains of this great town are still to be found on this spot.) Okak is a town on the

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*The sea of Asf having formerly in ancient writings been called Manlajeb, and the small lakes and the river Manjeta, even in these days deriving their names from it, seems to be a fresh proof in favour of the opinion of Mr. Pallas, that the Black and Caspian Seas were formerly connected with each other by these parts, and both together made but one sea.

** Sarai was an ancient residence of the people who formerly inhabited this country; but by which of them it has been built, is as difficult to ascertain as the true situation of it. On the banks of the Ach-tuba, or the eastward arm of the Wolga, from which it separated near Zarimis, several remains of very ancient buildings have been found, some to the north-east of Zarim, and others to the east, near Charachudicer and Zavrapad, as also lower down near Dschesit and Seliran-sei-Geredeik. What Abulfeda says of its being at the distance of two days journey from the Caspian Sea, should rather point out Seliran-sei-Gere
dek, than Zavrapad for this place. It appears to have been built by Bota Khan, between the years 1256 and 1266.

*** Atol is the name of the Wolga, amongst the Russian Tartars, who, briefly speaking, call it Ide, or Atel; which the Tschuwaftchi have transformed into Adol. This word signifies a river in general; whence the Tschuwaftchi call the Wolga, Atliadal, or the Great River; but the Kama they call Shruradadal, i.e. the White River, because the water of it is whiter than that of the Wolga; the river Ithaka the Tartars call Nauked Ide. The Calmucks translate the word Atel by Etschil. The Mordants, on the contrary, have given to the Wolga the name of the Rhun, which perfectly resembles the denomination Rho, made use of by Ptolemy.
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.

western shore of the Athol (or Wolga) half way between Sarai and Bolar. The empire called Ardu, which belongs to the Tartarian king of Borkah, extends as far as Okak. [This Okak is undoubtedly Uweck, which lies 7 werfts to the south of Saratof, and was formerly a famous Tartarian town.] Bolar or Bolgar*, a town in the most remote part of the habitable northern countries, to the eastward of the Athol (or Wolga) at no great distance from the river. This town has three baths; the inhabitants are Ma- hometans, and belonging to the sect of the Hanefites. Here grow no summer fruits on account of the intense cold; neither are there any grapes. According to the relation of an inhabitant of these parts, the climate is so hard as to dry all the summer and the nights are but very short; which, indeed, is very probable; the town being situate in upwards of 48 degrees of northern latitude, and, according to the principles of astronomy, subject to a very long twilight. Bolar* or Athol, is the capital of the Czoxars.

Such is the information furnished by the Arabians on the subject of the geography of the North, down to the year 1321.

So early as about the second century, the Huns had made approaches towards lake Aral and the Caspian Sea, and inhabited these regions; soon after which they turned their thoughts to fill greater enterprises, which under Attila, in the years 434, 454, were crowned with amazing successes; his dominions extending from China quite into Gaul. As to his sons, some of them remained masters of the country from Dacia as far as Noricum; others retired towards the Don, and some crossing the Don, withdrew to Mount

* Bolgar is in our days still called Bogari, and contains the remarkable and beautiful ruins which Mr. Pallas has described and given drawings of in his travels, part i. p. 123, & seq. The Arabians inscriptions bear date, A.D. 1326—1341. The Armenians reach from 1161 to 1378. It is not in the least improbable then, that this town of Bolgar was known to Abulfeda, who wrote as late as in the year 1321. The first Bulgarians the Europeans were acquainted with, were probably a tribe of Turks;—They seem to have been even at that time civilized to a considerable degree, as appears from their ornaments, furniture, dress, coins, and edifices. There were, indeed, many Armenians amongst them.
Caucasus; and all the subjects of the powerful empire of the Huns recovered their liberties. The Turks, a people who at first had dwelt to the southwards, on the banks of the lake Saifian, of the river Irish, and on Mount Altai, retired in the sixth century to the eastward of lake Aral, and of the Caspian Sea. Here they spread out by degrees into their numerous tribes, as Chazars, Petchenegs, Uzes, Parouzes, Bulgars, &c. and took possession of the whole southern part of Russia, Moldavia, Bessarabia, and Crimea. These were the people whose possessions and situation Constantine Porphyrogenetes describes in his Themata. They were also the best soldiers of the Arabians and their Caliphs, after this latter nation was enervated by luxury and despotism. In consequence of this circumstance, they soon arrived at such a pitch of power, that they used to dispose at pleasure of the throne of Bagdad, and even took into their own hands the administration of the larger provinces. At length, some of their princes establishted great empires, in which they governed for a while in an independent manner, till the Moguls, under the command of Zinghis-Khan and his descendants, over-ran with their armies almost the greatest part of Asia, and a considerable part of Europe, as far as Brestlaw. Many of these in Asia adopted the religion of Mahomed, and the Arabian letters, as also the use of the Persian language; by which means they both acquired a great deal of information, and became very much refined in their manners. In Persia, under the auspices of Holaghu-Khan, Naffir-Eddin drew up a table of the longitudes and latitudes of places, for the purpose of correcting his astronomical observations. The same thing was done immediately upon this by the nephew of the great Timur, Ulug Bek, who likewise in the year 1437, composed tables of the latitudes and longitudes of places, for the purpose of correcting his astronomical observations. These are in many points so similar to each other, that it is very evident that the prince has made use of the work of the Persian astronomer.

Of the countries to the North of the Caspian and Black Sea, both of them have particularly mentioned the three Empires of Chozar, Rus, and Bolgar.

In
In the first of these is Balangar, the capital of the king of the Chozars, which Abulfeda likewise had before denominated Athol and Balangar. The Chozars lived in Crimea, and in the desert plains of Nogai; but it is impossible at this present period of time to point out their capital. The town called Kujovah, must certainly be Kiew (or Kiev). But Sakfin, the second Russian town, it is also impossible to indicate with any degree of certainty. Finally, in the empire of Bolgar, there is mentioned a city of the same name. What these people had of Korasan, Chosar, and Mawaranan, does not deserve to be noticed here, many of these places being extremely well known at present. But for certain reasons, we will give the reader an account of what information they had concerning Turkestan, or those countries which in our days are called the lesser Bukharia, the country of the Kalkas-Mongols, and the northern part of China. To this country belongs Chaten, a well known town in the lesser Bukharia, the capital of a small empire, which at present is subject to the Chinese. Aimalig, a town in a country called Gete, not far from Mount Arjatu. When, in the year 1490, Timur prepared to make war against this country of Gete, his army marched from Tashkent near the Sibon, to Lake Ijikol, not far from Barkot, or Baret; then they came to Gheuktopa, from thence to the mount called Arjatu, and so to the town Aimalig. They then crossed the river Ab-Eile, came to Ijshbaa-Butshbaa, and Uter Keptadjibi, and, finally, arrived on the banks of the Irifb, where they learned that Prince Kamareddin was gone into the marten-and-fable forests of Daulas. Hence it follows that this place is situated between Tashkent and the Irifb, and, indeed, on this side the river Ab-Eile, which at this day empties itself into the Sibon. And as the armies of Timur returned over Lake Eutракгбевл, situated near Harafchor, and hastened by the way of Akbu to Samaroband on account of the winter approaching; this Aimalig must not be confounded with Kabalig, Bifbhalig, and still less with Karacorum, the seat of the Moguls on the
river and lake Ongbin. A Florentine named Francisco Balducci Pegoletti, (whose travels till lately lay buried in oblivion, when they were first drawn out of it by the references made to them by Professor Sprengel) described at so early a period as the year 1335, the route from Azof to Peking, and in this route, at a distance of 45 days journey (travelling on assles) beyond Otrar, he places the town of Armalecco, which undoubtedly is Almalig in the land of Geth, to the north-east of Tashkent, and on this side of the Irtisch. The two geographers next lay down Kabalig, a place not known to modern times, more to the eastwards of Almalig. Then Autan Kelurana (likewise unknown) till more to the east than Karakum—Farther they have Bischbalig, a place probably the fame with that which the Chinese call Ilbalig, which consequently is situated on the banks of the river Illi. Then comes Karakum, i. e. the black sand, a place which was also called Karakorun, and used to be the residence of the Mogul Emperors, of the race of Zinghis Khan. Finally, they speak of Chenbalig, or Cambalig, which is what is now called Peking. The Florentine continues the route from Almalig by the way of Camexu, which must certainly be Cami, or Hamil, with the addition of Tseben, which means a town, and is a word which the Chinese use to add to the name of every place of the least consideration, and which the Florentine has endeavoured to express by the syllable su. This town was known to the famous traveller, Marco Polo of Venice. From the former of these places to the latter it is 70 days journey. Pegoletti next reckons 65 days journey to a river, of which he has not given us the name, but informs us, that from this river it is easy to come to Kaffai. This Kaffai, is Kissen, a place on the great river Kara-Muren, or Hoang-bo. From hence it is 30 days journey to Gemalecco, the capital of the land Gattai, i. e. Kambalig, in the land of Kathay, by which is meant the northern part of China.

These countries, though they have been frequently laid waste by various great revolutions and the hostile attacks of barbarous and uncivilized nations, have nevertheless retained, better than could have been expected, the names of their towns, rivers, lakes, &c.
through so many centuries: for the want of good and drinkable water in those countries, is an obstruction to the building of towns or cities in every part of them. The cities therefore are suffered to remain, and their names are preferred, even after conquests; and for a similar reason the names of the rivers and lakes are preferred with equal care, viz. on account of the names of the subjects being so rare, and so seldom to be met with. The people too of those countries have almost always spoken the same, or at least a kindred language, a circumstance which has likewise contributed to preserve so well the names of the rivers and lakes.

By what has been said above, it appears, that these fragments of the knowledge possessed by the Oriental Nations with respect to our northern parts of the globe, are very imperfect. For though it must be owned that these people made extensive military expeditions, and over-ran a great many countries, yet at the same time it must be observed that they were not much addicted to writing, and such of them as were actually possessed of learning, seldom wrote on geographical subjects, or, if they did, their performances were very defective.

Kublai-Khan indeed was the first Emperor of the Moguls, who fitted out a large fleet on that part of the eastern ocean called the Chinefe Sea, which he did for the purpose of conquering Nipon, or, as Marco Polo says, Zipangri. This enterprise however miscarried, in consequence of the intervention of a violent and destructive storm, and of other misfortunes.

CHAP.

* Kublai-Khan reigned from the year 1259 to 1294 of the Christian era, when he sent a fleet and army to Nipon (or Japan), for the purpose of conquering that country. The ships composing this fleet, were very much flattered by the form, and it is probable that some of them may not have been able to get back to Japan and China. About this period there sprung up in America, almost at one and the same time, two great empires (those of Mexico and Peru) which had regular institutes of religion; notions of rank and subordination, were in some measure civilized, were connected with each other by various kinds of acquaintance, practiced agriculture, and in the matrimonial state did not allow of polygamy. In Mexico, indeed, they even had a kind of hieroglyphic writing, together with many other marks of cultivation; notwithstanding that both
Of the Voyages and Discoveries made in the North, by the Saxons, Franks, and Normans.

The Roman empire having been ravaged and brought low by many foreign nations, and particularly by those which were of German origin, in so much that the Romans were unable to oppose them in all parts of the empire; some provinces suffered exceedingly from these ravages. Britain had to the northward very troublesome enemies in the Picts and Scots, while the southern part of it suffered by the depredations of the Franks and Saxons. The Britons, in consequence, implored the assistance of the Roman Chief, Actius, which he however refused them. In this situation nothing more was left for them than forthwith to call the Saxons to their succour. Accordingly, A.D. 449, these latter went to Britain; not however to deliver Britain from oppression, but rather to conquer it, and to take possession of it in form for themselves. The first party was soon followed by others, and, in a short time after, Britain was parcelled out, under the Anglo-Saxons, into seven small kingdoms. As to the unfortunate Britons, some of them were brought under the yoke, and made slaves of, or, (as they were then called) Villains; others retired into the mountains of Galloway, Cumberland, Wales, and Cornwall, in the western part of the island; while others crossed the sea, and took refuge in the country called after them Britania. But it seems that these people had for a long time before been used to infest the coasts.
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.

of France and Britain by sea with their depredations, infomuch that the Romans give to a certain tract of the French and British coasts the appellation of the Saxon Boundaries; and placed them under the protection of a Count [Comes littoris Saxonici.] Neither did the Franks, who had been conquered by the Emperor Probus, and whom he had transplanted to Pontus, forget that they formerly had lived on the sea coast, and had made piracy their profession and livelihood; for as soon as a favourable opportunity offered, they seized upon what ships they met with, and ravaged all the lands lying along the coasts of Asia minor and Greece, and then, setting sail for Sicily, surprised the city of Syracuse, famous for its navigations, where they killed a great number of people. After they had plundered the whole African coast, from which however they were at length repulsed by some troops sent against them from Carthage, they proceeded to the Straits of Gibraltar, in the Great Ocean, and arrived at last, enriched with spoils, amongst their countrymen, between the Rhine and the Weir (a). Such a naval expedition as the above-mentioned certainly reflects great honour on this enterprising people, particularly when we consider the ships of those days and the miserable condition of these vessels; as also, how few they had of those aids which are requisite to navigation, being possessed neither of charts nor compasses, and (as being in so rude and uncultivated a state) having but a very imperfect knowledge of astronomy. It should seem, nevertheless, that these Franks, thus transplanted to the interior part of the Pontus, on the Black Sea, must have had some conception of the situation of the countries they visited, and of the ancient place of their residence; for it is contrary to every dictate of common-sense, to imagine, that they should by mere accident have got just into the tract which led to their native country. This and other such enterprises gave the Frankish tribes courage, together with skill in naval matters, and at the same time inspired yet more of them with a disposition to piracy and navigation. Accordingly they went with numerous
VOYAGES AND NUMEROUS FLEETS AND ARMIES OVER TO ENGLAND, WHERE THE CITY OF LONDON, WHICH EVEN AT THAT EARLY PERIOD WAS GROWN RICH BY COMMERCE, FELL INTO THEIR HANDS. BUT CONSTANTIUS Cæsar BEAT THEM SOON AFTER, AND DELIVERED ENGLAND FROM THESE CRUEL MARAUDERS.


THE STILL MORE REMOTE COUNTRY OF IRELAND WAS NOT SECURE FROM THE PREDATORY INVASIONS OF THE DANES. SO EARLY AS IN THE YEAR 795, THEY APPEARED ON THE COASTS OF THAT ISLAND, AND, AFTER HAVING RAVAGED THE ORKNEYS AND THE WESTERN ISLANDS, THEY MADE THEIR APPEARANCE AGAIN SO EARLY AS IN 798 IN ULSTER, WHICH PROVINCE SUFFERED GREATLY FROM THEIR RAVAGES. BUT LONG BEFORE THIS PERIOD THE NORMANS HAD MADE SOME PREDATORY INCURSIONS INTO IRELAND, AS APPEARS FROM THE LIFE OF ST. FINNANUS, WHO WAS OF A NOBLE FAMILY IN THAT COUNTRY, AND HAD BEEN CARRIED OFF FROM THENCE BY THEM. THESE PIRATES AFTERWARDS LANDED ON THE ORKNEY ISLANDS.

(*) SCRIPTORUM AEVRANICARUM COLONI, TOM. I. p. 201.
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH. 47

Islands, when Findanus ran away from them, and, after having undergone various fortunes, having wandered through France and Lombardy, and remained four years in Alemania, he finally, in the year 700, embraced a monastic life.

In general, we may observe, as an acknowledged fact, that all the different nations and people, which afterwards were known to the world under the denominations of Swedes, Danes, and Norwegians, were not distinguished by these names in the earliest ages; as the countries they inhabited were not at that time divided, so as to admit of it. Every petty district, sometimes even a small island, had its peculiar sovereign. No general name consequently could be bestowed on the whole country taken collectively. The petty sovereigns in these countries seem to have been mere feudatory lords, or lords of manors, who undertook expeditions by sea as well as by land with their vassals. Their mother-country, as well on account of the small quantity of cattle on it, as in consequence of the neglected state of agriculture, was very unfruitful: they therefore, after their subjects had once experienced the beneficial emoluments accruing from a piratical expedition, found no great difficulty in pressuring them to fresh undertakings of this nature. The first ships, which the northern nations made use of, were boats, either hollowed out of large trunks of trees, or else made of wicker, and caulked over with leather. Long ships, of a larger size,

The names however of Suinæ, in Tacitus, and of Nerigæ, in Pliney, seem to have been general names of these countries; yet it is much to be doubted, whether they are to be taken in that sense in which they have been used since. Nevertheless we have the word Danæ in so early a writer as Guido of Ravenna, who probably wrote his book in the 7th century.

Other told king Alfred, that he was in possession of twenty sheep, twenty sheep, and as many swine; and that the trifling quantity of land that he had in tillage, he ploughed with horses; and yet Other was one of the richest and most considerable men in his country. In like manner Adam of Bremen, affirms, that Nordland is very barren, without chusing to determine, however, whether this barrenness is to be ascribed to the coldness of the country or to the mountains with which it is covered. Adamus de fina Danis a calce Hebr. Eccl. Cap. 238. parag. 146. edit. Ludw. Bat. 1595, 4to.

Boats like these, made of wicker and caulked over with leather, are called Circales in England, where they are still in use on the rivers Dee...
sized, were called Chiuile, Cyule, Ceol (an appellation, whence the German and English term "ship's keel," is derived, as well as the English word Keelman, i.e. people who work in the vessels belonging to the colliers. With these two kinds of vessels, neither of which were of any considerable size, the latter of them carrying 200 men at the most, these northern nations undertook their piratical expeditions. But the smallness of the number of men on board each vessel was amply compensated by the multitude of the vessels themselves. Insomuch that even Tacitus, in those early ages, makes mention of the fleets of the Suiones. This people appears to have spread at first within the boundaries of the Baltic to Finland, Esthonia, and Courland, whither it was very easy for them to pass over from Gothland. The Normans, or rather the Norwegians, followed their own coast, according to Othere's description; consequently they circumnavigated the extreme point of their peninsula, and of Europe, viz. the North Cape, and coming at last to the Gwen Sea, arrived at the Dwina and among the Biarmians that lived on its banks. The Dunes failed along the coast as far as the British Channel, and at length went to Britain itself.

At the end of the 8th century the Dunes and Norwegians, who, taken collectively, bore the name of Normans, ventured to go to England, Scotland, the Orkney and Shetland Islands, the Western

and Severn; in Ireland they are termed Carach. Cæsar, so early as in his time, found them in Britain, and made use of them himself. Cæsar de bello civili paraphr. 259, Ed. Elavi. 1635. Leuci Philal, Lib. iv. p. 137. Pline, Hiff. Nat. Lib. iv. cap. 16. vs. cap. 27. Selin. Potifhifi. cap. 25. The Equimau and Greenlanders, and likewise the Kamtschadalles have ships made of fish bones, with a few wooden clamps and bands, and covered over with the skins of Marine animals. The people last-mentioned call them Baidars. Even the Greeks made use of boats of wicker, covered with leather, which they took with them on board of their large ships, calling them sapas, and in Latin Carabi. From this kind of craft the Russians have in all probability taken their term for a ship, which they call a Karafi. It is certain, that the vessels belonging to the Saxons pirates were made of leather. For in the poem upon

Avitus, this circumstance is mentioned expressly:

Quin et armoricus piratae Saxoniis tractus
Spirat, cai pelle flatum fulcere Britannum
Ludus, et allato glacum mare sanderembo.

Islands,
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH

Iflands, and even to Ireland; all which places they made the subjects of their depredations, carrying with them, wherever they went, desolation and slaughter. At length they succeeded in making themselves masters of Ireland, and remained such from the year 807 to 815. The Orkneys, the Shetland and Western Iflands, were now in like manner regularly peopled by the Normans. Some of them even formed the resolution of fixing themselves in Ireland. The attempt, however, did not succeed immediately, and they were obliged to put off the execution of their design to a more convenient time.

The booty and wealth which they carried home incited others among them to advance with their fleet along the coast of Britain to France, where, as has been observed, they first landed in 820, not having dared, in the reign of Charles the Great, to invade that coast. The indolence of Charles's successors, and the civil wars in which they were continually engaged, put it out of their power to make the necessary preparations on the northern coast of France for repelling the Normans, who, rather excited than discouraged by the weak resistance they met with, repeated their attacks so frequently, that at last they prepared to make a complete conquest of these countries, and take possession of them.

Though Egbert in England, upon the union of the lesser Saxon divisions, or, as they are called the Heptarchy, became a powerful Sovereign, yet the Normans did not suffer themselves to be intimidated by his power; but, in 832, made an attack on the Kentish coast, in which they met with successes, carrying off with them abundance of booty; though, the following year, having landed in Dorsetshire, they were obliged to make a precipitate retreat.

About the year 835, the Normans went to Ireland, under their leader Turges, and maintained possession of their conquest for the space of 30 years.

In 840 a fleet fitted out by these people, made for the coast of France, where, having penetrated into the internal part of the kingdom, they committed great ravages. Some of them indeed, in 844, proceeded as far as to the coast of Andalusia; and even Pisa, in Italy, together with the once flourishing city of Luna,
was brought into subjection by them, A.D. 857. But these were, in fact, their expeditions to the South, which we shall content ourselves with barely mentioning in this place.

Their voyages, on the other hand, were continually more and more extended likewise in the northern regions. In the year 859 they went eastward to the coast of Esthonia, and brought the inhabitants of it under subjection, and in 862, three Normans, who were brothers, founded a new sovereignty in Novgorod and its vicinity.

Just about this time, viz. in 861, one of these pirates, of the name of Naddod, was thrown by a storm on an island never before discovered; and called it, on account of the snow which lay on the high mountains belonging to it, Schnee or Snow-land. Naddod was but a very short time in this newly-discovered island; yet it appeared to him a very good country; in consequence of which a Swede, by name Gardar Suafarsson, who was settled in Denmark, undertook an expedition to Snowland in 864; and having failed quite round it, named it Gardarholm, i.e. Gardar's Island. Here likewise he spent the winter; and going to Norway in the subsequent spring, reported that this newly-discovered country was entirely covered with wood, and in other respects was a fine tract of land. This account of the place induced another Swede, of the name of Flocke, by his voyages had acquired a great name, as well as the confidence of the people in the north, also to go thither. He arrived safe; but having wintered there likewise, on the northern side of the island met with a great quantity of drift ice, on which account he gave this island the name of Iceland, a name it still bears. It should seem too that he was not at all pleased with the country, since he described it, on his return to Norway, as a very indifferent soil and situation. Some of his companions, on the contrary, gave it out as a country flowing with milk and honey. These contradictory reports seem to have damped in many people the desire of visiting this island. At last, in the year 874, Ingolf, and his friend Lieb, resolved upon making another trial. Accordingly, these
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.

two friends repaired thither together; and the country was so far from appearing to them in a bad light, that, on the contrary, its natural advantages induced them to settle there, which they did about four years afterwards. Ingolf took thither people, cattle, and all kinds of necessary tools and implements; and Lief, who in the mean time had been in England to the wars, carried thither his booty. The first discoverers of this island, from the circumstance of their having found some Irish books, Bells and Bishops Croziers on it, imagined that some people from Ireland had resided there previously to this period. But it appears more probable to me, that a party of Norman pirates, who had previously landed in Ireland, and carried off from thence a considerable booty, and among other things the above-mentioned articles, had been driven thither by a storm, as had been the case with Naddodd, and left these articles behind them.

The contradictory reports concerning this country by the people who first visited it, must certainly have been exaggerated on both sides. However, it may be observed, that although those who first inhabited the island, doubtless considered it as an advantageous spot; yet, the posture of affairs in the North at that juncture, probably contributed much to their settlement in this cold region.

About this time, HAROLD SCHOENHAAR, one of the petty sovereigns in Norway, began to conquer and bring into subjection the other chiefs of that country; and in 875, established the Norwegian monarchy. GORM THE ANCIENT likewise attacked all his neighbours round him, and united the petty states in Jütland and the Danish islands into one: as INGALD ILLRODE had done long before in Sweden. It was impossible for such great changes in the posture of af-

fairs,
VOYAGES

fairs, and those so contrary to the old establishments, to be effected without making a vast number of malcontents. These, at this juncture, found a sure refuge in Iceland; and at length so many, even among the great people, and some indeed of the blood royal, repaired to the new asylum, that King Harold thought proper, by way of putting a stop in some measure to these emigrations, to publish an edict, according to the tenor of which, no man was allowed to go to Iceland without previously paying to the king half a mark of standard silver. The great wealth accumulated by the piratical practices of the whole collective body of bold Normans in these regions from the year 516, when they first appeared off the French or Gallic coast (and consequently during a period of more than 360 years) must necessarily have extended the power of some of their petty sovereigns, and at the same time must have produced a gradual change in the manners, way of living, sentiments, and political establishments of the northern nations. Accordingly, it appears to me, that these very piratical expeditions laid in some measure the foundation of the political changes that happened almost at one and the same time in the northern kingdoms.

In the course of their expeditions, the people of these kingdoms became acquainted with the different states of Christendom in the South. On this occasion it was, that the most zealous among the monks, as well as many others, whole sole view was the acquisition of riches, and to lead a voluptuous life, resolved at length to get sent out to these countries as bishops. Consequently, Christ and his pretended vicegerent, the pope, were soon preached among these people. The scriptures were introduced everywhere; codes of law were compiled and committed to writing; and the rude and wild way of life of these people was considerably humanized. Commerce and various arts, as well as improvements in agriculture, gained ground; and these barbarous regions became in some measure enlightened, and the manners of their inhabitants refined.

In the mean time the Danes had again invaded England, and that with so much success, that King Alfred, in the beginning of his reign was obliged to relinquish it entirely to the ravages of these
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.

these plunderers. In Ireland they erected a sovereignty at Dublin, which fell to the share of Ainlav, or Olaf, as that at Waterford did to Sitrik, and that at Limerick to Ywar. In the year 868, the Ferro, or Sheep Islands were discovered, and afterwards peopled, no inhabitants having been found on them. In like manner the Orkneys too were peopled with Normans, as also the Shetland Islands. The same advantages attended the Hebrides, or Western Islands, as they are now called, though by the Normans, who came to them from the North and the Orkneys, they were denominated the Southern Islands *.

But soon after this, Alfred emerging from his retirement, on a sudden made his appearance, and his subjects by his appointment likewise coming forward at a certain fixed time, immediately fell on the Danes quite unawares, and made great havoc amongst them. Alfred did not chuse to dispatch the remainder of his vanquished foes; but gave them their lives, and permitted them to live in Northumberland, a province which had been laid waste and depopulated by their countrymen. By this humane conduct he gained the heart even of many of the Danes. Among others, there was a Norman at his court, by name Othir, who had made himself famous by his travels. There was another too, a Jutlander, of the name of Wulftan, who in like manner gave the king an account of his travels into Russia. All these accounts the learned Prince collected with great care; and having purposed to give a translation of the Hymn of Orosius, in the Anglo-Saxon, his mother-tongue, he interwove in this translation the relations of Othir and Wulftan, with the refult of the information he had got elsewhere concerning the state of

* It was only by the Scotch that (on account of their western situation with respect to them) they were termed the Western Islands; but the Danes, who went to them from the North, gave them the name of Soder; hence originates the title of the bishop, in whole diocese these islands were, together with the title of Man; as he still is called, though the reason of it be not rightly known, Bishop of Soder and Man. But it is easy to perceive that this Soder can be no other than the Soder of the Danes. [Or rather the Soder, by contradiction from the Swedish Soder, South and Or-Iland.] Note of the translator.
the three parts of the world known at that period. It is very evident, from comparing them together, that Alfred's account of Europe is not that of Orosius, but rather that the English Prince has principally set before us the state of Europe as it was in his own time. In fact we are possessed of such slender information concerning the Geography of the middle ages, that such an exhibition as this is of Europe and the northern regions conformable to the ideas of that age, and that from so respectable a source, must be extremely valuable. I shall therefore in this place insert that part of it, which respects the North of Europe.

The Geography of the Northern parts of Europe, according to King Alfred, almost literally translated from the Anglo-Saxon.

Now will I also state those (i. e. the boundaries) of Europe, as much as we are informed concerning them. From the river Danais (Tanais) westward to the river Rhine (which takes its rise in the Alps, whence it runs northward to the arm of the Ocean (1), that surrounds Britannia, and south to the river Donua (or Danube) (2), whose source is near that of the Rhine, and runs eastward in the north of Greece, till it empties itself into the Wendel Sea (or Mediterranean) (3) and north even unto the ocean, which men call Ocean Sea, (or the White

(1) Alfred calls the Great Sea, or Ocean, Garfex, a word of which I cannot find the origin, either in the German language or any of its kindred dialects. A little narrow sea he constantly calls Sea, or Sea.
(2) In the original the Danube is constantly called the Danua.
(3) As directly at the commencement of the Mediterranean Sea, where it joins the Atlantic Ocean, is situated the province of Andalusia, in Spain, which province derives its name from the Vandals or Vandalia, who inhabited it; and as these Vandals afterwards lived in Africa, on the coasts of the Mediterranean, it is not at all to be wondered at, that Alfred, a prince descended from German ancestors, should call this part of the Mediterranean by the name of Wendel-Sea, a name of German origi.
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH. 53

Sea) (4). Within this are many nations, and the whole of this tract of country is called Germany (5).

Hence to the north of the source of the Danube, and to the east of the Rhine, are the East Francon (6), and to the south of them are the Sweatos, or Suevae (7); on the opposite bank of the Danube, and to the south and east are the Bavarians (8), in that part which is called Regensburg (9). Due

(4) It is well known, that the ancient inhabitants of the north made a distinction between the Ceven and the Laplanders, by the former understanding the Finlanders, so that Cevenland, according to them, was Finland. Hence it is easy to perceive, that Adam of Bremen, when he speaks of the Angoffs and of the Land of Females, as being Cevenland, totally mistakes the signification of the word Ceven. Ceven, in the northern languages, means a woman; in that of Iceland it is Kvina. Uphila calls a woman Kvina, Quina; in the Anglo-Saxon dialect it is Kuwin; in the Almannic, Quena. Hence the English have got the word Queen. Now, as previous to this period the Finlanders inhabited all this tract as far as Hallingeland; Cevenland consequently reached as far as this spot; in process of time, the Sweatos and Goths, continually advancing farther and farther towards the north, the Finlanders at last had nothing left but what is still called Finland, and consequently Cevenland was much diminished in extent. Adam of Bremen, throughout his whole treatise, confounded with the proper name of Kven, i.e. the Kvenh nation, or Kvenh country, with Kven, or Quina. It is likewise observable, that where this Kven Sea was situated, it was Garfing, as Alfred calls it, or Ocean, and not a sea like the Mediterranea nor the Baltic. Consequently this Kvenh Sea was the White Sea, and no part of the Baltic.

(5) By consequence all that tract of country which is included between the Rhine, Danube, Don, and Dwina, the White Sea, and the Ocean, was at that period Germany. The northern Warnegebrians became masters of the whole of Russia; therefore the whole country, as far as the Don, or Tanait, was Germany, according to the royal Geographer, and in fact, every place where the Germans bore the sway.

(6) The East Franks were to be found in that part of Germany, which reached from the Rhine to the Sclav; in the North, to the Rhine and Caffel; and in the South, almost to the Neckar; or, according to Eginaur, from Saxony to the Danube. They were called East Franks, in order to distinguish them from the Franks that inhabited ancient Gaul.

(7) The Sweatos of the Royal Geographer make part of the Almannic Confederacy, which however, posterior to this, gave to the whole nation and province the name of Sweatos. Part of modern Swabia is comprised in this region, which, even in the time of Alfred and Jordan, was called by the name it now bears.

(8) Bavarians. That by this word is meant Bavarians, there is not the least doubt; but whence are they so called, is the question? It has been observed, that all names of people or nations, that end in war or wariant, as e.g. the Angolfians, Angrijuanis, Berleuanis, Chattarianis, &c. indicate the remains of such tribe or people. Thus also the remainder of the Uij that were exterminated by the Suevi, and who
east from hence are the Beme (10), and to the north-west the Thuringas (11); to the north of these are the Old-Saxon (12), to the north-west are the Fryian (13), and to the west of Old Saxum is the mouth of the Aelfa (or Elbe) (14), as also Fryian (or Friesland). Hence to the north-west is that land which is called Angle (15), Sillende (16), and some part of Denia (17).
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.

To the north is Afdred (18); and to the north-east the Wolds (19), which are called Aelfeland (20); from hence eastward is Wineland (21), which

in progression; so that first to the north-westward are the Angles, and then Denmark, to which also belongs the last-mentioned island, Zealand. It cannot, however, be denied, but that some of the Angles may have likewise resided on the Danish islands, as King Alfred himself tells us as much in other relation.

(16) Silland, and (17) Den, are doublets Zealand and Denmark.

(18) That the Afdred are the Obristes, no reasonable person will deny; though the pun-loving and pedantic writers of the Chronicles of the middle ages have gone so far as to make them out to be the Obristes. A little farther on, these people are likewise termed Afdred. They are not, however, to the north of Old Saxony, but rather to the eastward of it. Perhaps the copyist inserted the word North instead of Eafl or the first word he should read as follows: "To the North-east is Afdred, and to the North the Wolds."

(19) To the north-east of the Obristes dwelt the Vikti, the Ramji, etc. But the word Afdred was not Alfred's intention to indicate, but merely the Wends, who lived on the Heved, and were termed Beverli, or Harvelde, and sometimes Herveld. This happy observation of the reviewer before alluded to is doubtless better than mine; only in that case, instead of north-east we must read south-east; for this is the situation of Haveland with respect to old Saxony.

(20) Wineland, says Alfred, lies to the east of Old Saxony, and this is precisely the situation of Mecklenburg, where the Wendian Scavi lived. They were called Wendi, or Vandals, from the situation of their country near the sea; for Wendi, or Wando, signifies water, or sea; hence too they were denominated Pomerania, i.e. people who lived by the sea, i.e. on the north. This is right also on another account, viz. because Welflan, in the sequel, expressly says, that Wenseland was always to the right hand of him, in his journey from Hethum to Ilting, and that the Wintula runs from Wenseland into the Emsere, or the Hof.

Consequently Wenseland, or Wineland, must have been the modern Mecklenburg and Pomerania. The reviewer of my Comment, in the Philological Library, blames me for taking the Wend for the Lctovians, a mistake which I never committed. My map, indeed, plainly shows that I did not: I only said, that this people spoke the Letovian or Prussian language, and therefore were different from the other Scavi. They were, however, connected with the other branches of the S. lavi; and likewise the Lctovians and Prussians, the words of whose language are even to this day, almost all Scavi. I am likewise accused by this gentleman of having afterwards given up or else forgot the above-mentioned opinion of mine, and absolutely looked on this Wenseland on the Vintula, to be the Danish island of Funen. The fact is, however, that I have never altered my sentiments on this subject; but on the contrary, abide firmly by them; and moreover do not take the life of Funen for this same Wenseland; but do no more than merely follow Welflan in this point, who, as soon as he is come out of the harbour of Hethum has the country of Wenseland (not Wenseland) to the right of him, and Langeland, Lueckland, Falster, and Suyen, to the left; then he comes to Burgenland, Blizinga, Mier, Eswland, and Gotland.
VOYAGES

which men call Syfolie (22). To the South-east at some distance is Moravia (23); and these Moravians have to the west the Thuringas and Rehmas, as also part of the Baegibware; and to the south, on the other side of the Donau, is the country called Carredra (24).

Southwards towards and along the mountains which are called the Alpis, lie the boundaries of Baegibware, as also Svaem (25); and then this he mentions Wroendland, which at other times he calls Wineland, and was always to the right-hand of him. To me nothing appears plainer than the difference between Wineland and Wroendland; this latter lies near Langeland, the other to the west of the Vestfalu, along the sea coast; but with respect to Syfolie, it must be owned, that Alfred seems to have made a mistake. There is an inconsiderable place called Syfolie, or Syfel, which is situated on the Baltic, in Wagenland, between Travemunde and Enyn, and is still called Syfel. This is to the westward of the beginning of the tracts inhabited by the Wends. But there is another difficulty, that of Syfel, of which Dithmar of Merseburg makes mention. It lies not far from the Mulda, below Eilenburg, in Saxony; and at this place there is in that district a parish called Syfellia, or Soweilla, or Syfelida. At this place was likewise inhabited by Wends, Alfred possibly might have heard of both these places, and mistaken the one for the other. For immediately after the Wends and Syfolie, he speaks of the Moravians. This, in fact, is too great a leap. But this Syfolie connects the Wends on the Baltic, who have likewise a Syfel in their country, with the Moravians, or rather with their neighbours the Delamenam, of whom mention is made farther on.

(23) By the Moravians are meant the people of Moravia, so called from the river Morava, and the situation that is given here, is likewise right. They lie to the south-east of old Saxony, at some distance from it. Ofer fruit dat. Mr. Barington's translation of this passage is very erroneous. When I wrote my remarks on Elsford's Orono, I had not the Anglo-Saxon original before me; as it was then in the hands of the printer, I before used Mr. Barington's translation only, which I then supposed to be accurate; and was consequently now and then led into mistakes by it.

The assertion that Moravia (which at that time was a very powerful kingdom, under the auspices of Swatoepis, and consequently was of a much greater extent than it is at present) was bounded by Thuringas and Bohemia to the west, as well as by part of Bavaria, is perfectly agreeable to truth.

(24) Carredra must certainly be Carinthia, or the county of the Carintian, or Carredra, and this Carinthia includes Austria and Styria. The Carintian had their own peculiar princes, of some of which the names are known to us; as for example, Bernth, who put himself under the protection of the Franks in 724, and Wumir, who assisted in taking the Hing of the Avari with Duke Henry of Forli in 796.

(25) The boundaries (or Gemains) for the boundaries of Bavaria and Svaem to the South were the Alpa.
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.

to the eastward of the Carendre Country, and beyond the Waite (26), in Pulgaraland (27) (or Bulgaria); to the east is Greeland (28) (or Greece), to the east of Marsara is Wifeland (29), and to the east of that is Dacia (30), though it formerly belonged to the Gotten (31) (or Goths). To the North-east of Marsara are the Delamenfan (32). East of Delamenfan

(26) It is somewhat singular, that the Reviewer, who so frequently taken upon him to engender me, should here, of his own authority, pur, by way of note (Orig. wattwards). He cannot surely have looked at this passage very narrowly in the original; for there is stands word for word thus: And therefore he so often Carendranlanda beyond them selfs is Pulgaraland. So that Alfred expressly says, "eastward" and thus word welleine does not signify west, but a waife or defect. For just hereabouts it was that the Awari were so much thinned by Harlemeine, that their pristine habitations were a period. Nay, this very circumstance shews, that the accounts here given us by Alfred coincides exactly with what passed in his time; for so soon after as in 893, the Madchiani (or Hungarians, as they are now called) came and took possession of this tract of country. The geography of this part therefore is very accurate and exact, and not so full of chains and contradictions as the reviewer above-mentioned would make us believe.

(27) By Pulgaraland is meant the extensive kingdom of Bulgaria of those times, which extended to both sides of the Danube, and comprised the modern Bulgaria and Wallachia, with part of Moldavia and Besarabia. The Bulgarians were probably a tribe of Turkifh origin, which dwelt on the other side of the Wolga in Capan, where they had their metropolis called Burgan, but afterwards, together with the Huns under the command of Attila, made nearer approaches to the domains of the Greek emperors in Europe, where they created a new state on the North side of Mount Heusus.

(28) Greeland (or Griekenland, as the people of the northern countries called it) is the dominions of the Greek Byzantinian Emperors.

(29) Wifeland is the tract of country that lies on the Wiffe, or Vifula (in modern German Weifel) consequently it is principally great and little Poland.

(30) Dacia therefore, in all probability, is not Moldavia and Transylvania, as has been supposed; for these countries are somewhat more to the southward. But, indeed, the bearings here laid down, may likewise, in such distant regions, very well be supposed to differ a point or two from the real situation.

(31) The Gotten are the Goths, who for some time inhabited Dacia. As there were a famous nation in history, King Alfred was willing, at least, to point out one of their dwelling places.

(32) The Delamenfan, or Delamenfan, are a people frequently, by the writers of the middle ages, termed Dalmatians. This, to show that tradition, they sometimes wrote Damatianis. The people and race here alluded to, were situated in the environs of Lommasch, or as the Slavonians called it, Blommasch, Glemmasch. Consequently it was round about Meiffen on both sides of the Elbe, that the Dalmatian fled.
are the Horithi (33), and North of the Delamanian are the Surpe (34), to the West also are the Syfelri. To the North of the Horithi is Maegthaland (35), and North of Maegthaland is Sermendi (36) quite to the Riffin (37) (or Riphæan) Mountains.

To the South-west of Dana is that arm of the ocean that surrounds Brytannia, and to the North is that arm of the sea which is Off Sea, to the East and to the North are the North Dene, either on the continent or on the island, to the East are the Alfricha; to the South is the mouth of the Elbe, and some part of Old Saxony (38). The North Dene have, to the northward, that same arm of the sea which is

(33) The Horithi, or Horiti, are a Scalian people, with whom we are unacquainted; though I should be apt to conjecture that the part of Germany in which they resided was somewhere about Gorlitz, or else near Quaritz, not far from great Glogau; for to the North of the Delaminians lay the Sorbs, of Lower Lusatia.

(34) The Surpe, or Surpi, are easily distinguished; in fact, they are the Scalian Scalianians, or the Serbi, Serhi, and Sorbi of the old writers of chronicles. The modern Wends of Lusatia call themselves Serbs, or Sorbs. As the Delaminians lived on both sides of the Elbe, to the North-east of Moravia, and towards the East were bounded by the Horithi in Upper Lusatia, the Sorbs must necessarily be the same with the Wends of Lower Lusatia; and the Syfelri at Scyfelgh are, according to Alfrid’s account, only to the westward of the Sorbs of Lower Lusatia.

(35) It is not possible that Maegthaland should be the terra faminarum of Adam von Bremen, as the reviewer in the Gottingen Philosophical Library affirms it to be. For, 1. If the word Maegthaland be supposed to be a termination or terra faminarum, or Kuenland, it is evidently a mistake; for this in the Anglo Saxon dialect would be Wismanaland. 2. But supposing it to mean Maidenland, still it is wrong; for in this case it would be written Midenland, and not Maegthaland. 3. We are to look for this same Maegthaland directly to the northwards of Upper Lusatia and Lower Silesia, and consequently in Great Poland, and not near the Elbe of Adam von Bremen. Perhaps, indeed, the name of this country is wrong spelt, and it should be Wartenland, as it is situated on the banks of the Warte. But this is mere conjecture in.

(36) (37) Sermendi is the mistitulated and disguised name of Sarmatia, a mere falsa and disguise for ignorance, like the Riffin Mountains, or Riphæan Mountains of the ancient geographers.

(38) In order to understand the following passages clearly, it will be necessary to be previously acquainted with the point of view from which Alfrid makes his survey. Here it seems to be on the Eider. To the South-east of the British Channel in the East and North are the North Denes. To the East are the Oustrites, and to the South is the mouth of the Elbe and Old Saxony.

Called
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.

called Off Sea. To the East is the nation of the Offi; and Asfredre to the South. (The Offi have, to the North of them, that same arm of the sea) so are the Winedas and the Burgendas (39). And (fhill more) to the South is Haefidian (40). The Burgendas have this same arm of the sea to the West, and the Sveen to the North; to the East are the Sermende, to the South the Surfe (41). The Sveens have to the South the arm of the sea called Offi, and to the North, over the wastes, is Cwenland, to the North-west are the Scrode-Finnas (42), and to the west the Northmen (43).

Observe

(39) Burgendas is without doubt the island of Bornholm; far from Burgendholm (or Burgenda Island) it has been gradually altered to Burgendh, Burgen, and at length to Bornholm. Pliny refers the Burgundines to the Nindii in the North of Germany. Lib. iv. c. 14.—Mamertinus says in Gennadilaco, c. 17, that both these nations were nearly exterminated by the Goths. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xxvii. cap. 5, informs us, that they had often been at variance with the Alamanni on account of the salt springs at Halle on the Saale. After the havock made of them by the Goths, they seem to have betaken themselves to this island for refuge, which therefore took its name from them. They were governed by a king of their own. Farther on, Wulfilan very plainly describes the same situation to this country.

(40) Here we must again remind the reader, that it is necessary to know King Alfred's point of view in order to understand his description. He must now be supposed to stand in the isle of Zealand. In the north is the arm of the sea, by him called the Off Sea; to the east are the Offi, who consequently lived in Prussia, as will be shewn still plainer a little farther on. He does not mention Sconen; for this belonging to Denmark, is naturally included in it. There is nothing, therefore, nearer to the eafward than Ethonia. To the South of Zealand is the country of the Obertines. Now comes a parenthesis, in which the king says, that this same arm of the sea is likewise to the north of the Offi; and then proceeds to mention the Wends and inhabitants of Bornholm, being situated to the south of the Danes, at least of those that resided in Sconen; and a good distance farther to the southward is Harwdian, which in this place is very properly spelled with an H.

(41) Now Alfred takes a new point of view. Bornholm has to the west of it the sea, to the northward the Sueones, to the eafl behind Ethonia are the Saxnoians, and behind the Wends above-mentioned and the Havellanders are Serbian Scavonians.

(42) The Scrode-Finnas. The Geographer of Ravenna, so early as in his time, makes mention, in book iv. chap. 13 and 46, of the Patrici Rerum NVrum and Sirdistifum, which latter he likewise calls Scrode-Finnis. Perspe in Hist. Goth. L. ii. p. 261, calls them Scrodefinni, and places them so far distant as Thule. Jordanus de rebus Geticis, cap. 3, speaks of the Cresefini, of whom there are three different nations: and Paulus Diaconus, in his Hist. Langob. L. i. cap. 5, terms them Scrodefinni and Scrode-
Obthere (44) told his lord (King Ælfric) that he lived to the North of all the Northmen. He quotes that he dwelt in that land to the northward, opposite to the West Sea; he said, however, that the land of the Northmen is due North from that sea, and it is all a waste, except in a few places, where the Finns (45) for the most part dwell, for hunting in the winter, and in the summer for fishing in that sea. He said that he was determined to find out once on a time, how far this country extended due North, or whether any one lived to the North of the wastes before mentioned. With this intent he proceeded due North from this country, leaving all the way the waste land on the starboard, or right hand, and the wide sea to the Baechbord, or left. He was within three days as far North as the whale.

Note: Adam von Bremen: Consequentilv King Ælfric's orthography is apparently just. According to Adam von Bremen they lived, In terius Saxorum vel Nordmannorum terra Boream. They therefore bordered both on Sweden and Normannaland. They were extremely swift, and indeed more so than the wild animals of the country.

Obthere affirms, that they took their name from the word which, in this barbarous language, signified to spring or leap; as by means of a chariot piece of wood, formed with great art, they leaped forwards with such swiftness, that they overtook animals in their flight. One cannot here help immediately recognizing the large saw bow, or schreit-bowe. In use at present in many of the most northern regions of Europe. Hence it was that these people were called Schreit-Finnaders; according to the universal testimony of authors; they lived by hunting and fowling.

(43) Here again is another point of view for the determination of the situation of the Sueones, or Swedes. To the south they have the Off-Sea, or Baltic; towards the east the Sarmatians in Livonia, and the country since called Ethonia; to the north, beyond the Defen, is Garland, the modern Finland, and to the north-west are the Finlanders who live entirely by hunting, or the Sved-finnaders; and lastly, to the north are the Northmen.

Obthere gives a great man from Norway, and, as some affirm, from Osefjord, or, as is reported by others, from Nordland, which complicates the extremity of Norway towards the North; he undertook a voyage of discovery towards Permien, and another to Sweden; both of which Ælfric here describes from Obthere's own mouth. This is extremely accurate and authentic, and entirely in the style of those times, when so many of the Normans went abroad in search of adventures. Both these voyages, together with that of Wulfstan, are the best accounts we have of the middle ages in the north of Europe, and throw a great light on geographical science.

(45) Obthere calls the inhabitants of this Desert Finnes, and in fact it appears, that the modern Laplanders are really Finlanders; and that the name of Laplanders was not bestowed on them till of late years; the Danes still calling this country Finmark.
whale-hunters ever go, and then proceeded in his course due North, as far as he could sail within another three days, whilst the land lay from thence due East. Whether the sea there lies within the land, he knows not; he only knows, that he waited there for a west wind, or a point to the North, and sailed near that land eastward as far as he could in four days, where he waited for a due north wind, because the land there lies due South. Whether the sea lies within the land he knows not. Upon this he failed along this country due South as far as he could in five days.

Upon this land there lies a great river, at the mouth of which they lay to, because they could not proceed farther on account of the inhabitants being hostile, and all that country was inhabited on one side of this river, nor had Othbire met before with any land that was inhabited since he came from his own. All the land to his right, during his whole voyage, was a desert, and without inhabitants (except fishermen, fowlers, and hunters), all of whom were Finnas, and he had a wide sea to his left (46). The Beormas (47), indeed, had well-peopled their country, for which reason Othbire did not dare enter upon it; on the other hand, the Fennan (48) land was all a desert, except when it was thus inhabited by fishermen and fowlers.

(46) The track of Othbire's voyage is traced out in the map, where the figures shew the number of days he was in sailing from place to place.

(47) The Beormas are the Biarmiers of the northern writers, and the country of Perm is still mentioned in the title of the Emperors of Russia. After this expedition of Othbire, many more Normans went to Biarm in search of adventures.

(48) Fennanland is mentioned as being different from the country of the Scite Finnas. We have already seen just above (42) that Guido of Ravenna had so early as in his time distinguished them into Rerofonis and Scritifoni; the latter lived entirely by hunting, for which purpose in winter they made use of Schrit or snow-shoes; while the former subsisted on their rein-deer. The word Rerofonis in Ravenna, should therefore certainly be written Relesfanas; and in the text here Relesfanas, or perhaps (from the circumstance of these people residing and journeying in sledges) Relesfanas (from the word Fara, in German Fahre, signifying to go in a carriage of any kind, to travel). For Othbire tells us, in fact, that the Finnas had rein-deer, and made use of decoy-deer, in order to catch the wild ones.
Voyages

The Beormas told him many particulars about their land, as well as of the other countries near them; but Ohthere could not rely upon their accounts, because he had not an opportunity of seeing with his own eyes; it seemed, however, to him, that the Beormas and the Finns spoke the same language. He went the rather, and shaped his course to each of these countries, on account of the horse-whales, because they have very good bone in their teeth, some of which he brought to the king, and their hides are good for ship-ropes. This sort of whale is much less than the other kinds, it being not longer commonly than seven ells; but (Ohthere says) that in his own country is the best whale-hunting, because the whales are eight-and-forty ells long, and the largest fifty; that he has killed sixty-six in two days.

Ohthere was a very rich man in such goods as are valuable in those countries (namely, in wild deer) and had, at the time he came to the king, six hundred tame deer, none of which he had purchased. This nice strictness of Ohthere, not to mention any thing to which he had not been himself an eye-witness, is, as it were, a pledge to us for the authenticity of the rest of his relation, and makes the whole the more valuable and respectable.

It is highly probable, that the Biarmians were a branch of the great Finlandish flock; for they even had a God Tama, which is the name of the Finlandish Deity, and they were rich and in possession of gold and precious stones; they moreover had fixed and settled habitations, and consequently were not wandering herdsmen or hunters, like their neighbours, the Finlanders. The identity of their language likewise (according to the testimony of Ohthere) with these latter people, is a proof of their Finlandish origin.

The hide of the sea-horse is even at this day made use of in Russia, particularly for coach-harness. They have one defect, and that is, that when they are wet, they give, astonishingly, more, indeed, than any leather I ever saw.

King Alfred very properly terms the sea-horses whales; as in fact they belong to that class of animals, which are aquatic, or viviparious, suckle their young, and have a warm blood.

The expression in the original is unbehvitra, i.e. never offered for sale, or unboought. There is a peculiar simplicity in this expression, perfectly according with the manners of the patriarchal ages. Abraham's riches (besides his cattle) consisted, likewise, in 318 servants, none of which he had bought, but who were all born in his own house; in like manner, Ohthere, though in a much poorer country, was in possession of 600 deer, all of which he had brought up himself, having neither bought nor caught any of them.
besides this, he had six decoy rein-deer (54), which are very valuable amongst the Finns, because they catch their wild ones with them.

Othoere himself was one of the most considerable men in those parts, and yet he had not more than twenty horned cattle, twenty sheep, and twenty twine; and what little he plowed was with horses. The rents in this country consist chiefly of what is paid by the Finns (55), in deer-skins, feathers, whale-bone, and ship-ropes, made of whale hides, or thole of seals. Every one pays according to his subsistence; the wealthiest pay the skins of fifteen martens, five rein-deer, one bear's-skin, ten hampers (56) full of feathers, a cloak (57) of bear's or otter's-skin, two ship-ropes (each sixty ells long) one made of whale's and the other of seal's-skin.

Othoere moreover said, that Northmanna-land was very long and narrow, and that all of the country which is fit either for pasture (58) or plowing is on the sea coast, which, however, is in some parts very rocky; to the eastward are wild moors (59) parallel

(54) Decoy rein-deer must doubtless be highly valued among a people that lived by hunting, and on the flesh and produce of these animals. In India they have elephants of this kind, which have been trained up to catch the wild ones. [See a circumstantial account of this in The Life and Adventures of John Christopher Weif, with a Description of Ceylon, lately published.] In the same manner, likewise, almost every butcher in London has a weather, which goes regularly to meet the sheep just brought home from the market, and industriously leads them into a slaughter-house under ground; whither having, by frequently leaping in and out, enticed the whole flock, he at last leaps out once for all, and leaves his new acquaintance to the murderous knife of the butcher.

(55) The term made use of in the original for this tribute is Gafel, whence the French word Gébel. But this shews, that so early as towards the end of the 9th century, the Normans had compelled the Finns to pay them tribute.

(56) In the original, ambra. Laugebeek has a long note on this word, which he explains by the amfora of the Latins. Mr. Barringtou has translated it bussels; but in my opinion, both of them are mistaken; as I rather suppose it to be the same with the modern English word Horse, in old English, Hansper, which is derived from bandle-bear.

(57) Kyrtil in the original. In German, kuestel, or cloak.

(58) Orig. Eran. (59) Mors, moor, a black turfy soil. It is well known that in Lapland and Finland there is at present a great number of these uncultivated moors; and the Flora Lapponia itself gives abundant proof of this circumstance.
to the cultivated land. The Finnas inhabit these moors, and the cultivated land is broadest to the eastward (60), and grows narrower to the northward. To the East it is sixty miles broad, in some places broader; about the middle it is perhaps thirty miles broad, or somewhat more: to the northward (where it is narrowest) it may be only three miles (from the sea) to the moors, which are in some parts so wide, that a man could scarcely pass over them in a fortnight, and in other parts, perhaps in six days.

Opposite to this land, to the South, is Sweoland (61), on the other side of the moors; (quite to that land northwards,) and opposite to that again to the North, is Cwenland. The Cwenas sometimes make incursions against the Northmen over their moors, and sometimes the Northmen on them; there are very large fresh meres (62) amongst the moors, and the Cwenas carry their ships (63) over land into the meres, whence they make depredations on the Northmen; their ships are small, and very light.

Oththere said also, that the shire (64) which he inhabited is called Halgoland, and that no one dwelt to the North of him; there is like-

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(60) To the Eastward: so in fact it stands in the original: but it is very plain that it should be to the South; and particularly if one has the map of Norway before one, one sees at a glance, from the form of the country, that no other word can be used here than South: besides this, it is just afterwards opposed to northwards; and consequently there can be no doubt but that it is a mistake of the copyist.

(61) This passage is very obscure. Thus much however is evident, viz. that between Oththere's dwelling-place in Halgoland and Sweoland, which lay over against it in the south, there were large, extensive moors; and farther, that opposite the most northerly part of Sweoland, was Cwenland, i.e. Finland. These Cwenas, or Finlander, did not join immediately to Northmanna-land; but the moors of the desert tract were interposed between these two countries.

(62) A lake, or large collection of fresh water, is still called Mer in the north of England; and the same word is here used in the same sense by Alfred.

(63) These portable ships, which were so small and light, must doubtless have been mere boats.

(64) In the original, Steir.
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.

wife a part of this southern land which is called Sciringes-beal (65), which no one could reach in a month,

(65) The name of this place has given a great deal of trouble to former commentators on Æthelred, viz. Sir John Spelman, Buffleau, Soutner, John Phill. Murray, and Langebeck, who have all chosen spots totally different to place Sciringes-beal in. Spelman and others look for this place near Danzig, where, in their opinion, the Scyrs formerly resided. But first, the spot where the Scyrs lived, is by no means determined; and next, it is evident that Othere went continually along the coast from Halgoland to Sciringes-beal, and that this latter was to the left of him during the whole passage thither. The late Mr. Murray places it at Skæror; but I cannot think this to have been five days voyage from Hathum, in Jutland, as Othere says it was. Langebeck is for carrying it to Kongabelle, on the Gotland, near Markland; and affirms, that the name of this place is written wrong, and that for Sciringes-beal we should read Szigingebéal. If this word occurred indeed but once, I would allow Langebeck to be in the right; but, in fact, we meet with it five times in the space of a few lines; and each time it is written, without the least variation, Sciringes-beal; on which account it does not appear to me at all probable, that it should be spelt in any other manner. Adly, the voyage from Halgoland to Kongabelle is not sufficiently extensive to take up a month to accomplish it. Adly, Kongabelle is too near Jutland, to require five days for making the trip, as Othere says it does. Having demonstrated the insufficiency of these conjectures, it is now incumbent on us, in our turn, to point out where Sciringes-beal actually is situated. Paul Warenfried, in his Hist. Langbord, lib. i. cap. 7 and 10, makes mention of a district, called Scirunga, in which the Wini, or Lombard, resided for some time, and are they removed to Mouringe, and from thence till farther on to Gotland, Antsher, Bethaib, and Fungundaib. Now this Scirunga seems to have been the district in which the port of Sciringes-beal was. This Scirunga was not far from Gotland; consequently it was somewhere in Sweden. Add to this, that Othere, having expressly described Suedland as being to the southward of the place of his habitation, immediately afterwards says, "There is a part in this southern land which is called Sciringes-beal." By this he seems to indicate very plainly, that this place is no where to be sought for but in Sweden. But all this will appear still more evident, if we take the pains to follow the track of his voyage. First, he has Ireland, i.e. Scotland to the right of him; as likewise the isles which lie between Scotland and Halgoland, viz. the Sheeland and Orkney isles; but the continent is constantly to the left of him, quite till he comes to Sciringes-beal. But farther, a large bay stretches to the northward, deep in that country, along the coast of which he kept continually falling; and this bay commences quite to the southward of Sciringes-beal. It is so broad that a man cannot ice across it, and Gotland lies directly opposite to it. But the sea, which extended from Zealand to this spot, goes many hundred miles farther up in the country (that is to say, to the eastward). From Sciringes-beal, Othere could go in five days to Hattham, which lies between the Wends, Saxons, and Angles. Now, by means of this voyage, we are enabled to determine with still greater exactness the situation of the place we are in search of. In order to get to Hattham from Sciringes-beal, he left Gotland to the right, and soon afterwards Zealand like-wise, together with the other islands, which had been the habitations of the Angles,
month, if he lay to at night, though he had every day a fair wind; during this voyage he must sail near the land, on his right hand would be Ireland (66), and then the islands which are between Ireland and this land. For this country is to Sciringes-heal, all the way on the left. As you proceed northward, a great sea to the southward of Sciringes-heal, runs up into this land; and is so wide, that no one can see across it. Gotland (68) is opposite on the other side, and afterwards the sea of Sillende lies many miles up in that country. Oththere further says, that he failed in five days from Sciringes-heal, to that port which men call Haethum (70), which is between the Winedum, Seaxum, and Anglen, and makes part of Dene.

When

gles, before they landed in England; while those which belonged to Denmark were to the left of him for the space of two days. Sciringes-heal consequently is in Sweden; at the entrance of the Gulf of Bothnia, which runs up into the land northward; just on that spot, where the Baltic passing by Zealand, spreads out into a wide gulf extending several hundred miles into the land; if one goes to Jutland from Sciringes-heal, one must of necessity pass by Gotland. Now just here it is that I find the Swia-Sceirnes, or Swedish Sibirs (clutter of little islands surrounded by rocks). Heal, in the northern languages, signifies a port, as in such places a ship may be kept in safety. Sciringes-heal therefore was "the harbour in the Sibirs," and was probably at the entrance of the Gulf of Bothnia, and consequently where Stockholm now is; and the tract of land before which the Sibirs lay towards the sea, was the Seurage of Paul Warnefried.

(66) Ireland, says Elfred; yet he means that country which we now call Scotland; and a little farther on he mentions our modern Ireland in these terms: Igerne, that ear Scotia haxat. This shews therefore, that the people removed from the one country to the other, and populated them alternately.

(67) As I have already remarked above, that Oththere here means the land along which he had hitherto been sailing; this word is of great service towards determining the situation of Sciringes-heal, and besides shews the situation of the two bays which here begin to separate from each other.

(68) Gotland is without doubt the island of Gotland, as may be seen more plainly in Wulfstan's Voyage to Trulo. It cannot therefore mean Jutland, as Langebeck affirms it does.

(69) Elfred calls the sea which reaches from Zealand to Gotland the Sillende Sea, and after having made mention of that arm of it which runs out to the northward deep into that land, along the coast of which he had hitherto sailed, farther says, this sea extends yet many hundreds miles farther in the same direction in which he had sailed from Zealand to it, viz. from west to east.

(70) This port of Hothum has given-Elfred's Commentators a great deal of trouble. However, they are all agreed in affirining, the place that is here meant, to be Sifjar, as this latter is called Haithby by the Anglo-Saxon Ethelweard. A Norwegian poet gives it the name of Hlythbat,
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.

When Ohthere failed to this place from Sciringsheal, Denmark was on his left, and on the right was a wide sea for three days, as were also two days before he came to Haethum, Gotland, Sillende, and many islands (those lands were inhabited by the Angles before they came hither); and for two days the islands which belong to Dene were on the left.

Wulfstan (73) said, that he went from Haethum to Truo (74) in seven days and nights (the ship being under

...skæde, and others write it Heydeke, and by Adam of Bremen, it is called Heideke; this in their opinion is Haethum; yet it appears to me that the difference between Haethum and Haethum is not so very inconsiderable; neither indeed is it possible for this place to be Slefwic, as the situation of it does not accord with that of the spot described by Ohthere and Wulfstan. In fact, if Slefwic be Haethum, I must confess, that I cannot in the least comprehend the track of the voyage of either of these ancient navigators. Ohthere tells us, that in failing from Sciringsheal to Haethum, he had Denmark to the left, and the open seas for the space of three days to the right, but that for two days before he reached Haethum, he had Gotland and Zealand to the right, and the islands which belonged to the Danes, to the left. But had he been going to Slefwic, he would have found all the Danish islands lie to the right hand of him, and not one, besides Fennira, to the left. Now, I beg leave to enquire, how can this situation of Slefwic be made to correspond with Haethum? The very same may be laid with respect to Wulfstan's Voyage; though indeed this situation attributed to Slefwic is rather more applicable to Haethum. But now I will take the liberty of supposing, that, as in the district of Aarhus, there is an extensive tract of land called Albeide (for it is in fact a heath); the present town of Aarhus (in English zoo-baze) is new, and in the 9th century lay higher up towards Albeide, or Albeide; and consequently the harbour may at that time have had the name of Albeide, or Haethum. So that if Ohthere set out from Stockholm, Gotland was to the right of him, and he was Zealand; and he fell between Zealand and Funen, in which case all the Danish islands were to the left hand of him, and he had the Strabger Rock and the Cattogat, a wide sea, to the right. Further, when Wulfstan went from Aarhus, or Haethum, to Truo, he kept Wesestland (not Wiesland), i.e. Funen (or Fionia) to his right hand; and to the left were Langeleand, Læsland, Falster, and Suene, as well as Braeholm, Bliking Mose, Oeland, and Gotland. But Wendeendland, remained to the right hand of him, quite to the mouth of the Vistula.

(71) King Alfred says here, in express terms, that the English, before they came to England, had resided on the Danish islands. Consequently it is impossible that Engler on the Weser, which was a posterler date, should have been the primitive country of the Angles.

(73) The strongest possible proof that Slefwic was not Haethum, arises from the consideration that, were that the case, the Danish islands must, with respect to those that were going to Haethum, have lain to the right hand; whereas Ohthere says, they lay to the left.

(73) Wulfstan appears to have been a Dane, who, perhaps, had become acquainted with Ohthere in the course of his expedition, and had gone with him to England.

(74) There is at this time a lake between Elbing and Prussian Holland...
under fail all the time) that Woonahlund (75) was on his right, but Langaland, Laelund, Falster, and Scomeg, on his left, all of which belong to Denemcarcan (76). We had also Burgendaland, on our left, which hath a king of its own. After having left Burgendaland, the islands of Biving-eg, Moore, Essland, and Gotland, were on our left, which country belongs to Sueon (77); and Woonahlund (78) was all the way on our right, to the mouth of the Wifie (79). This river is a very large one, and near it lies Witelant (80) and Woonahnland, the former of which belongs to Eftan, and the Wifles does not run through Woonahlund, but through Eftmere (81), which lake is fifteen miles broad. Then runs the Ilting (82) from called True, or Draufen, from which, probably, the town he mentioned, which stood on the banks of the Frisck Haf, took its name.

(75) We have before in two different places, in the notes remarked the difference between Woonahlund and Woonahlund, the first of which is in all probability Fuelien (Funen or Fienia,) which place, is still called Yen.

(76) That Woonahlund is not Wendeland, appears from the observation of Wulffian, that all these countries belong to Denmark, which could not be said of Woonahlund.

(77) The countries here mentioned, which all belong to Sueon, or Sweden, have need of a few remarks by way of elucidation. By Biving-eg is certainly meant Bleikinger, or Bleking; and the I must have been left out in the hurry of transcribing: this Bleking, conformably to the custom of many writers in those times, he calls an island. Moore is without dispute, the Upper and Lower Mether in Smailand, Eppingland is Orland, and Gotland is doublets the Island of Gotland, and not Juland, as Langebeck affirms it to be in a note to a passage where it occurs above; for all these countries were provinces of Sweden.

(78) Woonahlund, or Woonahlund, extends to the mouth of the Wifla; and is, evidently, a peculiar and independent country, and different from the Woonahlund of the Danes.

(79) Wifie is the Scul conscious orthography; rather Wistra. The Germans, on the other hand, call this river the Wischel, the Prussians, Wiesel; by other nations it is called the Wifla.

(80) Wieland is a tract in Samland in Prussia, which was celebrated for the amber it produced; and at the time of the crusades it was called by the same name, as is manifest from two different ancient records. The word itself is a translation of Beliki, i.e. the White-land.

(81) The Eftmere is (as we may perceive from the termination of the word) a lake of fresh water, into which the Elle and Wifla empty themselves. It is at present called the Frisich-Haf, or fresh-water sea. Haf in the Dutch and Swedish languages signifies sea. In some places it is above
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH. 71

(82) from the eastward, into Estmire; on the bank of which stands Truss, and the Ilfing flows from Eastland into the Estmire from the East; and the Wisle from Weonoland from the South; the Ilfing having joined the Wisle takes its name, and runs to the West of Estmire, and northward into the sea; when it is called the Wisle’s mouth (83). Eastland is a large tract of country, and there are in it many towns, and in every town is a king (84); there is also a great quantity of honey and fish, and the king, and richest men drink mare’s milk (85), whilst the poor and the slaves use mead (86). They

three German miles broad; and this assertion of Alfred’s, who reckons by English miles, is perfectly accurate and just.

(82) Ilfing: indisputably the name of the river Elbing, which flows from Lake Dransfur or Truss, (vid. 7.4) and by one of its arms joins with that arm of the Vitula called Neugat, or Negat, and both thus united, empty themselves into the Haf, while the other arm runs into the Haf by Tilsit.

(83) Every thing that Alfred here mentions concerning the situation of that part of the world, incommodiously shews, that he had his intelligence immediately from the mouth of one who was perfectly well acquainted with the place. The Ilfing comes out at Esthonia, yet not from the East, as Alfred says it does, but from the South. Excepting, indeed, that he means that arm of the Elbing which runs into the Vitula or Neugat. But the Vitula comes out of Wendenland from the South; and, the two rivers having disembogued themselves into the Haf, this latter stretches, no doubt, from West to North, that is in a North-east direction, and at Pillau goes into the sea. It is possible, that this, as well as the western arm, may have formerly borne the name of Wilmesland, or the mouth of the Vitula.

(84) This account of the state of Prussia at that time, while under the Esthonians, who had already built many cities there, each of which had a chief (or as he terms it, a king,) is perfectly consonant to the condition in which it was found by the adventurers in the crusades many centuries afterwards.

(85) This piece of intelligence, that the richest persons of the country were content with mare’s milk, at the same time that the poorer fort of the slaves drank mead, is extremely singular. If, however, we consider, that this mare’s milk was not barely milk, but milk which had undergone a kind of fermentation, and was transmuted into a species of brandy, such as the inhabitants of the desert plains of Asia Medea drink in great quantities, calling it Kamfis, while they distinguish their double-distilled brandy by the name of Arrack; if, I say, we take this into consideration, we shall find it easier to conceive why the principal people of the land only had the prerogative to get drunk with brandy, while their subjects drank nothing but mead. For we know that it has been, and is still, the constant practice with all rude uncultivated nations, to leave to their
They have many contests amongst themselves, and the people of Eftum brew no ale (87), as they have mead in profusion.

There is also a particular custom amongst this nation, that when any one dies, the corpse continues unburnt with the relations and friends (88) for a month or two, and the bodies of kings and nobles lie longer (according to their respective wealth) sometimes for half a year, before the corpse is destroyed; and it continues above ground in the house, during which time drinking and sports last, till the day on which the body is consumed. Then, when it is carried to the funeral pile, the substance of the deceased (which remains after their drinking-bouts and sports) is divided into five or six heaps (sometimes into more) according to what he happens to be worth.

superior the exclusive privilege of intoxicating themselves whenever they please. It is only the men of rank, among the Turks, Perfsian, and Malays, that make use of opium; it is only the people of quality among the Cagheiteans who intoxicate themselves with the juice of the root of the Awa, a species of pepper; and it is only the principal Thuktschis that can get drunk with the infusion of the inebriating fungus, purchased from the Russians. *Adam of Bremen* (paragr. 138.) says, that the ancient Pruffians ate horse-flesh, and drank the milk of their mares to intoxication; and *Peter of Dalmkburg* (paragr. 60.) relates of these people, that at their feasts, they drank water, mead, and mare's milk.

(86) Mead, even so early as in their times, had the name of Mead in Anglo-Saxon; in the Lithuanian tongue it is called Middus; in Polish, Mie; in Russian, Med; in German, Mib. Hence it appears probable to me, that mead is a beverage of great antiquity, as the name by which it is known is exactly the same in languages of so different an origin. With these it is perhaps worth while to compare the Greek verb παρασταμαι, *intoxicate*. I must once more repeat the general remark I made before, viz., that Wifhtan must have been very well acquainted with the country. Abounding, as it did, in forests of lime-trees and in lakes, Prussia had a profusion of the finest honey and fish; and the towns, horse, cloths, weapons, drinking-bouts, and games of its inhabitants evince, that they were not ignorant of agriculture, and that they were in a tolerably flourishing state, and had arrived at no contemptible degree of cultivation.

(87) King Alfred observes, that these drinking bouts occasioned many frays. He also gives a reason, why the Ethioptions brewed no ale, which is, that they had such a vast abundance of honey, that it was easier for them to make mead than to brew beer.

(88) That the ancient Prussians burned their dead and buried them together with their horses, weapons, cloths, and valuable possessions, appears from a treaty concluded through the mediation of the Archbishop of Liege, in quality of the Pope's Legate, between the German Knights and the newly-converted Prussians, wherein the Prussians expressly promise never in future to burn their dead, nor bury them with their horses, arms, cloths, and valuables.
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.

There heaps are disposed at a mile's distance from each other, the largest heap at the greatest distance from the town, and so gradually the smaller at lesser intervals, till all the wealth is divided, so that the least heap shall be nearest the town where the corpse lies.

Then all those are to be summoned who have the fleetest horses in that country, within the distance of five or six miles from these heaps, and they all drive for the substance of the deceased; he who hath the fleetest horse obtains the most distant and largest heap, and so the others, in proportion, till the whole is seized upon. He procures, however, the least, who takes that which is nearest the town; and then every one rides away with his share, and keeps the whole of it; on account of this custom, fleet horses are extremely dear. When the wealth of the deceased hath been thus exhausted, then they carry the corpse from the house to burn it, together with the dead man's weapons and clothes; and generally they spend the whole wealth of the deceased, by the body's continuing so long in the house before it is buried; and by what is laid in heaps on the road, and is taken away by the strangers (89).

It is also a custom with the Eftumi, that the bodies of all the inhabitants shall be burned; and if any one can find a single bone unconsumed, it is a cause of anger. These people also have the means of producing very severe cold, by which the dead body continues so long above ground without putrefying; and if any one sets a vessel full of ale or water, they contrive that the liquors shall be frozen, be it summer or winter.

The part of King Alfred's Geography, of which we have here given a translation as literal as could be done consistently with the different genius of both languages, without dispute constitutes, with relation to the state of the North of Europe in the 9th cen-

(89) It is easy to perceive, that this power, so much admired by King Alfred, of producing cold either in summer or winter, by which the putrefaction of dead bodies was prevented, and beer and water were frozen, was the effect of a good ice-cellar, and this every Prussian of any consequence had in, or else hard by his house.
VOYAGES AND

tury, a record of the utmost importance. As Æl-
fred in his youth had been in Rome, whither, even
at that early period, zeal for the Christian religion
carried people from every country, he might in all
probability have collected in that city the materials
for his Geography, and his other historical acqui-
sitions, which in those times of deplorable ignorance
and darkness, give him a very high rank among
writers. This fragment likewise is a confirmation of
what we have before advanced, viz. that the voyages
and predatory expeditions of the northern pirates
have very much contributed to the illustration of
Geography and of the History of Nations.

The art of navigation too was in those days held
in great esteem by the people of the North. Amongst
them it was even considered as peculiarly praise-
worthy, to understand the structure of a ship, and
the best method of constructing it so as to be strong
and firm, and at the same time a quick failure; and
as smith was an appellation peculiarly appropriated
to every one that wrought in metals, all artizans and
handicraftsmen went likewise under the same general
denomination; and accordingly a man of the name
of Torsten, was, on account of his great skill in ship-
building, called the ship-smith. The direction of a
ship by means of oars, and dexterity and perfe-
verance in rowing, were in those days considered in
so advantageous a light, that King Harold Hardrada,
and Earl Ragnwald, lord of the Orkneys, prided
themselves greatly on their superior skill in handling
the oar. Rowing, however, was not the only meth-
od they had in those ages of getting a vessel forward
in its course. They had likewise fails withal; and
their manner of using them makes them deservedly ce-
brated. Most of the people of antiquity, who were
famous for navigation, made use of fails but seldom,
and that only when the wind blew directly at their
backs, so that they could sail with a full wind, or
right before the wind. If the wind blew hard, and
somewhat sideways, they were obliged to run im-
mediately into a harbour, which indeed in a sea like
the Mediterranean, is very easily done. But the
numerous
numerous and extensive voyages of the Normans on the Great Ocean, particularly to England, the Orkneys, Ireland, Gaul, and even into the Mediterranean, sufficiently indicate, that they knew how to use their sails, even when they had only a side-wind. It does not appear, however, that this great art of setting the sails of a ship according to the wind was generally known in those times; as, of such as did possess it, it was affirmed, that as soon as their vessels had their lading, they had only to set their sails, and set off directly without troubling themselves in the least from what quarter the wind blew. This property was attributed to the ship called the Drache Uffamaut, and to Freyer's ship the Skybladner, in the Edda, and in Torfjen's Vikingsons Saga. It was supposed, that this was effected by torceny; though, in fact, it proceeded from nothing more than a certain degree of skill and dexterity in setting and shifting the sails, founded on experience and mechanical science. This way of failing with the wind half or almost quite contrary, or as it is called by the mariners, near the wind, is in reality one of the greatest and most ingenious inventions made by man. As the mariner's compass has 32 points from which the wind may blow, which have been distinguished by peculiar names; and from which, to the wind blows it, is in the power of the mariner to avail himself of one and the same wind, to carry him to twenty different points or quarters of the globe; so that, the six points excepted which are on each side of the line of direction in which the wind blows, he is able to fail with this wind on any other course.

* The compass is a magnetic piece of steel, which is movable in a circular direction, on the point of a very sharp needle, within a conical cap to this piece of steel, in order to make it still more useful, is affixed a circular paleboard, on which are delineated the 32 different winds or points of the compass. Now the magnetic needle, constantly pointing to the North Pole, the compass, fastened to it, retains its position, notwithstanding the alterations that may be made in the ship's course; and as the box, containing the compass, is placed directly before the man at the helm, who stands with his face turned towards the prow.
This important science, with respect to ordering the sails, must either not have been very general, at least not known in Othser's time; for we read in his voyage to Biarmien, that he was obliged to lay so long at two different places expressly for the sake of waiting for a better wind; and he names in express terms the wind, which would serve him for sailing with full sails. On the other hand, the opinion that was then harboured concerning magical ships seems to prove the skill of their pilots, or conductors, in relation to managing the sails, so as to fail likewise near the wind.

The construction too of the northern vessels was totally different from that which was followed by the Greeks and Romans in theirs. The ships of the northern nations were built of the stoutest oak that could be procured, and were made with high forecastles and poop, those of the Mediterranean, on the contrary, were low and flat, and were chiefly impelled by means of oars; the whole of their structure too, seemed much lighter than that of the vessels used by the northern nations. The ships of the northern people, appointed for long expeditions, were likewise covered at the top; while those used in the Mediterranean were covered at top in a few particular cases only. For which reason the Roman writers, whenever there were any covered ships in a fleet, never fail to inform us of this circumstance, and to

...
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.

discriminate with great care the number of these from that of the open vessels.

All the advantages here enumerated of the mode of navigation in use among the northern nations, joined to constant practice, gave these restless people a great aptitude to, as well as inclination for, a sea-faring life. The immense riches, which most of their adventurers had acquired both by stratagem and violence in their piratical expeditions; the same attendant on the performance of valorous actions at sea; their religion itself, in the very texture of which was interwoven a love of intrepidity and personal courage; and, lastly, the expectation of a delightful reward in a future life for such as died in battle, who with Olbine in Valhalla, drank mead and beer, poured out to them by the beautiful Valkyriurs, in horns and the skulls of their conquered enemies, and feasted on the roasted flesh of the wild boar Scrimmer; all these circumstances principally contributed to spirit up the northern nations to undertake the most dangerous naval expeditions; consequently they sallied out, animated by the most daring confidence, wherever they had the least hopes of acquiring glory. The greatest dangers, nay, death itself, far from deterring, on the contrary, rather seemed to excite them to accomplish their desperate undertakings. For which reason these people were sometimes seen to attempt things, the very idea of which would have terrified others. As they were continually employed in navigation, it naturally followed, that many of their ships were cast away on entirely foreign coasts, coasts which they had never seen before, and of which neither they nor their cotemporaries had ever heard the least mention made.

Thus the first discovery of Iceland was, as we have seen above at page 50, to be attributed to a mere accident of this kind. But the population of this island was effected by the continual migrations of the people thither from the neighbouring countries. The Shetland Islands, which by the people of the North were constantly called the Hiataland Islands) together with
with the Orkneys, as likewise the Soderoe or Western Islands, and the Faroar or Ferro Islands, were subjugated by Harold, King of Norway, in consequence of his finding that the peculiar turn of that age for piratical expeditions exhausted his kingdom of his subjects, who used to settle on these islands in order to carry on their depredations. Upon this he gave Rognwald Earl (or Earl) of Moore and Raundel, the Orkneys and Hialtaland to him and his heirs for ever, as an Earldom (Jarlrik) without tribute: and the latter made a grant of it as a mesne fief to his brother Sigurd. But he dying soon, and his son Guthorm not living long after him, the Earldom devolved to Rognwald’s son Hallad, who became so odious to his father on account of the drollines of his nature, that he bequeathed the Earldom of the Orkneys to his bastard son Eynar, from whose posterity, likewise, the latter Earls of the Orkneys are actually descended.

It was about this time that the enterprizes of certain Normans in Russia took place. Oskold and Dir went with a party of their followers along the Dnieper down as far as Kiou, where, at this time, the Chazars, a Turkish race, maintained the sovereign sway over the Scavonian inhabitants. Here they now laid the foundations of a new state, which, however, was afterwards united with that of Novgorod.

One of the numerous sons of Rognwald, Earl of the Orkneys, Hrolf by name, having in defiance of King Harold’s prohibition, harasled the coasts of Norway by frequent depredations and ravages, had been consequently banished from Norway. Upon this he repaired to the Soderoe, where there resided a great number of malcontents and fugitives, and having ingratiated himself with them, conducted them, A.D. 876, along the coasts of England and Germany, to the mouth of the Seine. Here he found the throne filled by the Carlovinian race, but the country at the same time so much weakened by the imbecility and inactivity of its rulers, as well as by its internal divisions, that it was by no means difficult for him to
to ravage and lay waste a great part of it in the most cruel and barbarous manner. But he soon, together with his train, discovered that it would answer much better to them to seize on a considerable part of it for themselves, and make it their constant residence. Finally, after a great many battles, truces, treaties of peace, and infringements of these treaties, they were at length acknowledged as the rightful owners of a large tract of this country; and Hroff, or (as the French called him subsequent to his being baptized) Robert, in 912 received the Duchy of Normandy from the hands of King Charles, by way of fief, and espoused Charles's daughter, Gisla. By his first wife he had a son called William, who succeeded him in the throne, and from whom the Norman kings of England descended, as did the kings of Sicily and Naples of the Norman race from a near relation of his, the conqueror Tancred.

The Normans continued to establish themselves in Ireland, and to gain ground in the North of England and of Scotland, perpetually harassing all these countries by their depredations. But in the year 982 or 983, on occasion of the banishment of an offender, a new country was discovered. Among other petty sovereigns, King Harold had brought one of the name of Thoror under subjection. His great uncle Thorwald had lived at the court of Earl Hayne, and had been obliged to fly on account of a murder he had committed; and accordingly went to Iceland, where he settled a considerable tract of country with a new colony. His son Eric Raude, or Redhead, having been persecuted by Eyolf Saur, a powerful neighbour of his, on account of Raude's having killed some of the latter's servants, his revengeful spirit at last prompted him to kill Eyolf likewise. This, and other misdemeanors he had been guilty of, obliged him likewise to quit his country. He knew, that a man of the name Gunbiorn had discovered the banks called Gunbiorn's Schieren on the western side of Iceland, but likewise still more to the westward a country of yet greater extent.
extent. Being condemned to banishment for the space of three years, he determined upon making a voyage of discovery to this country. Soon after he had set sail, he saw the point of land called Hefts Nefs, and after failing a little longer to the South-west, entered a large inlet, which he called Eric's Sound, and passed the winter on a pleasant island in the vicinity of it. The following year he explored the continent, and the third year returned to Iceland, where, with the view that a considerable number of people might be induced by his representation of matters, to resolve upon going to this newly-discovered country, to which he gave the name of Greenland, he bestowed the most lavish praises on its rich meadows, its wood, and its fisheries. Accordingly, there set out for this place 25 vessels, laden with people of both sexes, household furniture, and cattle for breeding, of which vessels 14 only arrived safe. These first colonists were soon followed by more, as well from Norway as Iceland; and in the space of a few years their number increased so much, that they occupied not only the eastern, but likewise the western part of Greenland; and, indeed, they were so numerous, that it was supposed there were almost enough of them to form the third part of a Danish Bishop's diocese.

This is the common account of the first settling of Greenland, and it rests on the credit of the Northern Historian and Icelandic Judge, Snorra Sturlefon, who wrote this account in the year 1215. But others assail, that Greenland was known long before this time, and for confirmation of what they advance, appeal directly to a Bull of Pope Gregory IV. and to the Letters Patent of the Emperor Lewis the Pious, the latter of which is dated in the year 834, but the former in 835. In this Patent, as well as in the Bull, permission is granted to the Archbishop Ansgarius, to convert the Sueones, Danes, and Scelvionians; and it is added, the Norwahers, the Parrisers, the Greenlanders, the Halfinger-landers, the Icelanders, and the Scridevinds. Now this necessarily

nece-
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.

necessarily implies, that all the countries here mentioned must have been already known previous to the years 834 and 835; and what is yet more, that Iceland was at that period known by the name it yet bears, though it is universally allowed, that it was at first called Snowland by Nadodd, its discoverer. (Vide pag. 50). Here, then, there appears an evident contradiction. We see very plainly, however, that, supposing both the Charter and Bull to be genuine, the words Gronlandon and Islandon should in all probability be read differently, and perhaps Quenlandon and Hitlandon. By the former is meant Finland; and Hitland, or Hialtaland, is the name of the Shetland Islands. By adopting this alteration the whole difficulty is unravelled; but it may likewise, not without reason, be doubted, whether possibly all the names of nations inserted after the "Sueones, Danes, and Sclovonians," have not been interpolated at a later period: as St. Rembert, the immediate successor of Ansarius, and who wrote his life, mentions only the names of the Sueones, Danes, and Sclovonians, whom Ansarius was allowed to convert; together with other nations situated in the North*. It is therefore not improbable, that some conceited copyist, at a later period, was defirous of making particular mention of the people, who might appear to him to be comprised under the description of other nations situated in the North, and therefore very sagaciously adds, the Norwahers, Farriers, Greenlanders, Haltingalanders, Icelanders, and Scridevinders; without once reflecting, that in St. Angarzus's time the Greenlanders and Icelanders had not been discovered. So that the authorities of St. Rembert and Snorro Sturlefon, remain firm and unshaken, maugre these falsified copies of the Papal Bull and Imperial Letters Patent; and we may rest assured, that Iceland

was not discovered before the year 861, nor inhabited before 874; and that Greenland was hardly discovered previous to the year 888, or 889, or inhabited before 892. The former of these countries appears at that time to have had wood upon it. Nay, a comparatively modern writer even speaks of an orchard, which the Monks of St. Thomas endeavoured to keep in good order and increase its fertility by means of a warm spring which they carried through it.

The passion which the Normans had always manifested for making discoveries, still prevailed among them even in the cold regions of Iceland and Greenland. An Icelander, of the name of Herjolf, was accustomed, together with his son Biron, to make a trip every year to different countries, for the sake of trading. About the year 1001 their ships were separated by a storm. Biron being arrived at Norway, heard that his father Herjolf, was gone to Greenland. Upon this he resolved upon following his father thither; but another storm drove him a great way to the south-west of his track. In consequence of this, he descried a flat country, covered all over with thick woods; and just as he set out on his return, he discovered an island likewise. He made no stay at either of these places, but hastened as much as the wind would allow him to do, which had now fallen greatly, by a north-easterly course to Greenland. Here this event was no sooner known, than Leif the son of Eric Redhead, who had an inordinate desire to acquire glory, like his father, by making discoveries and founding colonies, fitted out a vessel, carrying 35 men, and taking Biron with him, set out for this newly-discovered country. Having set sail, the first land he saw was rocky and barren. Accordingly, he called it Helleland, or Rockland. Upon this he came to a low land, with a sandy bottom, which, however, was overgrown with wood; on which account he named it Markland, or Woody land. Two days after this he saw land again, and an island lying before the northern coast of it. Here was a river, up which they failed. The bushes on the banks of it bore
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.

bore sweet berries; the temperature of the air was mild, the soil fertile, and the river well stored with fish, and particularly with very fine salmon. At last they came to a lake, from which the river took its rise. Here they determined to pass the winter, which they accordingly did; and in the shortest winter day, saw the sun eight hours above the horizon: this therefore supposes that the longest day (exclusive of the dawn and twilight) must have been 16 hours long. Hence again it follows, that this place being in the 49th degree of north latitude, in a south-westerly direction from Old Greenland, must either be the river Gânder, or the Bay of Exploits in Newfoundland, or else some place on the northern coast of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Here they erected several huts; and they one day found in the thickets a German of the name of Tyrker, who had been missing, making himself very happy at having found grapes, from which, he told them, in his country they used to make wine. Leif having tasted them, from this circumstance, which appeared to him very remarkable, called the country Winland dat Gode; i.e. the Good Wine-country*. In the following spring they returned to Greenland. This occasioned Thorwald, Leif's brother, to take a trip thither with the same suite as he had done, in order to make farther advances in this new discovery. Having explored the land that lay to the westwards, the next summer he investigated that which lay to the eastwards. The coast was covered with wood, and beset with islands; but they could neither perceive a human creature, nor indeed animals of any kind upon it.

The third summer after they examined the islands, where, on a point of land they damaged their ship to such a degree, that they found it necessary to build a new one, and the old vessel was laid up on the

* It is true that grapes grow wild in Canada; but, though they are good to eat, yet nobody has ever been able to make any tolerable wine of their juice. But whether these wild grapes are to be found as far to the eastward as Newfoundland I cannot say. The species of vines which grow in North-America, are called by Linnaeus, Vitis labrusca, vul- fina et arborea.

G 2 promontory,
VOYAGES AND

promontory, which for that reason they called Kialer Nesf. Then they once more examined the eastern shore, and now they discovered three boats covered with leather, in each of which there were three men; these they seized: but one man found means to get off, the others were all wantonly and cruelly murdered by the Normans. Soon after this, however, they were attacked by a great number of these people, with bows and arrows. A fence made of planks screened them in their ships against them, and they defended themselves with so much spirit, that their enemies having given them battle for the space of an hour, were obliged to decamp again. To these original inhabitants of the country, on account of their being very short in stature, they gave the name of Skraelingr, i.e. cuttings, or dwarfs. Thorvald, who in the skirmish had been dangerously wounded by an arrow, died, and over his tomb on the promontory were placed two crosses, agreeable to his request, which promontory obtained from this circumstance the name of Krofa-nesf. His companions passed the winter in Winland, and in the beginning of the spring returned to Greenland.

In the same year, Thorstein, the third son of Eric Raud, set sail for Winland, with his wife Gudrid, the daughter of Thorbern, his children and servants, amounting in all to 25 souls; but they were by a storm cast on the western shore of Greenland. Being obliged to spend the winter there, he, as well as many more of his retinue, died, probably of the scurvy. In the spring, Gudrid took the corpse of her deceased husband home.

Thorfin, an Icelander of some consequence, surnamed Kallfener, and a descendant of King Ragnb-Lodbrok, married the widow Gudrid, and thereby thought himself intitled to the possession of the newly-discovered country. Accordingly, he set out for Winland with a vast quantity of household furniture and cattle, and with 65 men, and 5 women, who begun to establish a re-

a region fitted them before and his name was Thorfin, who after the last account in the Roman Samogites, was fifth among. The most of all, willing, Thorfin, however, having now the country from the third part, threw them Normans here in other Greenland of a great fortune, fortunate to Iceland, house four, he had put out his deceased, and engaged in her for me as for the

The eminence, was of the same, Mr. Brander, rca, by name, who was present, wrote a very, i.e. Hauke.
a regular colony there. They were immediately vi-
visited by the Skraelings, who began to barter with
them. From the circumstance we have mentioned
before, viz. that these people were of a low stature,
and had boats covered with leather, it seems probable
that they were the ancestors of the present Eskimaux,
who are the same people as the Greenlanders, and in
the language of the Abenaki are called Eskimanaus, on
account of their eating raw fish; in like manner as
the Russians in their official papers of state called the
Samojedes Sirojci, because they also eat raw frozen
fish and flesh.

The natives gave the Normans in exchange, the
most costly furs for other wares. They would also
willingly have bartered for their weapons, but this
Thorfin had expressly forbidden. One of them, how-
ever, found an opportunity to steal a battle-axe, and
having made trial of it immediately on one of his
countrymen, whom he killed with it on the spot, a
third person seized this mischievous instrument, and
threw it into the sea. In three years time, the Nor-
mans having got a large stock of very rich furs and
other articles of merchandize, Thorfin returned to
Greenland. The riches he brought home, created in
a great many of his countrymen a desire to try their
fortunes in Winland. At length Thorfin went back
to Iceland, where he built himself a very elegant
house on an estate of his, called Glaumba, which he
had purchased in the northern part of Syssel. After
his decease, Guadrid his spouse made a voyage to Rome,
and ended her days in Iceland, in a nunnery, which
her son Snorro, who was born in Winland, had found-
ed for her.*

* The descendants of Snorro, Thorfin's son, were people of some
eminence in Iceland; for Thorlak, the son of Runolf, a nephew of Snor-
ro, was in the year 1119 made Bishop of Skalhall. Thorluk's son,
Brand, was Bishop of the same place in 1163. A descendant of Snor-
ro, by name Briet, was also a Bishop in Iceland, and to the same digni-
ty was promoted Hauk, an Icelandic judge, who lived in 1156, and
wrote a Topography and Chronicle of Iceland, which is called Hauklof,
 i.e. Hauku's book, after the name of the author.
After this Finbog and Helgo, two Icelanders, fitted out each of them a ship, carrying 30 men, with which they made a voyage to Winland. They took along with them Freidis, a daughter of Eric Raude; but by her turbulent disposition the occasioned manifold divisions and quarrels in the colony, in one of which, Helgo and Finbog were killed, together with thirty men. Upon this Freidis returned to Greenland, where she lived universally despised and detested, and died in the greatest misery. The remaining Normans were dispersed; and it is probable, that their descendants were still in being for a long time after, though nothing farther positive was heard concerning them; for it is said, that A.D. 1121, about 100 years after the discovery and first cultivation of the land, Bishop Eric went from Greenland to Winland, in order to convert his countrymen who were still heathens. From this period we have no more intelligence with respect to Winland, and it is highly probable, that the tribe still existing in the interior parts of Newfoundland, which differs remarkably from all the American Savages as well in shape as in their manner of living, and lives in a state of constant enmity with the Eskimaux residing on the opposite northern coast, are descended from those ancient Normans.

Now it appears from hence, that the ancient Norman people were, strictly speaking, the first discoverers of America, and that, in fact, nearly 500 years before the discovery of it by Christopher Columbus in the year 1493, and before the discovery of Newfoundland by Sebastian Cabot in 1496. And, as it has long been a contested point, who were in reality the first discoverers of America, it is to be hoped, that this circumstantial detail of the discovery of the ancient Winland will meet with the reader's excuse. The facts themselves have been collected from a great number of ancient Icelandic manuscripts, and have been handed down to us by Thormond Thorfaeus in his two works intitled, Veteris Gronelandiae Descriptio, Hafnia, 1706,
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.

in 8vo, and *Histo[ria Fin]landiae Antiqua, Hafnia, 1705, in 8vo. We also find early mention made of the country called Winland, in *Adam von Bremen’s Church History,* p. 151; in like manner, very exact relations of these discoveries have been preserved in *Arngrim Jons’s Specimen Islandiae Historicum,* and in many other writings; so that it is hardly possible to harbour the least doubt concerning the authenticity of this relation.

The only intelligence we meet with posterior to these first discoveries, is, that when about the year 999, Leif, the son of Eric Raude, made a voyage to Norway, and was by King Olof Tryggeson persuaded to take upon him the Christian faith, he took Christian Priests over with him to Greenland, for the conversion of the remaining part of his countrymen. He landed there A. D. 1000, and his father, Eric, together with many people, went over to the Christian faith.

About 100 years after this, the Christian religion was diffused all over the country; upwards of 190 farms had already been laid out, with many small tenements on them; on the eastern side more than 12 churches and two convents had been erected; and on the western coast were built four churches. This great increase appeared to the inhabitants so considerable, that Sok, the nephew of Leif, having assembled the whole people at * Brettablid, where the Judge, or Lagmann, always used to reside, they were unanimously of opinion, that they might, with great propriety, have a bishop of their own; and, in fact, one Eric was pitched upon for this office; but it is supposed that, instead of going to Greenland, he went straight on to Winland, in order to convert the Normans, who were still heathens: however, nothing farther was ever heard concerning him. A learned priest, of the name of Arnold, was therefore, at the request of the Greenlanders, nominated Bishop by Sigurd, King of Norway; and, having been consecrated by the Archbishop of Lunden, in Schonen, went to Greenland. We have an account of about 17 of these Bishops; but the Skraelingars,
lingers, or present Eskimaux, began to shew themselves about the year 1376, and it is probable, that these people have at length extirpated the whole Norman race, particularly, as in the beginning of the 15th century, an entire stop was put to the navigation from Denmark and Norway to those parts. Neither was it possible to go thither from Iceland; for it is remarkable, that the whole eastern coast of Greenland is surrounded by ice-fields, which have lain there from time immemorial, and increase every year, and occasionally such cold weather, even in Iceland, that it is found to be at present far colder there than it was some centuries ago, when it was still possible to sow corn, and when forests were to be met with in many parts of the country. Even in Greenland there was a grove near the Bishop's residence, for the feeding of cattle, of which there are now no traces left in the whole western part of Greenland, which, however, is possessed of a milder climate than the other parts. These circumstances have been the cause that nobody has been able to approach, even from Iceland, the inhabitants, thus cooped up and imprisoned. To this must be added, that in the beginning of the 15th century, an innumerable multitude of people were carried off from the year 1402 to 1404, by the black death, as it was called, or the pestilence: so that, what with the diminution of their numbers, the want of assistance from Norway and Iceland, and the increasing cold, the Norman inhabitants were weakened to such a degree, that at last it became an easy matter for the Skraelingers to make war upon them, and to extirpate them. In this situation those countries remained till the beginning of the 16th century, when a new spirit for investigating the earth, and for geographical researches, burst forth in Europe, and was continually kept alive by the accounts of the great discoveries made by the Portuguese and Spaniards.
C H A P. III.

Of the Discoveries made by the Italians in the North, as well by Land as by Sea.

In general there were but two motives, which in these dark middle ages could induce people to undertake voyages to distant countries. In fact, it was a spirit of commerce and zeal for the diffusion of the Roman Catholic religion which imparted the courage and mental vigour necessary for great enterprises, to men whose spirits had been debased, and the energy of whose minds had been destroyed by superstition, aided by the pressure of despotism, and of the feudal system. Consequently it was self-interest and enthusiasm alone, that operated on the torpid and uncultivated minds of mankind in those ages.

In the north of Europe and Asia, barbarism predominated, and that not unfrequently combined with the most savage abuse of that authority, which superior force and power had thrown into the hands of the most rude and uncultivated nations. From the north-east of Asia numbers of savage hordes issued forth, one after another, and diffused inexpressible misery over the whole human race in all those countries, which had the misfortune to lie in their way. The bad form of government of the states in those times, without fortified towns, without any good military arrangements, without funds in the treasury, for supplying the expenses of their wars; together with the dismemberment of the small states, which were subject to petty Princes, unable to defend them, and the enfeebled condition of the greater, rendered their conquests but too easy to these encroaching destroyers of the universe. From the sea, which in the remotest east serves for a boundary to the coast of
of China, as far as the Oder and Danube, every thing was exposed to the ravages of these people, who, like a whirlwind, lay every thing waste before them; and from India and its mountains, quite to the Icy-Sea, the Moguls (for so these barbarians were called) were the universal and uncontrouled masters. The terror which those Moguls had spread every where, determined the Pope to endeavour to stop the progress of their irresistible power by ambassadors; and at the same time to inflame their minds against the Infidels, or Mahometans, in Palestine and in Egypt. The Emperor Frederic II, invited all the European Princes to oppose this torrent, which, in a manner, overwhelmed every country by the conjunction of their collective forces. But what served to protect the European states against the farther depredations of these savage conquerors, was on one side the disunion subsisting among the Chiefs of the Mogul tribes, and on the other, the following circumstance, viz. that the valour as well as the rapacious disposition of the great, was diminished by riches and voluptuousness. The ambassadors that were sent to the Mogul Princes, were all of them mere Monks, because they alone were able to bear the terrible humiliations, when such kind of messengers were made to suffer. The Moguls then believed, as the Chinese do at this present times, that all the ambassadors from other Princes, who, according to the eastern custom, brought them presents, were come merely to acknowledge their supremacy, and to submit themselves to their Emperor and Khan; and therefore they very frequently obliged those ambassadors to make submissions of a very extraordinary nature, and to go through a ceremonial, which was sometimes highly degrading to humanity.

Besides those Monks, some noble Venetians likewise, who however were carried thither merely by the desire of gain, went to the country of the Moguls as far as to the residence of the Khans. Finally, we have also some accounts of a few military men, who have penetrated a good way into the north-eastern parts of Asia, which are even as yet unknown.
known. All these relations are of very great importance for the purpose of bringing us acquainted with the north, and with respect to the history of the manners and characters of the northern nations. But our aim being merely to give a general sketch of the whole of the history of these people and countries, it is impossible for us to be so full and copious as the variety of objects presented my indeed require, but which would by no means correspond with our present plan.

Previous to mentioning the voyages of the monks in the North-east parts of Asia, we will make a few short remarks on the narrative of the travels of a Spanish Jew. He was called Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, a small town in Navarre. His father was Rabbi Jonas; and probably lived also at Tudela. On the strength of the testimony of Rabbi Abraham Zutut, a celebrated astronomer, and professor at Salamanca, who lived in the fifteenth century, it is supposed, that this Rabbi Benjamin travelled from 1160 to 1173, or thereabout, and wrote his travels afterwards. Young Barratier, that early literary genius, affirms, that Benjamin never made the journey in reality, but patched up the whole work from the writings of his cotemporaries. It is true, many of the incredible tales which he mentions, appear to be very strong proofs of this assertion: there are other circumstances which militate against it. For example; where he says, that he has heard himself from a certain Rabbi Moses, in Isphahan, a history of the unbelieving Turks. (Chap. xviii. &c.). The anomalies to be met with in his work, are to be attributed to the mistakes of the copyist, to his own want of memory, and to many other circumstances *.

* But these incredible tales are all in the taste of those times; and the other travellers of those ages, who are nevertheless believed to have travelled in reality, are quite as full of incredible relations. The whole difference is, that the tales which they relate are Christian tales, while these are Jewish. The others frequently take notice of the miracles of pretended Christian saints, and he, of those of Jewish Rabbis.
At the end of his travels he says, that Prague in Bohemia is the beginning of Selavonia. Then he speaks of the Russian Empire, which extends from the gates of Prague to the gates of Phin a large town at the beginning of the kingdom. In that country are the animals called Wai-regres וָיָּהָאָרָּס and Neblinatz נֵבְלִינָאָט. On the meaning of these words the interpreters are not agreed; but it appears clearly, that Phin is no other than Kiew, the capital of the Russian Empire at that time. We should therefore here read פִּין and indeed the interpreters, from the final nun being wanting, might easily have supposed, that this name ought to have been written differently. Now follow the names of the animals; Russia has ever been famous for its grey foxes, or grey squirrels; these in the Russian language are called Wjeworka; in the Hebrew text therefore, we should read וַיִּיָּהָאָרָּס Waiwerger, which is as nearly resembling the Russian as a Spanish Jew could possibly write it: and by the animals called נֵבְלִינָאָט Zeblinatz, are meant Sables, the skins of which, Jordanis had before him called Sapphilitas pelles. For they have ever been a rare and choice fur. Excepting this little, Rabbi Benjamin has nothing at all relating to this our northern part of the globe.

II. The news of the victories of the Moguls, who on one side of the Caspian Sea, under the command of Tufchi-Khan, the son of the great Zinghis-Khan, and under that of the son of Tufchi, Batu-Khan, advancing through Kiptchak, Russia, Poland and Hungary had penetrated into Silesia; while the same people on the other side of the Caspian Sea, had, under the command of Zagathai Khan, another son of Zinghis-Khan's and of his nephew Holaghu-Khan, made their appearance on the rivers Tigris and Euphrates. This news having reached the ears of Pope Innocent IV. he thought it advisable in the convocation held at Lyons, A. D. 1245, that some of the clergy should go as ambassadors to these formidable conquerors, partly in order to pacify them, and to turn their conquests to some other object, and partly
partly to endeavour if possible to convert them to the Christian faith, and to direct their arms against the Turks and Saracens. For this purpose six monks were pitched upon, some of whom were Minorites, and others Dominicans. John de Plano, or Palatio Carpini, an Italian minorite, with friar Benedict like-wife of the same order, as also brother Anselm or Anselm, brother Alexander, brother Albert, and brother Simon of St. Quintin, all Dominicans. Out of these, John de Plano Carpini, and brother Benedict, went to the North of the Caspian Sea, to Batu-Khan, and to the chief of all the Moguls, the Emperor Kajuk-Khan; but brother Anselm, with his assistants, brothers Alexander Albert, and Simon of St. Quintin, went to the South of the Caspian Sea, through Syria, Persia, and Khorasan, to Baiju-Nojon, or as the monks called him Bajothnoy. This latter expedition contains nothing instructive with respect to the northern regions; we will therefore keep to the expedition of John de Plano Carpini, who travelled through Bohemia and Poland as far as Kiow, and from thence to the mouth of the Dnieper to Korrenfa, a general of the Moguls. Finally, they crossed this river in winter when it was frozen, and set out to go eastwards over the Don and Wolga, to Batu-Khan. Having waited upon him, they were informed by him, that they must go to the Cuyne (as they called him) or rather to the Kajuk-Khan. They travelled therefore on horseback in the coldest weather, and many days without food, through the land of the Comanians, to the northward of which are, Russia, Bulgaria, and the Morduines, as also the Bajarki (or rather Baschkir's) who are in possession of Upper Hungary, and behind these are the Porfites* and the Samojades, who are said to have faces like those of dogs. To the South of the Comanians are

* Meaning, perhaps, the Pormofites, or Permiers, or, as the Russians call them, Perniska.
the Alanians, the Circassians, and the Chazars*; the Grecians, the city of Constantinople, together with the Iberians, Chattians**, and Brutaks†; then the lands of the Cythians‡, Georgians, Armenians, and Turks. Continuing now their journey, they came into the country of the Kangitta¶, who were all shepherds like the Comanians, and did not practise agriculture.

From the land of the Kangitta, they came to that of the Bisierini (i.e. Buremni, Musurmen, or Mahometan inhabitants of Turkestan) who in fact spoke the same language as the Comanians, but professed the religion of Mahomet. To the South of it were, Jerusalem, and Baldach, (Bagdad) and the whole country of the Saracens. To the North of it is Black-Kathaya (or Karakithai)§, in which the Emperor has built himself a palace. From thence they travelled for some days along a lake which was all the while on their left hand, and in which there were many islands. The Emperor being not yet formally elected and established on the throne, they could not yet go into

* The Alan's and Circassians are still the inhabitants of Caucasus, but what part of it they inhabit, and whether the Chazars, still inhabit those regions, I am entirely ignorant. In the time of the Emperor Constantius, Perspennes, A.D. 349, the Chazars lived in Crimea, near the mouth of the Kuban, and to the North of the Sea of Azof.

** This name is probably Kakti, a province of Gurgifian, or Georgia, which is called Iere Iberia.

† The Brutaks, or Brutachi, are probably still existing, for we find in the range of the Caucasus, innumerable remnants of small nations. In the original map of Caucasus, by Major General Fowndorf, we find, to the South of the Alanians, a people called Brutani, but as it is easy in the Russian language to confound the n with the k, it is very probable, that the name of this people should be Brutachi. In a note, it is added, that they are an independent people, and have a language of their own, as also silver and copper coin.

‡ Cythians. In all probability this should be the Cythians, or, as the word is generally written, Zibians.

¶ Kangitta; these people are also frequently called Kanghi, or Kankliis. They extend from the Jaff, or, as it is now called, Urak, to the Sirr, or Sirdaria; and their habitations extended even to the river Talas, or Talaf, and Ifshul. The country they lived in was an uncultivated desert plain.

§ Okaikan, or Ugodai Khan, built in Karakithai the town Omyl, or Chamyl.
his Horde. They went therefore to the land of the Naymans, who are heathens, and inhabit a very high, mountainous, and cold country, for in fact, it snowed there on the 29th of June. Then travelling on for three weeks longer, they arrived at length at the Cuyne's, or Kajuk-Khan's, who was then just going to be elected Emperor; where they were well received, and treated better than other ambassadors. Having had an audience of the Emperor, they were dismissed, and went back the same road by which they had come.

The country of the Tartars is in that part of the east which borders on the north, towards the east they have Kathay and the Solangians**: To the south the Saracens, to the south-west the Hairs (or Uighurs) to the west the Naymans and to the north the Great Ocean. The place where they waited on the Emperor was called Syra Horda.

They acknowledge but one God, the Creator of all things, visible and invisible; who distributes to all mankind rewards and punishments, according to their deserts. But they do not pay any particular worship to him. On the other hand, they have many idols made of felt (called in the Russian tongue Woelocks) which they fix up in their houses; some are even made of silk, and are more honoured than the others. To these they sacrifice some part of what they eat and drink, as also the hearts of the beasts they kill. In short, they seem to have professed the Schaman religion, which is an elder branch of that of the Bramins and of Dalai Lama. They were accustomed to leave those that were dangerously sick to themselves, and afterwards, when they died, to return and bury them, which the Calmucks still do at this time. They were polygamists, and had many virtues, but were not without their failings.

III. The views of the Moguls were merely to put the Christians off with fair words, and then, on the first opportunity that offered, to carry the war into their countries when they least expected it, and agreeably

** The Solanger are, without doubt, the very same nation with the Mandshurians, who are still to this day called Selianan.
96 

VOYAGES AND

to their constant custom, to ravage and destroy every thing they came near. In the years 1246 and 1247, another ambassador arrived from the Pope; who was also a Monk, and was named Andrew Lucumiels. But, notwithstanding this, the preparations for war against the Christians went on without interruption. The Emperor sent several troops against the people that had rebelled against him in Korea, and died soon after, having removed from Karakoruni, more westward to Kamfäki, by which means this design of his was entirely frustrated.

IV. To the new-elected Emperor Mangu Khan, who was chosen in the year 1251, and of whom it was reported in the west, that he had been converted to the Christian religion, King Lewis IX. of France, sent, in the quality of Ambassador, a Brabantine Friar, of the minorite order, by name William Ruyjbroek, otherwise called Rübrock, Rudruck, and Rubruquis.

Rübrock went from Constantinople by sea, to the Black Sea, to Gafaria (Crimea) to that part of Soldeya, which is otherwise called Sogdat, or Soldadia, and at this present time Sudak, to the westward of which is the town called Kerfona (Cherfone, or Cherfon) which according to Inkerman, is the modern Schurzi, or Gurzi, or Scherfon. But to the east, at the mouth of the Tanais, is Maricandis, and the town Matriga, or Materca*; for the Don, before it falls into the sea, forms yet another lake towards the north, the depth of which is not above five paces, while in length it is 700 Italian miles. To this Materca merchants go from Constantinople to buy dried fish, viz. Sturgeons, Thes, or Tunnies, and Barbels. Be-

* Maricandis and Matriga, or Materca, must be sought for on the shores of the Straits. The first name appertains to a village or island, which lies opposite to the Straits, and is at this present time called Tamenda. At the mouth of one of the branches of the river Kuban is the town of Temruck, which was formerly called by the Russians Tmutrakkhan, and by the Greeks, Tamatarcha; that is T-materca, or Materca, and Matriga. Some Russian Princes even had their residences in Tmutrakhani, Prince Miftjas, for instance the son of Vladimir the Great, and brother of Jaroslav I, was Prince of Tmutrakhani.
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.

Beyond the mouth of this lake is Zichia, which is not subject to the Tartars, and the Suevi (or Suani) and the Iberians. The whole country, from the mouth of the Tanais as far as the Danube westward, all is subject to the Tartars, and even beyond the Danube towards Constantinople. The whole of Walachia, which is the country belonging to Assan*, and the whole of Bulgaria, quite to Solinia, (or Solonoma**), pay them tribute.

Along these shores, between Karfona, Soldaya, and the mouth of the Don, there are many high promontories. But from Soldaya to Kerfona are about 40 castles, each of which has its peculiar language; amongst them are many Goths, whose mother-tongue is the German***. Going from Soldaya across the mountains, they came into a plain, where they found a forest, and where, near the land's end, there are stagnated salt-lakes, the salt of which crystalizes like ice, and was sold, by Sartach and Batu, at the rate of a waggon load, such as could be drawn by two horses, for two pieces of cotton stuff, or for one hyperborean, which is the value of about two dollars. Ships also take laden of this salt. Then he went across a fosse which is drawn at the end of Gazaria from one sea to the other (perhaps near Perekop). Upon this they travelled to the eastward on the north side

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* A.D. 1435, John Assan became King of Bulgaria, and reigned till 1441, when his son Kelman, succeeded him in the throne till 1445, and was in his turn succeeded by Assan's second son, Michael, who waged war against the Tartars, and against John Patarres. But how comes it then to pass that Ruybroeck gives Walachia to Assan, and not Bulgaria, the empire he inherited from his father, of which he nevertheless makes mention immediately after?

** By this probably is meant Thebalsenia, or Sabulica.

*** Ruybroeck is the first who spoke of these Goths in Crimea. After him, a Venetian, named Josaphat Barbaro, has made mention of them A.D. 1436, in his Viaggio alla Tana, parag. 20; and afterwards Bufocke spoke to some of these Goths, Ambassadors from the Crimean Tartary, A.D. 1565, and gives us a catalogue of words of their language. Upon this testimony of Ruybroeck depends the existence of the Castella Judorum, or rather Gothorum, which are laid down in some ancient maps of Crimea, and which even that respectable geographer, Father Danville, has admitted into his maps, and transformed them into Chateaux des Juifs.
VOYAGES AND
of the sea, and saw many Comanian sepulchres, and Kaptschak Comarians, who reached from the Danube to the Don, and to the river Etilia, or Wolga. Between the two last rivers, it is 10 long days journey more. To the north of Kaptschak-Comania is Russia, full of forests; this country is daily ravaged by the Tartars; and when the poor people have no more gold and silver left to give, they drive them away together with their children, like cattle, and make them tend their flocks. Beyond the Don, they found a people called Moxel*; the principal Lords of which the Tartars had taken with them to Germany, where they were killed. They are all heathens, and have a great quantity of hogs, wax, rich furs, and falcons. Then follow next to these, the Mervas, called in Latin, Merduas**, who are of the Mahometan religion. Farther on to the eastwards is the great river Etilia***, which is the largest river Ruyfroesck ever saw. It comes from the northward and from Great Bulgaria, and to the southward empties itself into a large lake, or sea, which takes four months to travel round its circumference. To the south are large mountains, which are inhabited by the Cergis†, or Kergis) and the Alanians (or Akas‡), who are Christians.

* Moxel is the name the Mervan call themselves by; these people therefore are probably the Moxel of Ruyfroesck.
† By these Merduas, or Mervas, are in all probability meant the Tschwosches, who call themselves Mari-Mari, or the people of Mari; but Ruyfroesck (in the same manner as Guaguins has done) very erroneously calls them Mahometans, merely because they do not work on Fridays, a practice which they probably learned from the surrounding Mahometan Tartars; for they themselves are all heathens.
‡ The river Wolga is called Ibel by the Tartars, the Tschwosches call it Ibel, or Atel, from which the word Etilia seems to be derived. Taken in its general signification, the word means a river; and this is in fact, as Ruyfroesck calls it, the greatest river in Europe.
§ The Cergis, or Kergis, are the same as the Tschwostschans, or Circassians.
† The Alanians are called by Ruyfroesck Akas, probably from Odigas (Adigas, Akas and Akas) But it is the Tschwostschans who call themselves Adigas, and not the Alanians. I find in the manuscript remarks of the late professor Thunman on Bergeron's collection of travels, which are to
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.

99

...and make war upon the Tartars. Towards the great sea, viz. the Caspian, are some Mahometans called Lefghi, who are tributary to the Tartars. Beyond these is the iron gate, (Der bend *) built by Alexander the Great, to hinder the irruption of the Barbarians into Persia.

Having travelled for seven days to the eastwards from the Don, they came at length to the camp of Sartach the son of Batu, and having had an audience of him, they went to the Wolga, three days journey, and in boats five days journey, down to the camp of Batu-Khan, on the East side of the river. They had an audience of him also; and soon after, having followed his camp for some time, they went with a Moal (Mogol) of distinction to the eastward, through the land of the Cangla, who are descendants of the ancient Romani (Komani), being previously provided with pelisses and boots of felt. Having travelled for the space of twelve days from the Wolga eastwards, they came to the river Jelag (Jaik, or Aral), which runs from the North out of the land of the Pacatir ** into the sea above-mentioned. The language of the Pacatirs is the same as that of the Hungarians. To the westward of them

* Of this pass and of the ancient wall, which runs from Derbent to the westward, Bayer treats in his Dissertation De Muro Caucasianæ, in the Commentar. Petropoli, tom. i, pag. 425, to 436.
** Pacatir is also written Bafchert, or Baschart. This country was the seat of the ancient Hungarian, or Madshars (Magyar). The B is often used for M, and vice-versa; so that Bafchert and Madshart seem to be absolutely the same. The Russians call the people that inhabit this ancient Bafchert, Baschtern.
is Bulgaria, but their country has neither towns nor villages of which none are to be met with from thence-forward, neither to the East, nor to the North; so that the Lesser Bulgaria is the last country in which there are any. From this land of Pafcatir, (Befschart, or Bafcart), came by the Huns, who are now called Hungarians, and consequently this is Great Bulgaria. It is reported of the Huns, that they penetrated through the Pafs of Alexander in the Caucasus, and mounted on their swift horses, laid waste every country as far as Egypt, and on the other side as far as France. They were still more powerful than the Modern Tartars (or Mogols), and were opposed by the Blas (Wlachs), Bulgarians, and Vandals. For these Bulgarians came from Great Bulgaria, and those beyond the Danube near Constantinople, as well as those near the Pafcatir, are the Blas, which is the same as Blas; for the Tartars cannot pronounce the B. Now from these are descended those who are in the country of Affan, For they are both called Blas (both these and the other) in the language of the Russians, Poles, and Bohemians. The language of the Selavonians is the same with that of the Vandals. All the Selavonians are connected with the Huns, and now they are also united with the Tartars. What I, viz. Ruyjsbroeck, have related of the land of Pafcatir, I have learned from the monks Predicant, who went thither before ever the Tartars came abroad; and from that time they were subjugated by the neighbouring Mahometan Bulgarians, and many of them became Mahometans *. Having travelled on to the eastward

* This important passage seems not to have been perfectly well comprehended by many people, nor made all the advantages of which it is capable of affording. As well the ancient and primitive Bulgarians, as also the Rebschartans, or Madsehart, seem to be either a nation which is descendent from a Turkifh tribe, but which having lived for a long time amongst, or in the vicinity of the eastern and northern Russian tribes, which speak the language of the Finlanders, have in consequence thereof adopted much of the language of those people, or else they are entirely of Finnish extraction; that is to say, they originate from the same people from whom the Finlanders, Ethomian,
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH. 101

from Holy-rood day, or the 14th of September, to All-saints day, or the 1st of November, they found that the people were already gone with their flocks to the South; they therefore directed their course to the southward over some mountains. In this journey they

Estonians, Laplanders, Livonians, Permians, Sarmatians, Voguls, Wotkins, Tchehemisiers, Mordwasians, and the Kondian Ottanks defend, as there is a great affinity between the languages of all these people. The Balchartians, Maffchar, or Balchkinsians, are descended from the Finlanders; but these, and the Tchoumakhs have adopted the languages of their conquerors, the Tartars. But Ruybroeck is certainly much mistaken, when he makes the Huns also proceed from the same stock. It must be owned, however, that tribes of very different and quite foreign nations went along with the Huns; even Goths, Slavonians, and Balchians; it is therefore not to be wondered at, that some tribes of Finlanders likewife, or even Turks, should have advanced with them in their predatory and devastatory expeditions to the western countries, as far as France and Italy. Of these tribes it was the Bulgarians (so called, perhaps, after their capital Bafkar, from which too afterwards, the great river Ael, or Eis, got the name of Wolga), and the Wallachs, or Wolchi, or Wfolgas, or Wolgars, (and consequently their name Bulgarians) which A. D. 489, settled on the north side of the Danube. The Vandals mentioned here, are indubitably the Wendi, or that tribe of the Sclevonians which opposed the Moguls and the Tartars who fought under the banners of the latter. Ruybroeck seems to confirm the conjecture, that the Bulgarians and the Wolga, or Wolchi, or Whals, or Iacs, are one and the same people. He says; "from Great Bulgaria come as well the Bulgarians beyond, the Danube, as also those near the Pascatir are the Iacs, which, however, is the same as Bafkar," (or in the manner in which the I is frequently pronounced, Whals). In fact, we should read here, "these are the Iacs." The original runs thus, "de illa enim Majoris Bulgaris venerunt illi Bulgari; et qui sunt ultra Danubium prope Constantinopoli, et juxta Vafkar sunt Iacs, quod ibidem est Bafkar." Here it is evident the bi should be supplied, and the passage should be read "bi sunt Iacs." But when Ruybroeck says, "that the names of these people in the Russian, Polonian, and Bohemian tongues is Iacs," he is much mistaken, for in all these languages it "must be, Whals, or Whalch; and even Nefor calls them Wolchi." The land of Afsan is Bulgaria on the Danube; consequently, he means only to indicate, that the Bulgarians who first settled on the Danube were Whalghians. The Bulgarians or Whalghians on the Danube, had an original language of their own, but having much intercourse with the Slavonians, Albanians, and Remans, this produced a jargon compounded of Albanian, Slavonian, and Latin, or of the lingua rufica, or language of the Romish peasants; this mixed language is still spoken in Wallachia. Before I end this remark, I shall only add, that probably in Germany and France, the custom of castrating horses was first learned from their eastern nations; for in French, a castrated horse or gelding is called an hangre, probably from the Hungarians: the German name for it is, Walsch, taken, as it should seem, from those Wallchians; and even in the Polish language a gelding is called a Whalch.
met with wild asles, called Kolon *, which resembled mules. At the end of seven days, they saw some very high mountains at a distance. Here they came into a plain which was well watered, and found the land cultivated. And soon after this they arrived at a town called Kenkat. The guides could not even tell Ruybroeck the name of the country. It was watered by a large river proceeding from the mountains: this river, however, did not discharge itself into any sea, but lost itself in the ground, and produced large marshes there. Here he saw vines growing, and procured wine to drink. The next day they came to another dwelling, nearer to that chain of mountains, which beyond the Caffian Sea, forms the Caucasus, and runs on to the eastward of it. He found here, that they had entirely passed by the Caffian Sea. Here too, Ruybroeck enquired after a town called Talas, in which lived some Germans, subjects of Bory, according to what he had heard from Friar Andrew. But he obtained no information concerning them till he arrived at the court of Manghu-Khan; and all he learned there was, that the town called Talas lay about six days journey farther in the mountains. At the court of Manghu-Khan he was told, that the Khan, with the consent of Batu, had placed these people at the distance of more than a month's journey to the East, where they wrought in the gold mines, and forged arms; so that he could not get to see them. It is true, in his road, he had got so near, as to be within three days journey of them, but he did not know it, nor, indeed, if he had, would he have ventured to go so far out of his road on this account †. From this last place, they went to the Eastward.

* The wild assles in these parts are still called Kolon, this therefore is a confirmation of Ruybroeck's veracity. Further particulars concerning these wild assles are to be found in the 2d vol. of M. Pallas's Northern Collections, (Nordische Beitrage) page 27, &c.

† It is evident, that the author went through the whole desert, from the Wolga to the Iark, or Ural, the Iambo, and the north of lake Aral, as far as the borders of Turkelian. The town of Kenkat is about

Eastward...
Eastward along the mountains before-mentioned, and came to the subjects of Mangbu-Khan, who paid great honours to the ambassadors of Batu, for Baut's people assume more consequence than the others, and do not obey so willingly. A few days after, they came into the mountains where the Kara-Khitaians had formerly dwelt; here they met with a large river, which they were obliged to cross in a ship. They then descended into a valley, in which they found the ruins of a castle, though the walls of it were only of clay; the country round about it was cultivated. Thence they came to a good town, called Equius: the inhabitants spoke the Persia tongue, and professed the Mahometan religion. The next day, having crossed the high hills which communicated with the great mountains to the southward, they arrived on a large and very beautiful plain, on the right of which was a ridge of high mountains, and on the left a lake 15 days journey in circumference. This country is watered at pleasure by the streams coming from the mountains, which at last flow altogether into this lake. When they returned in the summer, they went along the north side of the lake, where there were also very high mountains. In the above-mentioned plains there had formerly been many towns, but they had almost all been demolished, that the Tartars (i. e. Moguls) might graze their herds there; for about this spot there are the finest pastures for cattle. They found a large town called

about the spot where now Kafkhanat is situate. The rivers Yfchui and Talas, both of which are in that neighbourhood, lose themselves both in marly lakes. The country thereabouts is fertile and pleasant; and it is not unlikely that there was formerly on the river Talas a town of the same name. In fact, there is to the eastward, at this present time, the town called Blak, or Hanak, or Boulak, though not at so great distance from thence as Ruytioeck had been informed it was. These parts also produce good wines.

* The western Khitai conquered the countries round Turfan and Kafkhar, from the Ob and iris to the Amudaria (Oxus Gilton, Diamon); and Sirdaria (Javaries, Sirt, Sibon) and the country was called Khatan, after the conquerors of it; the Khatians, and, because the inhabitants were obliged to pay tribute to the Khatian, Kara-Khatan; in the cast, all small, insignificant nations that pay tribute, being called Kara, or black; while the free nations, on the contrary, are called white: the Russian Czar, for instance, is by the people of the east called the white Czar.
Kailac * (Cailac, or Calee), where there was a market, or fair, to which a number of merchants resorted. Here they waited a whole fortnight for a secretary of Batu's, who was to affist their guides in the dispatch of Batu's affairs at the court of the Khan. The whole of this country was wont to be called Organum, and they had a language, as well as written characters, peculiar to themselves. But it was altogether occupied at this time by the Kontomanni. The Neftorians, in their divine worship, were accustomed to make use of the language and written characters of this people. Here he likewise found the Neftorians mixed with the Hea-

* The whole of this country may be pointed out with the greatest exactness. For the large sea, or lake, mentioned by the author, is the Balcobafh Ner, or Palkofi, which, in the new large map of Russia, published in the year 1776, by the Academy of Sciences at Petersburgh, is and republished in Mr. Coxe's useful and entertaining Account of the Russian Discoveries, is called Lac Tengii, i.e. the Lake Sea; for Tengii, or Zenghin, signifies a sea or lake; and this sea is so large, that it is hardly possible to travel round it in less than 15 days. It is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ degrees long, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ degree broad, and consequently about 480 miles in circumference, which is at the rate of 32 miles per day; and there are, in fact, long days journeys, unless one has relays of horses. Into this lake several rivers discharge themselves, but particularly the Ili, not far from which the Kalmuck Langorian Khan used to pitch their winter camp (Urga) on the banks of the river Korg, or Harkai) in like manner as their summer camp used to be on the banks of the Teket, which ran weftwards into the Ili. All these rivers come from the Mur-Ten, or the Icy-mountains, and run together with the Ili into the Palkofi. By the town Zoqui is meant the Afis, situated on the river Teket. The town of Kailak is also to be found in the above-mentioned map, being there called Cilka, and placed on the banks of the Ili. The country called Organum, i.e. in my opinion, the Irgencken (or Irganek) of Abulgesh Bayadur Khan, vol. ii. cap. 5, for it signifies a valley, surrounded by steep mountains, which exactly answers to Ruybroeck's description of the country of Organum. The Kontomanni are people entirely unknown; neither can I any where find any traces of them. We must therefore endeavour to seek them out. They were certainly a Mogul tribe; for they were in the number of those particular subjects of Manghu Khan, who had dislodged the Kara-Kithians. The Moguls had long before extended to a great distance northwards along the banks of the Ob, Irifeh, and Iftim, quite to the ocean. The people of that tribe, which lived on the banks of the river Khonda, or Konda, were called Kontomanni, in like manner as the Turks were called Turkomanni. Now these Kontomanni appear in the course of time, and after the destruction of the empire of the Kara-Kithians, to have settled on the banks of the river Il, and of the lake Kalcobafh, or Palkofi. This river Khonda, or Konda, was afterwards added to the title of the Czar, in which we find inferred the province of Oboloria, a name derived from the river Ob, and that of Kindinia, from the Konda.
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH. 105

Then, of whom there are different species. But first are the jugurs, whose country is situated between the mountains above-mentioned to the eastward of Orgetnum. But in all the towns the Nestorians live promiscuously amongst the Mahometans, and are scattered every where up and down in the Mahometan towns as far as Persia. These Nestorians are Heathens, worship idols, and have paternosters, or beadrolls with about 100, or 200 beads on each; the words in which they pray, are, Ou Mam Faimau, i.e. "God, thou knowest it," as one of them explained it to Ruyfbroeck. They also believe that as often as they repeat this prayer, so often will God reward them. From these people it is that the Tartars or Monks have got their alphabet and mode of writing. They begin to write at the top of their paper, on the left-hand side, drawing their line downwards, and so go on repeating their lines from the left to the right**. Zinghis Khan gave his

* These Nestorians, who had several usages and customs corresponding with Christianity, but were at the same time idolaters, are undoubtedly professors of the Dalai-Lama religion. They have, like the Roman Catholic Christians, 108 beads, and their prayer is, strictly speaking, as follows: Hon-Mani-Pema-Hum. This is, in fact, the profession of faith of the followers of this religion; but neither signifies, as Ruyfbroeck assures it does, God, thou knowest it, nor, as the Physician Mitterfelmied supposed, God have mercy upon us; but the true and real import of it is, "that the Beginning and End of the higher magic, of Mani," who holds the flowers of the Lotus, who hears those who pray to him in these words, is propitious to them, and renders them happy. Vid. Alphabet Tibet. p. 900, &c. M. Pallas pronounces these words thus, Ome ma wae pad ma ebum. But it should rather seem that the d in pad is mute, and also that we should read, not ma wae, but, ma wi. They have rolls or cylinders, which they twirl round, for they turn on an axis, and have a weight fixed to them for the purpose of accelerating the motion, and they believe, that all the prayers contained on these rolls, are virtually, and to all intents and purposes, pronounced at each turn of the roll; and all the time they are twirling them, they continually repeat, Hem mani pema hum. It is possible, that the religion of Dalai Lama may partake somewhat of the Nestorian system of Christianity; but in fact it is a branch of the Brahminic and Schamanic superstitions; and has also for its foundation the Manichean doctrine of the two principles. Now Manes having attempted to incorporate this doctrine of the two principles with the Christian religion, it is no wonder, that in many points, the religion of the Manichean Christians accords with that of Lama.

** The Nestorian Christians undoubtedly penetrated as far as the north of China, and propagated the Christian religion there. They
his daughter to the king of the Jugurs, and the town of Karakorum * itself is in a manner within their territory; and the whole country of Prefler John, ** and of his brother Vut, lies round about their dominions. The Moals (Moguls) live in the plain pastures to the North, but the Jugurs in the mountains to the South. Between the same mountains, to the East of the Jugurs are the Tangutians. These are a brave, intrepid nation, and once took Zinghis Khan, but released him again. They have exceedingly strong oxen, the tails of which are bushy like those of horses, and which have also long hair along their backs and under the bellies; their legs are shorter, but they are much fiercer than other oxen; they draw the large houses of the Moguls, and have long, taper, and sharp horns,

made use of the Syrian character in writing, and it was this likewise which was first introduced into those countries. The characters and mode of writing of the Calmucks, Moguls, and Mongolians, are taken from the Uigurian, and these again from the Syrian. The Syrians also still continue to this day to write exactly as the Calmucks do. viz. they begin at the top, and draw a line down to the bottom, with which line the letters are in contact from the top down to the bottom of it; and to they continue to write one line after the other, at each line going farther on to the right, and carrying their writing from the top to the bottom; but in reading, the Moguls and Calmucks, in like manner as the Syrians, turn the leaf sideway, and read from the right to the left. This I have seen myself, during my stay in the great desert plain beyond the Wolga, where I was intimately acquainted with a great number of Calmucks, and enquired minutely into every particular relative to their religion and learning, their manners, their governments, and their Princes.

* This fame Karakorum is also called Karakara, Karakarun, Karakum, and by the Chinese Hulan. It was the capital of the Mogul Emperors, and was situated on the east side of the river, Orchen; for, notwithstanding that Danielle places this town on the Ongui Muren, yet Fischer's determination upon this point, in his Introduction to the History of Siberia, § 18, seems to me to be more just.

** Prefler John (or Priester Johann, as the Germans call him) is the Unchen, a word which has been strangely perverted and twisted, in order to make it form the name of Johann or John. He was Prince of the Noyman, and his name was Togrut; having served the Chinese against nations which had rebelled against them, he was dignified with the honorary title of Unch, or Ung, out of which was soon fabricated the appellation of Unchen, or Unchen. But how it comes to pass, that he is called a Christian, and even a Christian Priest, seems almost incomprehensible.

which
which the owners of the beasts are obliged to saw off. After the Tangutians come the people of Tibet, who used to eat their dead parents; but they have left off this custom, on account of their being held in universal detestation for it; nevertheless, they still make large drinking vessels of the skulls of their parents. There is much gold in this country. These people are very ugly; but the Jugurs are of a middle size like us.

The language of the Jugurs is the root and source of the Turkifh and Komanian languages. Behind Tibet are the people of Langa and Solanga, whose ambassadors Ruyfbroeck saw at court, each of whom had brought along with him more than ten waggons drawn by fix oxen. Behind these, are the people called Mus, who dwell in towns, and whose cattle are so tame, that they come entirely of their own accord when called, and allow themselves to be handled at pleasure, though they run about wild. Then comes Great Kathaya, the inhabitants of which, according to Ruyfbroeck, are the Seres of old, for from this country come the best filken stuffs, (Serica). The Seres are so called, from a town in that region, and in this country is a town which has walls of silver and ramparts or towers

* The Buffalo, here described by Ruyfbroeck, is the Colmack Buffalo, which used to be called Sarlack, and, in the language of Tibet, Jak. Since Aelian’s time, no one of the ancients, besides Ruyfbroeck, has given a description of these Buffaloes with long-haired coats and thick tails, which latter are used in the Indies as fly-flaps. Afterwards these animals were seen by Marco Polo, and now lately by Bpge, an Englishman, in this very country of Tibet. Vide Philosophical Transactions, 1777, Part ii. vol. 67, pg. 432. Finally, the best account we have of them, has been given by Fallis, in his Northern Collections, vol. i. pag. 1 to 28, plate i.

** The country and people of Tongut are by some authors, particularly the Arabians and Periwans, mistaken for Tibet the seat of Dalai Lama; but Marco Polo says, that Sichina, or Sechew, is situated in Tangut, or Tengut; in like manner, Khamil, or Khami, belonged also to Tangut; and so did Kampition, or Khanfcheeu. It appears probable, therefore, that the Tangut of Ruyfbroeck is the same with this. The land of Tibet is doubtless the modern Tibet, or, as it should in strict propriety be called, Butan. But of the countries of Langa and Solanga, lying beyond Tibet, I have not the smallest knowledge, but am apt to think that in Ruyfbroeck’s original manuscript the words were not “beyond Tibet,” but “beyond Tangut”; and in this case the countries here mentioned must be those of the Lamute, and Solimund, the parent stocks of the people now known by the name of the Mofthus, or Manifhurius.
of gold.* And many provinces of Great Kathay are not as yet brought into subjection by the Moguls. Between the great sea and them lies India. The Kathayans are of a low stature, and speak through the nose, and, like all the eastern nations, have small eyes. They perform works of great art and ingenuity, and have skilful physicians, who judge of diseases by the pulse. Ruyfbroeck saw many of them at Karakorum. Each father teaches his son his own trade. The Neftorians and Mahometans are also in Kathay, and are looked upon as foreigners, come from foreign parts. The Neftorians inhabit fifteen towns of the country of Kathay. Their Bishop resides in the city of Segin**. Here Ruyfroecck takes an opportunity

* The supposition that the Kathayans, or inhabitants of north China, are the same with the Seres of the ancients, seems to be without foundation. The Seres lived in Turkistan, Gezire, and Urgur. They were the people, who at that time ruled over a great tract of Asia, and probably had also extended their dominion over the northern part of China. The nation that bore the way had always the denomination of Golden given to it. Hence the golden horse of the Moguls on the Wolga; and hence the powerful Prince to whom the Moguls were subject, even before Zinghis Khan, was called Allyn Khan, or the Golden Khan. Hence, too, the Chinese call themselves Kin, i.e. the Golden or Sovereign Nation. In the language of Tibet, Ser means gold. *Vid. Ant. Georgii Alphabet. Tibet, Roma. 1762. pag. 654.* And hence perhaps Serkind was called the Golden India. The Seres were consequently at that time the sovereign, dominating, or golden people. Their capital bore the same name, according to Ruyfbroeck; probably this golden town is that part of Peking which is called Tje-kin, and contains the palace of the Emperor; and, as fabulous a found as these walls of gold and ramparts of gold may carry with them, it is nevertheless evident enough, that it is the appellation of Kin, or the Golden Town, which has given rise to these exaggerated reports of the fable.

Nov est de nihilo, quod publica fama fugitat, Et peram veri fabula sperat habe
t.

** This town of Segin is undoubtedly Sing, the capital of Sing, a province in the north-eastern part of China. Here, in the year 654, a stone was found with Chinese writing on it, but with Syrian letters round the edge, which mentioned, in express terms, that the Syrian Neftorians had already, in the year 656, sent Obemus to China, to preach the gospel there; that the Emperor Tai-fun-cross, had approved of this step, and had issued an edict, ordering that it should be preached all over China; that in the royal town of Inisfar, a church had been built; that A. D. 651, the Christian religion was known in all the provinces of China.
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH. 309

of relating many things concerning the Nestorian priests, their bigamy, ignorance, avarice, simony, drunkenness, &c. so that the morals and conduct of the Moguls and Tuinians*, though they are idolaters, are far more regular and exemplary than those found amongst these Christians.

Having quitted the town of Kailac, they came the third day after to the great sea or lake, which appeared to be as boisterous as the ocean itself; in the middle of it was a large island. The water was rather brackish, though potable. On the other side, between high mountains, was a large valley, and to the South-east another great lake or sea, connected with the first by a river**. The wind all the time was very violent, in some such that they were in danger of being blown into the sea. At the farther end of the vale there are seen, to the northward, mountains quite covered with snow. Having gone through these mountains, and through a dreadful pass, between rocks, they at last came to the country of the Naymans, who had formerly been subject to Prester John. They continued their route to China; that in 699 and 713 the Bongas had raised a persecution against the Christians; that A. D. 737 another priest, named Kirs, went thither from Taffin (Pernia) and that in 757, the Emperor Sa-lam-ora-mi, had built more churches, and his successors had continued to protect the Christian religion, and that in commemoration of all these events, this stone had been erected A. D. 782, in the second year of the reign of the Emperor Tam, in the time of the Patriarch or Catholica Hanwefur. This stone exhibits also an abstract of the whole Christian doctrine: The person that erected this stone styles himself a Choir-Bishop of Kandam (Nankin) the capital of the eastern empire. It is probable, that there reigned, likewise a Bishop at Sangn fu; so that the account given here by Ruybroeck, every way establishes and confirms the authenticity of this remarkable monument, which has been called in question by many even of our modern writers.

* The Oriental Christians give to Mani, or Moni, the name of Thé-
naw, and to his faith that of Al-Thénonaw, which word signifies the doctrine of the two Principles. Vid. Herbelin. Bibliothèque Orientale. The Tuinians of Ruybroeck are therefore no other than Manicheans.

** The above-mentioned second sea, or lake, situated to the south-east of the lake Fallof, or Balchaf, is likewise to be found in the great general map of the Kafian empire, published by the Academy of Sciences in 1776, together with another lake; of these, the second and third lakes are joined to each other by means of a river, and it is possible that the second and first also, agreeably to what Ruybroeck states above, may be united in the same manner.
the North, and after travelling some time, entered a large plain, which at a distance looked like a sea, for there were neither hills nor mountains to be seen, and the next day they came to the court of the great Khan*. But the tract of country which they had now passed over in five days, would, had they been guided by their landlord, have taken them up a whole fortnight, for he had proposed to take them round about by Onam and Cherule**, the first districts in the possession of Zingbis-Khan; but their conductor prevented this scheme being put in execution.

Manghu Khan, followed by his camp, went twice to the southward, and afterwards began to turn back again to the northward, that is to say, to Karakarum. From this first camp of the Khan, to Kathay, it is about twenty days journey to the south-west, and from thence directly East, is the real country of the Moguls, where (at the distance of about ten days journey) Zingis Khan's court-camp, or headquarters, used to be, viz. in Onam and Cherule, or on the banks of the Onam and Cherlon. In these countries there are no towns. Towards the North too, there are neither towns nor villages, but only poor shepherds called Kerhis (or Kirgis). There are also the Orangey or Orengey, who wear smooth bones on their feet, on which they run with such swiftness over the ice and snow, that they can even overtake the game they are in pursuit of. There are in the North yet more nations, who are poor and of no account, and who live in ancient Hungary, as far as to the Paf- cattirs.

* The residence of the Great Khan was not far from Karakarum, and M. Dauville places it on the river Onghis. But we have already observed, that Karakarum must be looked for on the east side of the river Orchen, at the entrance of a large plain, which at present separates the Russian territories from those of the Chinese within the great wall. On the banks of the Orchen are the ruins of a place called Erdeni-shan. This signifies the noble King, and probably the word Bulge, or Bulghar, in our brevity's sake omitted. This town of the noble King is Karakarum.

** These countries of Onam and Cherule, are the countries lying along side of the rivers Onam and Herlen, where Zingbis Khan was born, and which were the first over which he bore the sovereign sway.

Ruyfbroeck
Ruysbroeck having now had several audiences of the Emperor, and having been there for many months, was at last dismissed with handsome presents. He was two months and six days travelling from Karakorun to the Wolga, where he met with Batu; with him he travelled about for the space of a month. At last, in the middle of October, they began to go to the southward along the Wolga to Sarey; here the Wolga divides into three different branches, each of which is twice as wide as the river Nile is near Damia. Lower down, the river divides into four other smaller branches. On the banks of the middle one, is the town of Sumerkent*, which has no walls, and whenever the river overflows, is entirely surrounded with water like an island. The Tartars had besieged this place, which is inhabited by Alanians and Malmomans, for eight years, before they could take it. The Tartars never went farther to the southward than this place in winter. In these parts there is pasture, herbage, and cattle in abundance, and a great quantity of reeds, in which the Tartars hide themselves in winter till the ice thaws again.

After this Ruysbroeck travelled through the above-mentioned uncultivated desert, in which sometimes there was no water to be met with till he came to the mountains inhabited by the Alanians, who make head against the Tartars. It is on this account that the Tartars are obliged to send every tenth man hither, under the command of Sartag, in order to check the depredations of these people. At the end of the plain which lies between the Moguls and these Alanians is the pass called the Iron-Gate. This part of the

* The town of Sarey seems to have been built not far from the modern Zaritza, on the eastern branch of the Wolga, or the Achiuba, as no great distance from Zartowod, where many traces are still to be met with of the former existence of a large town. But the town of Sumerkent is a place entirely unknown. Nevertheless it seems as if the spot where this town had been, and where the Wolga begins to divide into several branches, was not far from Astarakan (which formerly was called Hadjeti Andar Khan); for there are also on both sides of the Wolga ruins of some towns existing, which ruins have been chiefly used for the purpose of making talus petre.
country is inhabited by Mahometans, called *Lebsh*, who also defend themselves against the Tartars. The Tartars, who escorted Ruyfbroeck, wore breast-plates and curiaffles, which they had taken from the Alaniens in war; these people excelling greatly in all kinds of iron-work. Near the Iron-gate is a fortification taken from these Alaniens: here they already found vines, and got wine to drink. The next day they reached *Derbend*, or the Iron-Gate. The town occupies the whole plain lying between the Caspian sea and the high mountains. Its length from the mountains to the sea is half an hour's walk, but the breadth only about a stone's throw. At the highest part of it there is a strong castle. After two days journey, they met with another town called Samar (Schabran, Schabiran) in which lived a great number of Jews. Two days after this they came to Samach (Shamakhe). Here a level champaign opened to their view, called Moan (or Mahan, and at present Mokhan). Through this runs the river Kur, whence the Kurgians (or Georgians) whose capital is Tiflis, take their name. In this same campaign runs likewise the river Araxes, which, coming out of Armenia Major, takes its course to the south-westward, in this beautiful plain, to the westward of which lies Georgia, lived formerly the Kiasmans, or Karaismans; (these are the ancestors of the present Turks, who laid the foundation of the Osmanian empire). At the entrance of the mountains is the town of Ganghe, which was their capital. As they went upwards along the Araxes, they were afterwards conducted to Naxum (or Nakeviron). After this Ruyfbroeck went into the dominions of the Turkish Sultans, and travelled through Sebae (or Siwas) Cefarea, in Capadocia, and Iconium. From thence he reached Kureh (or Kurke) a haven in the King of Armenia's dominions; then Layeche (or El-Agas) another harbour, from whence he crossed over to Nikofia, in the island of Cyprus; from thence he went to Antiochia, in Syria, and at last to Tripoli; from which place he sent an account of his whole journey in writing, to Lewis, King of France.

V. Haitbo.
V. Haitho, or Hatto, was the son of Livon or Leon II. nephew of Haitho I. king of Armenia Minor. At the decease of his father he would not accept of the crown, but left the empire to his brother Thores, or Thedor; and after having in all the troubles and wars in which they were involved, assisted his royal relations in action as well as in council, he took, at Episcopia in Cyprus, the order of the Praemonstratensian Monks, A.D. 1305, during the reign of his nephew Leon III. Subsequent to this he went to Poitou in France, and dictated in French to Nicholas Salconi the history of the events that had passed in the East, since the Moguls first made their appearance: this account Salconi, by order of the Pope, translated into Latin, A.D. 1307. His history consists, 1. in what written information he could find relative to the history of the Tartars; this narrative reaches from Zinghis Khan, down to Mangu Khan. 2. In the relation of such incidents and events as had either happened to Haitho I. king of Armenia himself, or which had come within the sphere of his own knowledge. He having even been, in the year 1254, together with his wife and child, at the court or head-quarters of Mangu-Khan, at which time he met with Ruysbroeck, who was then on his return home, and had some conversation with him. These facts Haitho related to his children, and grand-children, and ordered them to be taken down in writing. 3. The Monk Haitho knew from his own proper experience all that had happened in Asia since the reign of Abaka Khan, (or rather Abaga Khan) from the year 1265 to 1283, and might justly have said, quorum pars magna fui.

Haitho's Oriental History contains, besides the historical part, a geographical one likewise, of which I shall briefly mention those particulars only which relate to the northern parts of Asia.

The Empire of Kathay is one of the most extensive, opulent, and populous empires of the universe; it is entirely situated along the sea coast. The inhabitants believe themselves to be the only people on earth that have two eyes; to the Latins they allow one, and
VOYAGES AND

to all other nations none at all; they have small eyes and no beards. Their money consists of square pieces of paper, stamped with the king's seal. To the West this Empire is bounded by the Empire of Tarfa, to the North by the desart of Belgian, and to the South are innumerable islands in the sea. They are skilled in works of ingenuity and art, but are very timorous. From these traits one immediately recognizes the Empire of China.

The Empire of Tarfa has three provinces, the sovereign rulers of which call themselves kings; the inhabitants are called Jogur, (Jugur, Uigur). Ten tribes of them are Christians, the rest are Heathens. They abstain from meat and wine, and eat nothing that has ever had life in it. They raise a great quantity of corn, but no wine. Their towns are very pleasant, and contain a great number of temples in which idols are worshipped. They are not inclined to war, have their own peculiar manner of writing, which, indeed, is adopted by all the neighboring nations, and they learn all arts and sciences with great facility.

To the East this Empire is bounded by Kathay, to the West by Turkeftan, to the North by a certain desart, and to the South by a very rich province situated between India and Kathay, called Sym (or rather Paim), and in which diamonds are to be found.—By what is here said, it appears that Haiitho is describing in this place the country of Uigur, in conjunction with that of Geta; but how it comes to be called Tarfa, I really do not know.

The Empire of Turkeftan is bounded on the East by the Empire of Tarfa, and to the West by Khoras- min; to the South it extends as far as to the desart which lies just in the front of India. There are but few good towns in it; the large plains afford good pasturage for the cattle, consequently the inhabitants are almost all of them graziers and shepherds, and their dwelling is in tents and huts which are capable of being transported at pleasure. Their capital is Ocerra (or Otrar). The inhabitants raise but a small quantity of corn, but, of course, their religion is Islam, and they live in tents and huts.
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH. 115

corn, and no wine; their drink is beer and milk, and their food rice, millet, and meat. They are known by the name of Turks, are of the Mahometan religion, and such of them as live in the towns, make use of the Arabian letters.

The Empire of Khorasmin (or Khuarem) is populous, fertile, and pleasant; in it they raise a great quantity of corn, but little wine; it contains many good and strong towns; the capital of it is Korafma (or rather Korkang). This Empire borders on a desert of a hundred days journey in extent; to the West is the Caspian sea; to the North the Empire of Kumania; to the South (here we should read East), the Empire of Turkestan. The inhabitants are Heathens without either letters or laws. The Soldinians (or Sogdians) are the most intrepid of warriors, have a peculiar language of their own, use the Greek characters in writing, follow the usages and rites of the Greek Church, and are subject to the Patriarch of Antioch.

The capital of the empire of Khuarem, is, according to the Prince Ulug Beg, the city of Korkang, neither has any author ever mentioned a place called Khorasmin. Haitho having said before, that Turkestan was bounded on the west by Khorasmin, it is clear, that here we must read east instead of south. The Soldins, mentioned above, who were Christians of the Greek Church, are entirely unknown.

The empire of Kumania is undoubtedly of vast extent, but, on account of the inclemency of the climate, thinly inhabited. In winter the cold is so intense in some parts, that neither man nor beast can remain there; and in others, the extreme heats and swarms of flies in summer are equally insupportable. Kumania is quite level and flat, and without any wood, except some orchards near the towns. The inhabitants live in tents, and their fuel is the dung of their cattle. It is bounded on the east towards Korafma by a desert; to the west is the great sea, viz. the Black Sea, and the sea of Tenea (Tanna, or Azof); to the north, it is bounded by the empire of Kaffia (Kiov); and
and to the south it extends to a large river called Etile (i.e. the Wolga) which passes by the capital. This river is frozen over every year, and men and beasts walk on it as on dry land; along the banks of this river there are small trees; on the other side of the river there are people, who, though they are not Kumanians, yet are subject to the Khan. Some live also towards the high mountains Cocos (i.e. Caucasus). In the mountains are white kites. This range of mountains runs between the two seas; to the west is the great (i.e. the Black) Sea; and to the east, the Caspian Sea, which has no connection with the ocean, but is like a lake, though it is called a sea on account of its size, it being the largest lake in the universe. It divides Asia into two parts; that part towards the east is called Lower Asia, and the western part, Great Asia: this lake contains a great quantity of good fish. In the Caspian mountains there are found buffaloes, and many other wild beasts. In this sea there are also many islands on which the birds build their nests, and particularly the falcon, commonly known by the name of Pocgrin (Faucon Pelerin, the Pilgrim-Falcon) and Esmetalos (or Esmerliones, Merlins) and Bondazzi (or the Bondree and Sacre, the Honey Buzzard, and the Sacre) and many other birds not to be found in any other part of the world. The largest town of the empire of Cumania, is Sara (or Saray). This town was large and of great renown; but it has been ravaged and almost entirely destroyed by the Tartars, who took it by storm. It is obvious, that Haitho describes here that part of the empire of the Moguls, which was subject to Batu Khan. The Black-Sea he calls the Great Sea, because it is connected with the Mediterranean and the ocean; and the sea de Tenue, is the sea of Tanna, or of Azof, for so the town at the end of the Don was called at different times. The empire of Kaffa cannot well be supposed to be any other place than Kiow, or Kiavia, the capital of the Russian empire and residence of the Grand Duke.

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The reading, too, which we have proposed with respect to the names of the birds, is probably the best.

As worthy of notice as are the particulars above-mentioned, which are the contents of the first five Chapters, the sixteenth Chapter is no less so, on account of some geographical information it contains respecting the ancient feats of the Tartars (i.e. the Moguls).

Beyond the large mountain of Belgien, or Bilkhan, the Tartars lived at first, without religion and without the use of letters. Their chief occupation consisted in tending their flocks; and so far were they from being of a warlike disposition, that they readily paid tribute to any one that demanded it. All the tribes of the Tartar race were known by the name of Mogies. They increased to that degree, as to compose seven capital independent nations. The first was called Tatar, after a province of the same name, in which they at first had lived; the second was called Tangot (i.e. Tangut); the third, Kunat; the fourth, Jalair (or Tholair); the fifth, Sonich; the sixth, Mongbi; and the seventh, Tabeth. The Chiefs of these nations, prompted by a vision, and by a command from God, had chosen Changie (i.e. Zinghis) for their sovereign Lord and Ruler. After this we are told, how he came through the mountains, when the sea withdrew nine feet, and made a way for him where there was none before. This seems to be the same history with that of Irgone Kon, which is also related by Abulgaji. The mountain Belgien, can hardly be looked for anywhere else than in the environs of lake Balchas in the country of Organum, or Irgonekon. According to the Nighiaristan, a collection of Oriental History, the Turkomanni likewise came from a place called Belgien, or Bilkhan.

VI. Marco Polo, a noble Venetian, whose father, Nicolo Polo, had before been in the East with his brother Mattheo Polo, on commercial affairs, in 1260, and had returned with him in 1269, was by his father taken along with them on this voyage A.D. 1271, when he was but 11 years old. Marco learned at the court of KUBLAI KHAN to speak and write four languages.
languages which were in use in the country; and the Emperor made use of him in weighty matters, and on embassies in which it took him up a journey of six months to reach the place of his destination. He was in the service of the Emperor 17 years, and at last, with his father and uncle, returned in the year 1295, safe to Venice. It is presumed he wrote his remarks in Latin, and in prison, as on his return he was taken prisoner by the Genoese, who were at that time at war with the Venetians. He was a man of great sense, probity, and piety, whose domestics unanimously gave him a good character, and consequently his narrative is every way deserving of our confidence. His father, Nicolo, who was the honestest man in the whole country, constantly certified the truth of the narrative contained in his son's book; and his uncle Matteo, who was a pious as well as very wise man, even on his death-bed told his Confessor, that these relations were true in every respect. A Monk translated his book into the Italian language, and from the Italian it was again translated by another Monk into Latin. These multiplied translations are the cause of the names of the countries and towns appearing so much disfigured as they do. It is therefore to be wished, that some man of great erudition would compare these various translations with the manuscript to be found in the library of Wolfenbuttel, and publish a new and correct edition of this useful book, which is of the greatest importance with respect to the geography of the middle ages. This book has moreover been translated into a great many modern languages, e.g. into German, French, Dutch, and Portuguese. We shall extract from it some very short observations only relative to the north.

A.D. 1260, the two brothers having embarked at Venice, with a cargo consisting of a great many valuable articles of commerce, went by the way of the

* There was likewise a translation published in English, in 1579, under the title of *The most noble and famous Travels of Marcus Paulus*, London, 12mo.
Mediterranean, and so through the Dardanelles to Constantinople. After a stay of a few days, they sailed across the great sea, Mar Maggiore (i.e. the Black-Sea) to a harbour called Soldadia (or Sudak). From whence they went by land to the residence of a great Tartarian Lord, named Barcha (properly Berek Khan, who reigned from 1256 to 1266) who lived in the towns of Bolgara and Assara*. He received them very kindly, and they made him considerable presents in jewels, for which he made them returns by other presents of double the value. Having remained there for the space of a year, they were desirous of returning to Venice; but a war breaking out suddenly between Alau (Holaghu, probably the Iranian, or Persian Khan, Holaghu Khan, to whom the whole of Persia belonged quite to Syria) and Barcha; the armies approached each other, and the battle turned out in favour of Holaghu. The roads were now unsafe; so that they could not return by the same road as they came, and they were advised to travel by a large circuit round about the Empire of Berekekhan; following this counsel they came to a town called Ukakah (alias Guthakha, Grikha, Khorkang, Urghen), and a little farther on they crossed the Tigris (or Gihon), one of the four rivers of Paradise; after this they travelled for the space of seventeen days in a defand, in which they saw neither town, castle, nor village, but only a few Tartars living in huts. Having left the defand, they came to a very good town called Bokhara (Bochara), in the province of Bokhara in Persia, the sovereign of which was called Barach (Berrak Khan). Here they stayed for three whole years, being unable to advance any farther on account of the great war that subsisted between the Tartars. At this time there came from

*Bolgara is without doubt Bolgari, the capital of Bulgaria, a town, which according to monuments (still extant, actually existed from 1161 to 1578, and was inhabited; so that it is very possible, that Berek Khan may have sometimes resided there. But Assara is the town of At-Stray, which was new built by Beatu Khan on the Achiuba, a branch of the Wolga.
Holaghu to Bokhara, a man of great talents and understanding, who was going as ambassador to the great Kublai-Khan. Meeting with these brothers, who had now become well acquainted with the Tartarian tongue, and having conversed with them for many days, he persuaded them to take a trip with him to the great king of Tartary, and promised them great honors and advantages. They, on their parts, being perfectly aware that it was impossible for them to return home without imminent danger, went along with the ambassador, together with a number of Christian servants which they had brought with them from Venice, shaping their course at first towards the North-east. It being winter, they were a whole year on the road, and they were often obliged to wait on account of the snow, or of the waters having overflowed the roads, till the snow was melted, and the waters had retired. At length they arrived at the residence of the great Khan Kublai, who gave orders for them to be brought before him, received them very graciously, and treated them with great distinction; he also interrogated them much concerning the Roman Emperor, the Kings and Princes of Europe, their different governments, their military force, their jurisprudence, the manners and customs of the different nations, their religion, and finally, concerning the Pope; to all which queries they made proper and suitable replies. After some time, Kublai-Khan called them before him, and told them, that he would send them as ambassadors to the Pope at Rome, with letters to desire his holiness to let him have 100 wise and judicious men, well skilled in the Christian doctrine. He ordered a man of distinction, named Chogatal (Gegaka, Gegatal, Cogatal) to accompany them, and gave them these letters, as also a golden table, on which the imperial seal was engraved, and in virtue of which, the bearer or bearers thereof are intitled (free of all expenses) to relay horses, provisions, convoy, and any thing else they may desire or stand in need of.

Having
Having travelled on for the space of twenty days, the ambassador Chogatal fell sick; they therefore left him behind, and went on without him. Their golden table procured them every where the best reception. The snow, the ice, and the overflowing rivers, retarded them, so as to occasion them to be three whole years on this journey: at length they arrived in an Armenian harbour, called la Giazza (otherwise Glaza, Galza, and more properly still, al Ajanna), and went immediately to Acre (or Ancona, properly Akko), where they were informed of the death of Pope Clement IV. by the Pope's Legate, Theobald Viscount of Placentia. Upon this they took shipping, and going by the way of Negroponte, arrived at Venice among their relations and friends, where they resolved to stay till the election of a new Pope. Here Nicolo Polo found, that his wife, whom he had left big with child, was dead; but Marco, the son he had by her, was alive, and nine years old*. Having waited for the election of a Pope

* The dates in Andrew Muller's edition are false throughout; those however in the Italian translation, printed in Ramofo's Collection, are more accurate. They set out A.D. 1260, and stayed one year with Berke Khan, 1261. Then they stayed three years in Bekbara, viz. till 1264. One year they spent on the road to Kublaikhan, which brings it to 1265. They were three years in returning; but then they spent some time with the Khan, for the purpose of converting with him, and receiving their dispatches, for which we may reckon at least one year. So that it amounts to four years in all, and consequently they did not return till the year 1269, and Marco, the son of Nicolo, could be but nine years old, though Ramofo has made him 15, and all the others 15. But the chronology of the other princes and kings mentioned in this book do not allow us to adopt these dates of Ramofo and Andrew Muller. For first, it is certain, that Kublai-Khan was still alive, though advanced in years; when they took their departure: and they were on their way home, when they first received the news of his death. They were informed of his death, on their way home. Now Kublai Khan reigned from 1269 to 1294, and died at the age of 80 years. But if Nicolo and Matteo had set out on their first journey in 1250, they would have arrived there in 1255, before Kublai-Khan had ascended the throne; they must therefore have set out on their first journey in 1260, and have come back in 1269, soon after the death of Pope Clement IV. Further, they must have set out again in 1271, for at that time Pope Gregory X. was elected, from whom they had letters to take to Kublai-Khan. Their first journey happened at the time that Baldwin II, who reigned from 1234 to 1261, was still Emperor of Byzantium. The Khan ul Khiptichak was Berke, who reigned from 1256 to 1266, so that
Pope two years in vain, they set out with young Marco Polo, who was now 17 years of age, for Acre. TheLegate gave them letters for Kublai Khan, and they set out for the harbour of Giazzia. In themeanwhile news arrived from Italy, that this same Legate had been elected Pope, on which occasion he took thename of Gregory X. He immediately dispatched messengers with letters to the King of Armenia, to givehim notice of his election, and to request, that in case the Ambassador to the Khan had not yet left histerritories, they should return. These letters found the Poli still in Armenia; they returned therefore in agalley to Akko, where the Pope gave them his letters to the Khan, besides a great many presents, and sentalong with them two learned Monks Predicant, viz. Friar Nicholas, of Vicenza, and Friar William, of Tri-poli. Immediately upon this they returned by sea to al Ajafa, and set out on their journey from that placeby land to Armenia. There they learned, that the Sultan of Babylon (in Egypt or of Kabirab (Bibars) el Bendokdari (or Benhokdare) had made an incursion with a great army into Armenia, where he committedthemost cruel ravages. This news alarmed the two Monks to such a degree, that they remained with theGrand-mastef of the Knights-Templars, and afterwards likewise returned with him; but the threePoli proceeded boldly through many dangers, and, by perseverance and labour, got over every difficulty;so that at last, in the space of three years and a half, they arrived at the Khan's, who, while they werestill at the distance of 40 days journey from him, sent to meet them, and took care that at every placethey could not have commenced their travels for the first time before 1258. Nay they could not well have setout on their journey before 1258, for, Holaghu, who was at war with Bereke Khan, did not beginhis reign before 1258, and he reigned till the year 1265. It is evident, therefore, that the first time, they could not have set out above 11 years, and consequently Marco, the son of Nicolo, could not at the timeof his father's return be more than 11 years old, nor less than 9; which latter conjecture is very probable.
they came to, they should be provided with every thing necessary, till at length they arrived safe at his court. Kublai Khan received them with great kindness, and with many marks of distinction, in the midst of all his illustrious Barons (Tchibis, Nojones, and Saïffans). They were asked concerning the health of the Pope; when they gave a circumstantial account to the Emperor of every object of his enquirey, as well as of what had befallen them in their journey. The Khan then enquired, who Marco was? and being informed, that he was the son of Nicolo, he received him very graciously, and had him immediately registered among the most distinguished of his officers. In consequence of this, Marco was very much respected by every one at Court, and not only in a short time acquired the manners of the Tartars, but learned likewise four different languages, each of which he was able to read and write. On this account the Khan, willing to make a trial of his capacity for business, dispatched him on an affair of importance relative to the empire, to a town called Karazan, the journey to which place took him up six entire months. He executed the whole business with judgment and discretion, and perfectly to the satisfaction of the Khan; and knowing, that the Khan was very fond of hearing of uncommon phenomena, strange occurrences, and other novelties, and that he was very desirous of getting information respecting the manners and customs of the people, he made minute enquiries every where after whatever was remarkable, and taking it down in writing, drew up an account of the whole, which he presented to the Khan. By this means he got so much into the Khan’s good graces, that in the twenty six years he stayed with the Khan, the latter was continually sending him through all his kingdoms, and made use of him as his ambassador. Now it is principally from this cause, that this same Marco saw and heard so many new things relative to the East, of all
all which he has given a description in the books he has written on this subject. After the two brothers, Nicolo, and Matteo, as also the young man Marco Polo, had lived many years at the court of the Khan, and had amassed great quantities of jewels and gold; considering that the Khan grew old, and that after his decease it might have become difficult for him to return home, Nicolo one day begged of the Khan to permit him and his family to set out on their travels homeward. At this, however, the Khan was very much hurt, and offered them additional riches and honors, but refused their request. Just at this time died Bolgana, the consort of king Argon in the East Indies; who, on her death-bed, had desired Argon, after her decease, to chuse a wife from amongst her relations in Kathay, where the great Khan reigned. Accordingly, he sent three ambassadors to Kublai Khan, to whom the Khan granted Kogatin (Gogatin, Gogonyn), one of his near female relations; upon this the ambassadors set out with her, but returned after having been eight months on the road, the passage all the way to the East Indies being obstructed by a war which had just broke out. In the mean time Marco Polo had been by sea to India, and had just returned from his voyage. The ambassadors being now apprised of the conveniency and safety of a passage by sea, by the persuasions of the Poli, requested of the Khan to send them by sea to India, and to grant them the Poli, as being good and experienced seamen, for their conductors, and to permit these latter to return home. However unpleasing this request was to the Khan, he did not, however, refuse; when, together with the queen and the ambassadors, they set sail with 14 four-mast ships, four or five of which carried from 250 to 260 persons. After losing a great many men, they passed by the island of Java, and at length arrived in the country of Argon. He, they found, was dead, but one Chiacato (Akata), governed in the name of young Kafan, the son of Argon, a minor, to whom Chiacato
cato had also defined the princess Gogain for a comfort; he, however, was at that time with the army making a campaign on the frontiers of Persia. Chiacato, by the recommendation and at the desire of Kublai Khan, furnished the Poli with 200 horses and money for their journey, and, after a tedious journey by land, they at length reached Trebifande (i.e. Trebizond) from whence they proceeded by the way of Constantinople and Negroponte to Venice, where they arrived safe, A.D. 1295. On their way they learned the death of Kublai Khan, and deemed themselves very happy in getting to their native country, after having surmounted so many difficulties, and having been absent from it in the east, for the space of 26 years (viz. from 1269 to 1295.)

Marco Polo having described the southern provinces belonging to Persia, comes at length to the unknown northern regions, and setting out from the country of the Assafines in Dilem, and from a town belonging to them called Mulete (or Alamut) not far from Kafvin, arrives at the town of Seporgan (Esferain) and immediately after, at Balach (Balkh) a city of great celebrity, though its marble palaces are now destroyed by the Tartars. At two days journey from thence to the east we find the castle of Thakan (Thalkan) in the neighbourhood of which a great quantity of corn is grown. But to the south of it there are mountains of salt, which is fetched from them to the distance of 30 days journey. The inhabitants, though Mahometans, make a common practice of drinking wine, which indeed they have perfectly mature, of a very full body, and excellent in its kind. As to other particulars, they are of an extremely mischievous and wicked disposition; they are, however, good huntmen, and their cloaths are made of the skins of the beasts which they kill.

At the distance of three days journey farther on, is the town of Scaffem (Saffe, al-Schaich); through the town runs a very large stream (the Sirr-Daria, or Dsaihum). In this country there are
many porcupines. The inhabitants have a language of their own. At the distance of three days journey more, is the province of Balaxiam (Balaafia, Bala-fagan), the inhabitants of which are Mahometans, and speak a language peculiar to themselves: the extent of the country is about twelve days journey. In the mountains there are found beautiful stones of great value, called Balaffe, particularly in the mountain of Sicinam, where the king alone has the privilege of digging. There are also mountains with veins of Lapis Lazuli, which is reckoned the finest in the world; as also veins of silver, copper, and lead in great quantity; but the weather there is intensely cold. In this country they have very swift horses, whose hoofs are so hard that they want no shoeing. In the mountains are caught the Sacre falcon (Falco Sacer); the Lannar (Falco lanarius cinereus Brifs.) the Gofs-hawk (Falco aequor Brifs.), and the Sparrow-hawk (Falco nius), which are all, in their kind, very excellent, and, by the inhabitants, who are all very keen sportsmen, are made use of for the chace. They grow much wheat and Indian corn; they have no olive oil, but make this article of food of nuts and the feeds of the Sesamum, which of all oils is the most palatable. The great number of narrow passas and strong holds they have in this country render the inhabitants perfectly secure against any invasion from an enemy. The air on the mountains is so salubrious, that the sick almost always recover their health on taking a journey to them, as indeed Marco Polo experienced in his own case. On these mountains there are flocks of from 400 to 600 wild sheep, of which but few are to be caught. The women of rank make themselves a dress of muflin, containing from 60 to 80, or even 100 ells, and, (in order that they may appear the more bulky below the waist,) crumpled up from the waist downwards, like trowlers, and she who appears the biggest, is considered by the men as the greatest beauty.

At
At the distance of about 10 days journey is the province of Bafia, (alias Vafch, on the river Vafch, which falls into the Gihon). The inhabitants are Idolaters, and very much addicted to forcery and witchcraft; live upon flesh and rice, and have a language of their own. They are of a very tawny complexion, and are accounted very malicious, faithless, and cruel. They wear golden ear-rings set with diamonds and pearls.

The province of Chetsmur (Khesimur, Khaschimir) is at about seven days journey from Bafia. The inhabitants have a language of their own, and are of a brown complexion; nevertheless, the women are very handsome. Their principal food is flesh and rice. Their country is covered with towns and castles, and being surrounded by deserts and mountains, they have nothing to fear from any enemy. Their king is not tributary to any one. There are many and large bodies of hermits among them, who live in a very frugal and abstemious manner, and are in great esteem among the people. The natives never shed blood, nor kill any animal; therefore, they make use of the Mahometans for slaugthering the beasts of which they eat the flesh. Corals are held in great esteem among them, and sell at a very high price.

From Balaxima one comes to a number of castles and dwellings on the banks of a river, and at length into the province called Vocham (alias Vocham or Vakhham, on the river Vafch). The inhabitants are honest and valiant, and have a language of their own, but follow the law of Mahomet. Their Lord is subject to the King of Balaxiam. In going out of this province to the eftward, one travels for three days continually upon the ascent, till at last one comes to so elevated a spot, that one is apt to take it for the highest in the whole world. On this same spot, between two mountains, one finds a large lake, from whence a very beautiful river flows through a plain, containing the best and richest pastures in the world, for if cattle arrive there ever so lean, they return
turn home in 10 days quite fat and in good condition.
In this district, too, there are a great number of wild
beasts, and particularly of very large wild sheep,
some of which have horns of the length of six palms,
or about 18 inches; and others of two or three palms
at least: of these the shepherds make small porring-
gers, and large dishes for their victuals; and even
the folds in which they keep their flocks are made of
these horns. The numberless wolves that are in
these parts devour such immense quantities of these
goats, or sheep, that their horns and skeletons are to
be found piled up in heaps, in order to point out the
way in the snow*. One travels for the space of 12
whole days on this plain, which is called Pamer.
Consequently one must carry all one's provisions along
with one. On account of the great height of the
mountains, there are no birds to be seen here, and
even the fires do not burn so clear, by reason of the
cold, as it does in other places, so that one can
hardly dress any victuals by it**. Having accom-
plished this 12 days journey, one must travel 40 days
longer to the eastward, and that continually over
mountains and through vallies, crossing many rivers,
and passing through defarts, in which there are neither dwell-
ings nor even a blade of grass; so that one must carry
all the provisions one stands in need of along with one;

* It is remarkable, that so many centuries ago Marco Polo has taken
notice of the extraordinary height of these inland Asiatic campaigns,
and at the same time made accurate and just observations on these wild
sheep, which by the ancient nations were called Mouflons, and by the
French and Italians are termed Mouflons, Moufloni, and of which the
horns have been also described by modern writers to be so large, that
the Kor/she, or small inad of the desert, can hide themselves in them.

** This truth, discovered by M. De Luc, one of the most attentive
natural Philosophers of the present age, on the mountains of Savoy and
Switzerland, viz. that on the highest mountains fire burns more flug-
gishly, and the effects it produces are more inconsiderable than at the
level of the sea, we find here, very carefully noticed by Marco Polo,
above 500 years ago. Vid. J. A. de Luc, Recherches sur les modifications
de l'atmosphère. No. 203, 219.
and this country is called Beloro (alias Belor, or Belur). The summits of these mountains are inhabited by an idolatrous, savage, and cruel race of men, who live merely by hunting, and are cloathed in the skins of beasts.

From thence one comes to the kingdom of Cafcar (alias Chafcar, Caflar, Kafchgar, and Hasicar) which at present belongs to the great Khan, and is five days journey in length. The inhabitants are Mahometans, and get their livelihood by commerce and manufactures, and particularly by the working of cotton. The face of the country is covered with towns and castles; they have fine gardens and lands, which produce grapes for making wine, and other fruits in abundance. They cultivate cotton, flax, and hemp, in great quantities; and the land yields plentifully all the necessaries of life. From this province numbers of traders go to all parts of the globe; but they are so extremely covetous, that they do not even allow themselves to eat, and much less to drink any thing that is good. Besides the Mahometans, there live also some Nestorians in these parts, who have a public church here, in which they worship the Deity after their own manner.

Samarchan (or Samarkand) is an excellent town and a plain, which produces abundance of all kind of fruits that man can possibly wish for. The inhabitants are part of them Christians and part of them Mahometans, and are subject to a nephew of the great Khan.

From hence, in five days journey, one comes to the province of Carchan (alias Carcham, Carcam, Harkand, Jarkim, Jerket, Jerken, and Urkend. The inhabitants are of the Mahomeran persuasion, and there are also some Nestorian Christians here; but all are subject to the nephew of the great Khan. They have all the necessaries of life in great plenty, but chiefly cotton. The inhabitants are good artizans, and have, the greatest part of them, thick legs, and goitres or tumors in their necks, which proceed from the quality of the water which they drink.
Going from hence to the eastwards one comes to the province of 
Cotan (otherwise Cotam, Hotum, Khoten, and Khotan), which is subject to the 
nephew of the great Khan. This country is eight days journey in length, and is full of towns and castles. The inhabitants are Mahometans. The country abound in all the necessaries of life; here they cultivate cotton, flax, hemp, wheat, wines, and other productions of the vegetable kingdom. The inhabitants live by trade and manufactures, and are unfit for war.

Pursuing this track, one comes to the province called 
Peym (Peim, or Peym), which contains many towns and castles. Through the capital of the same name there runs a river, in which many precious stones are to be found, viz. Chalcedonians and Jasper. In this province are to be had all necessaries of life, and a great quantity of silk is produced. The inhabitants are Mahometans, and immediately subject to the great Khan; they live by trade and manufactures. In this country they have a very particular custom, which is, that if a man goes on a journey, and stays away from his wife above twenty days, she may, if the pleases, marry another man, and when the man returns, he may, in like manner, marry another woman. All these last mentioned countries, viz. Kafchgar, Jerkin, Khoten, Peym, and Sar-tem, to the town called Lop, are reckoned among the frontiers of Great Turkey.

The province called Ciarcian (Ciartiam, Sartem), was formerly very beautiful and fertile, but it has since been destroyed by the Tartars. The inhabitants are Mahometans. In this country there are a great number of castles and towns, the chief of which is likewise called Ciarcian. There are many rivers containing precious stones, chiefly Chalcedonians and Jasper, which are carried for sale to Ouchab (Kathay), and of which, by reason of the great quantity there is of them, they make great profit. From Peym to the end of this province there are many bitter and salt waters in the strata of sand which are to be
met with everywhere in these parts; but fresh water fit for drinking is very rare. And if it happens that an army of Tartars, either friends or enemies, marches through; if of the latter, they plunder the inhabitants of their goods; and if friends, they kill their cattle and eat it up; whence it happens, that the inhabitants, on perceiving the approach of an army, retire with their wives, children and cattle, to the distance of several days journey into the sandy desert, near a spring of good water, where in that case they live. For it is to be observed, that after the wheat harvest, every one of the inhabitants hides his corn in caverns under the sand, unknown to any one but himself, as the place is immediately covered over with sand by the wind; and they carry home at one time only just as much as will serve them for the space of a month. Going from Ciarcian backward, five days journey in the sand, one comes to nothing but bitter waters, except that at the entrance of the desert, one meets with the town called Lop. From the town of Lop you enter immediately into the desert. The inhabitants of Lop are Mahometans, and subjects of the great Khan. In this town, those that intend to travel through the desert, rest for many days, and prepare all that is necessary for the journey, and load many strong asses and camels with food, provisions, and merchandise. But if their provisions are spent before they are quite through the desert, they kill the asses and camels and eat them. They must lay in a stock of provisions sufficient to last a whole month, and if it does not, they eat the asses rather than the camels, because these latter can carry heavier burdens, and are satisfied with less food. During the whole thirty days the road goes through sandy plains, and over barren mountains, but at the end of each day's journey they meet with water, though not in sufficient quantity, but only for about 50 or 100 men: in three or four of these places the water is even bitter, but in all the other nocturnal bating-
VOYAGES AND
places, which are twenty-eight in number, the water is fresh. In the desert neither birds nor beasts are to be found, there being nothing for them to live upon. It is also very easy, in case one loiters behind, to lose one's company, and consequently perish miserably.

Having travelled through the desert in this manner for the space of thirty days, you come to a town called Sachion (Schatfcheu, Tschatfcheu, on the river Sirgentschi, which runs into the Polonghir, and in the Kara-nor, or Hara-nor, or perhaps it should be Schatscheu, or Seufch, on the river Ezina, which discharges its waters into two lakes): this town is in the dominions of the great Khan, and in the province of Tanguth. In it there are some few Nestorian Christians, as also Mahometans, and finally, Idolaters, who have their own peculiar language. They do not live by commerce, but by agriculture, and the produce of their own country. They have many convents full of idols, which they worship with the greatest devotion; and if they beget a son, they recommend him to one of these idols, in honour of whom they feed a ram at home, which, at the expiration of the first year, they carry to the temple, together with the child, on the day which is consecrated to the above idol, and after killing the ram, boil the flesh of it, and set it before the idol, while they say their prayers, in which they recommended the son to the idol, and beg of him to keep their son in health; and they assert, that during this, the idol has extracted all the virtues and taste of the meat; upon this they take the meat home, and eat it in company of their friends and relations invited for that purpose, but the bones they preserve very carefully in a handsome vessel. The priests of the idol have for their share the head, the feet, the entrails, the skin, and part of the flesh. These Idolaters observe also some very singular customs in the burning of their dead; if the deceased was a man of rank, they go to the astrologer,
astronomer, and tell him the year, day, and hour, on
which the deceased person was born; the Sage then
examines the signs, the planet, and the star under
whose influence the defunct was born, and, according
to these, determines the day and the hour on which
he is to be burnt; and if the planet does not reign at
that time, they keep the corpse for a week, or even
for six months together; now being obliged to keep
it in the house, they get a coffin made of boards three
inches thick, very closely joined together, and painted
over. In this they lay the corpse, together with man-
many fragrant perfumes, camphir, and other spices; and,
after filling up all the chinks with pitch and lime,
cover the coffin with silk. During the whole time
that they keep the corpse thus, a table is spread
for it with bread, meat, and wine, and left standing for as
long a time as it would take a living person to eat and
drink his fill. Moreover the astronomer will sometimes
demn it unlucky to carry the corpse through the door;
when to please the planet, a hole must be broken
through the wall, and the corpse carried out that
way. Should any one take it in his head to object
to all this, and refuse to comply, the ghost of the
deceased would certainly be displeased at it, and do
him a mischief. When the corpse is carried out of
the town, they have little wooden houses built for it
in the streets, in which they set it down and place
viéuals before it. The procession is accompanied with
music. Whilst the body is burning, they paint on
a paper, the figures of men and women, together with
the representations of coins, horses, camels, and cloaths;
and burn these together with the corpse, in the belief
that the deceased will have an equal number of man-
servants and maid-servants, money and cattle, at his
disposal in the other world. The music must play
during the whole ceremony of the incineration of the
body.

Kamul (alias Chamul, Hamil, Hami, Khami, Cama-
xu) is a district belonging to the extensive province of
Tanguth, and is subject to the Great Khan. It is
situated between the above-mentioned great desert and
another smaller one. The capital bears the same
name
name as the district itself: it produces fruit and grain of all sorts, which serve for the maintenance of its inhabitants, as well as of the foreigners that travel through it. The inhabitants speak a language peculiar to themselves, and worship idols. These people seem to be born for nothing else but enjoyment; and, indeed, their chief occupation is music, singing, and dancing, and other amusements. If a traveller arrives in their country, and is desirous of taking up his lodging with any of them, they immediately lay the strictest injunctions on their wives, daughters, sisters, and other female relations, to be in every respect at the stranger's service; at the same time the husband leaves the house, and procures in the town whatever is requisite for the accommodation and kind reception of his guest; neither does he return to his house till the latter has left it. The women in the mean while obey the stranger as if he was their husband; and it must be confessed, that in general they possess no small share of vivacity and beauty. The prevailing opinion in this country is, that by shewing so much hospitality to the travellers, they render a very acceptable service to the Gods, and they attribute it entirely to this custom, that the Gods bestow on them a profusion of every worldly good, and a protection against all dangers, together with the increase of their families. When Mangu Khan sat on the throne, having heard of this indecent custom, he commanded that they should preserve and promote the chastity of their wives and daughters, and keep houses for the reception of strangers and travellers at the public expense. This mandate they punctually obeyed for the space of three years. But within this time the produce of their fields and gardens happening not to succeed, and having met likewise with other disasters in their domestic concerns, they sent ambassadors, most humbly to petition the Emperor for the repeal of his mandate. Mangu Khan, having heard their remonstrances, answered as follows: "I conceive it to be my duty to put a stop to this scandalous custom; but since you glory in your shame, you may even bear it, and con-
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH. 135

Continue henceforth to make your wives perform their usual charitable offices to strangers and travellers." The messengers who carried back the repeal of the Imperial prohibition, were received with great rejoicings by the whole nation, and the ancient custom is still kept up there to this day: (that is, when Marco Polo was in that part of the world; for how matters stand there now, it is impossible to say).

Beyond the province of Chamul is the country called Chinchintalas (alias Chinchincalas, Sanghin-Talgin, Sankin-talai, Chitalas-Dalai) which to the north is bounded by the defart; it is 16 days journey in length, and belongs to the territories of the Great Khan, and has towns and boroughs in it. The inhabitants are some of them Neftorian Christrians, though the number of these is small; some again are Mahometans, and the rest Idolaters. In this country is a mountain which yields steel-ore and Andanicum (otherwife audanicum) as also Salamander (i.e. asbeftos) of which they make a kind of cloth which is indestructible by fire.

Leaving the province of Chinchintalas directly behind you the road goes eastward (or rather southward) through an almost uncultivated country, for 13 days journey, to the province of Suchur* (alias Succuir, Souck, or Suck, on the river Suck, which empties

* The country described but very lately by M. Pallat, where the genuine rhubarb grows, and from whence it is carried by the merchants of Bucharia to the Ruffians at Kjaject, is to the southward of the lake Kokeger, not far from the town of Sellin, on the river Selungel, which discharges itself into the Chattungel, or, as the Chinese call it, Hoangbo (alias Chango) which is also called Karawuren. This whole tract is composed of high mountains, bare of wood, where the rhubarb grows out of chinks of the rocks. The roots that are fit for use shoot out tickets of an amazing thickness, and being dug up in April and May, are cleaned and hung up on the trees. The leaf we are told is round, and but slightly indented; consequently the Rheum compactum, or undulatum, must be the genuine rhubarb plant. This indication of the real native country of rhubarb induced me to look in these parts likewise for the town called Succuir, or Suchur, which I easily discovered, together with the province of the same name, in the province and town of Such. itself
itself into the river Pegu, to the northward of Tibet, and to the south-eastward of Kokonor; this province has several towns and boroughs, the capital of which bears the name of the country. The inhabitants, a few Christians excepted, are idolaters, and subjects of the Great Khan. They are of a very tawny complexion, and live without commerce on the produce of the earth. The Reubarbar (Reobarsar, or Rhubarb) which grows on the mountains here in great abundance, is carried by the merchants all over the world. On these mountains also, grows a poisonous plant, upon eating which, the cattle cast their hoofs. The cattle belonging to the natives know this plant, and carefully avoid it; it is therefore necessary, on a journey to these mountains, always to make use of the cattle of the country.

The city or town called Kampiou (Kampitiou, Kampiciou, Kantsheu, in the province of Schenfi, on the Etziné Moren) is the capital of all Tanguth; it is elegant and very large. Part of the inhabitants are Nestorian Christians, and have three fine large churches; part of them are Mahometans, and the rest idolaters. The numerous convents they have for their ecclesiastics are filled with idols made of wood, earth, or stone, and covered over with gold, some of which are about 10 feet long, and lie on the ground, being surrounded by the smaller idols, which seem to pay homage to them, in the manner of disciples. The priests of the idols lead far more regular lives, and are less addicted to voluptuousness than the other idolaters. They abstain from certain meats, and from such acts of concupiscence and dishonorable deeds, as are there commonly considered as not to be very sinful. For if a woman makes the first advances to a man, it is according to their conscience no sin to enjoy her. But if the men make the first advances, in that case they lock on it as a sin. The laymen have many wives, sometimes thirty and more, and
sometimes less, according to their circumstances, for they get no portion with their wives; but, on the contrary, give the wife a fortune, consisting of cattle, slaves, and money. But the first wife always has the precedence; moreover, if they find that one of their wives does not live in harmony with the other, or if she displeases them, they may dismiss her. They marry their relations and kindred, and even their mothers in law. They have a kind of cycle or periodical revolution of lunar months, and in each of these they abstain for three, four, or five days, from blood and from the flesh of beasts and fowls, and worship their Gods according to the course of these lunar cycles. In the mean time they commit many other deadly sins, and live like beasts; as Marco Pola sufficiently experienced, when he with his father and uncle, on account of their business, resided for about a year in this place.

Travelling 12 days journey from Kampion (Kampion, Kantscheue) you come to a town called Ezina (Eziva, Etzné is the name of a river in the northeastern part of Schenf, which discharges itself into the lake Shüc-Nor, and Sopu-Nor), which borders on the great Sandy Desert, and is in the province of Tangush. The inhabitants are idolaters, and live on their cattle and by agriculture, but have no traffic. In this country we find many Lannar falcons (Falco Lanarius) and very good Sacre falcons (Falco facer). There are also forests of pine-trees, inhabited by wild asses, and many other wild beasts. The inhabitants keep a great number of camels and other cattle. Such travellers as intend going through the great desert, which is 40 days journey in length, buy their provisions here, as they afterwards meet with neither men nor inhabitants, excepting a few straggling people here and there on the mountains and in the valleys. At the end of these 40 days journey to the northwards, is the town called Carachoran (alias Taracoram, Caracoram, Korakarum, Karakoran, Karakum, Karakaim, and Holin). All the districts just described, viz. Schatcheu (Schatcheu)
(Schafcheu) Chamul (Khamil) Chinchitalas (Sankinda-lai) Succuir (Suck) Campion (Kantcheu) and Ezina (Etziné) are in the great province of Tangut.

Carachoran (Carchoran, Kara-Korán) is a town of three Italian miles in circumference. It is the place from which in times of yore the Tartars originally came; for want of stones, it is surrounded by an earthen bulwark or rampart only. On the outside of this there is a great castle, with a very elegant palace, in which the Governor usually resides.

In going to the northward from Carachoran (Kara-korán) and from mount Altay, where the Emperors are buried, one comes to a large plain called Bergu (Bargu-fin is the name of a river on the east side of lake Baikal). The inhabitants are called Metrites (alias Medites, Meclites, Markaets) they are quite savage, and live on the flesh of wild beasts, (the largest of which are like flags, which moreover they ride, or rather harness to their carriages) as also on the birds and fish which they catch.

In travelling from the province of Campion to the east (south-west) for five (fifty) days, one comes to the empire called Ergimul (Erigimul, Eriginul) which is subject to the Great Khan, and belongs to the province of Tangut. In it there are some Nestorian Christians, and Mahometans, as also Pagans. The capital of the country bears the same name, Erginul (Erdchi-nur), with the country itself. In going from thence to the south-westward to Kathay (North-China) you come to the town of Singui (Sigan in Schenfi) situated in a district of the same name, which is also in the province of Tanguth, and is subject to the Great Khan. The inhabitants are some of them Nestorians, some of the religion of Mahomet, and others Idolaters. In this country there are great numbers of wild oxen, black and white, which are nearly as large as elephants, and have a very fine appearance. The hairs all over their
their bodies are short, excepting on the shoulders, where they are nine inches long, and as fine and white as possible, so as even to surpass silk; and Marco Polo brought some of these hairs to Venice, where every one admired them as great curiosities. Many of these wild oxen have been tamed, and made to cover common cows. The race engendered by these is fit for the hardest labour, and capable of bearing the greatest fatigue. Their owners make them carry the most heavy burdens, and plough twice as much ground with them as with oxen. In this same country, too, one meets with the finest mufk. It is produced by a little animal of the shape of a gazel or antelope, and of the size of a goat. The form of it is as follows: The hair is coarser than that of a stag; the feet and tail are like those of a gazel, but it has no horns, as the gazel has. It has four teeth, two in the upper jaw, and two in the lower, which are above three inches long; two of them point upwards, and two downwards. These teeth are as white as ivory; and the animal has a beautiful shape. About the time of the full moon it has an abscess in the region of the navel, which yields the finest mufk. The flesh of this creature is good to eat. Marco Polo brought the head and feet of one of them to Venice. The inhabitants of this country live by commerce and handicraft professions, and the country itself produces a great quantity of corn. It is a journey of twenty-five days to travel through this province. There are pheasants in this country, twice as large as ours.

* It is but a very little while since there was a live mufk-goat at Versailles; to which the description here given answers perfectly well, except in this one particular, that it hath only two such teeth of three inches long in the upper jaw, and in the under jaw there are eight cutting teeth, besides six grinders in each jaw bone. There must therefore be a mistake either in Marco Polo’s description, or in the translation of it, or else his mufk-goat must have been different from that which was kept alive at Versailles, as also from that, of which I have seen the skin stuffed, in the Ash ton Lever’s Museum. That this animal should secrete its mufk at the time of the full moon only, and that it is an abscess, is one of the prejudices appertaining to the childhood of Natural History.
and but very little less than peacocks. Their tails are from 24 to 30 inches long *. There are also other pheasants, in size and appearance like ours; as also many other farts of birds, with the most beautiful plumage. The inhabitants are idolaters, rather fat, have small noses, black hair, and no beard, except here and there a single hair on the chin. The women of rank have beautiful hair, are very fair, perfectly well formed in all their limbs, but extremely lascivious. The men marrying, according to custom, as many wives as they are able to maintain, they do not seek rich but handsome women, and consequently make great presents to the mother and relations, in order to obtain their wives.

If now you travel for eight days from Ergimul (Erdfchi-nur) to the east (to the westward) you come to the district of Erigaia (alias Eggaya, Organum, and Irganekon), in which there are many towns and cities. It is in the great province of Tanguth; its capital is Calacia (alias Cailac, Gailac, Golka). The inhabitants are idolaters, and the Nestorian Christians have three elegant churches here. They are all subject to the Great Khan. In the town of Calacia they make of white wool and the finest hair of camels (perhaps Chamois) a great quantity of Zambelottes (Schamlotte, Kamlotte) i.e. Camlets, which are the most beautiful in the world, and which are exported by the merchants to all parts of the globe, and particularly to Cathay (or North China). Tenduc (Tenduch, Teuduch) is a province to the eastward which formerly belonged to Prester John, but at present is subject to the Great Khan.

* These large pheasants belong undoubtedly to the extraordinarily beautiful genus which Linnaeus calls Pafianus Argus, of which in Europe there are to be found some feathers only on the wings and tails, in the collections of the curious; but as for the entire animal, perhaps no European, besides our Traveller, has ever seen it. This is the more remarkable, as it is now already 500 years that this beautiful bird has been known, and yet we have never had a compleat description of it.
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.

Khan. It contains various towns and cities, and the capital of it is Tenduc. This province has a king of the family of Prefter John, whose name is George, and to whom the Great Khan has ceded it, on condition, however, of the King's acknowledging his superiority; and these Kings generally, marry the daughters of the Great Khan. King George is a Priest and a Christian; the greater part of his subjects also are Christians. In this province they find stones, from which they prepare very fine Ultramarine Blue, and that in great quantity. They also manufacture here Zambelottes or Camlets, of camels hair. The inhabitants live by agriculture, commerce, and handicraft professions. There are, however, besides the Christians, many Idolaters and Mahometans here. There is also a sort of people called Argen, because they have been begotten by two different races, viz. by the Idolaters at Tenduc and the Mahometans. These are without dispute the handsomest men of any in these parts, as well as the most ingenious and the most subtle in commerce.

This province was the principal residence of Prefter John, in the North, whilst he reigned over the Tartars, and King George is the fourth from him; and there are two kingdoms here, over which this same Prefter John formerly reigned, and which in our part of the world (viz. Europe) are known by the names of Gog and Magog; but by the inhabitants of these countries are called Ung and Mongul*. The inhabitants

*The celebrated Prefter John is, as was said before, in the note to page 610, the Ung-Chan, or Unkhan, an appellation derived from the Chindee Ung, or Wang, but by others transmuted to Unak, or Ace-nak Khan. He reigned over the Karaites, a tribe residing near the river Kalassai (Karabbi) which discharges itself into the Abakan, and afterwards into the Jenisea, and here at this very day live the Kirgises, who have a tribe among them, which they call Karaites. Vid. Fischer’s Sibirische Geschichtte, or History of Siberia, pag. 698, 709, and 710. But, after the manner of the Christians of those times, who constantly sought to introduce their Bible by hook or by crook on every occasion, the Oriental Christians no sooner had heard the least mention made of Ung-kan, than the name immediately brought to their remembrance that
inhabitants of Ung are Gog, and those of Mongul are Tartars. Travelling for seven days eastward through this province to Kathay, one meets with many towns and cities, the inhabitants of which worship idols; others are Mahometans, and others again are Nestorian Christians. They live by commerce and manufactures; for they make stuffs wrought with gold and flowers, and other silken stuffs of all kinds and colours, like those made amongst us; also woollen stuffs of various sorts. These people are subject to the Great Khan. There is also a town here called Sindicin (alias Sindacui) where all the arts and occupations are carried on, which furnish the various kinds of weapons, arms, and warlike instruments, requisite for the use of an army: in the mountainous part of this province, is a place called Idifa (Ydifu) where there is an excellent silver mine, from which this metal is extracted in great quantities.

Going three days journey farther on, one arrives at the town of Cianganor * (Cianganior, Cyangamor, or Tlahan-nor) which signifies the White Lake: in this place the Great Khan has a palace, which he is very fond of inhabiting, there being many lakes and rivers thereabouts, in which there is a great number of swans, as also many plains, with cranes, pheasants, partridges, and birds of various kinds, in that of John; and as perhaps this Ungkhan had suffered himself to be converted to the Christian religion by the Nestorians, and had even been persuaded to take Priest's orders, they, without any more ado, transformed the Priest Ungkhan, into the Priest Jshau, or Priest John; and farther, as in the Prophet Ezekiel, mention is made of Gog and Magog, by the fame spiritual alchemy they turned Ung into Gog, and the Monguls into Magog.

* This Cianganor is even according to Marco Polo's explication, the White Sea, i.e. that lake on the banks of which the sovereign usually resides, and this is properly called in the Mogul language, Tjahan-nor. It is very possible indeed that it was somewhat more than three days journey from the country of the Karaites and the town of Yendac, to the Tjahan-nor; but no other Tlahan-nor can be meant, but the lake of this name, situated in 45 deg. 50 min. N. lat. and 117 deg. long. It appears that Marco Polo does not point out the situations of his places in their proper order, but goes from one to another, just as his fancy leads him, though perhaps they do not lie immediately contiguous.
large flocks. The Great Khan is fond of hawking there with falcons and gerfalcons, and catches birds innumerable. There are five different kinds of cranes here. The first is quite black, like a raven, with large wings: the second has still larger wings, which are white and beautiful, and the wings are ornamented with round eyes, like those of the peacock, glittering with gold; the head is black and red, and finely shaped; the neck is black and white. The third sort resembles the Italian cranes. The fourth is a very small kind of crane, beautifully marked with a mixture of red and blue feathers. The fifth sort is grey, with a red and black head, and is very large withal. Very near the town is a valley, containing an astonishing number of partridges and quails, for the maintenance of which the Khan orders in summer, millets to be sown, and other seeds, as these birds are fond of eating the harvest of which seeds is never got in, that they may find plenty of food; a great number of people also is appointed to take care that nobody catches them, not even in the spring, when they sow the millet. These birds are therefore so tame and accustomed to their food, that the keeper needs only whistle and throw their meat on the ground, when they immediately come to him. The Great Khan has also ordered many small houses to be made for them to stay in during the night. Now whenever he comes to this province, he finds these birds in the greatest abundance; and in the winter, when they are quite fat, he orders great quantities of them to be brought over to him on camels and other beasts of burthen, as he is not used to stay there himself, on account of the intense cold.

In turning from the province to the south-west, three days journey, is a town called Xandu (Ciandu, Cyandi, Tschangtu), which was built by Kublai Khan, and in which he has had a palace erected, of marvellous art and beauty, and ornamented with marble and other choice kinds of stone. On one side of the palace is a park including a plain of more
more than 16 Italian miles. In this inclosure are fine rich meadows, shrubberies, and rivers, and animals of all kinds are kept in it, such as flags, harts, deer, and other animals, which the Khan has ordered to be brought thither to feed his falcons and gerfalkons with, which he keeps there whilst they are moulting. When he rides out, he orders a leopard or more to be carried behind a man on horseback, and when he gives his command, the leopard is let loose, and immediately catches a hart, flag, or deer, which is given to the falcons for their food. In the midst of these meadows is a grove, in which there is a very elegant house, japanned all over, and ornamented with a great number of gilt columns and dragons, throughout which upwards of 200 silken cords are expanded, to prevent its being thrown down by the wind, it being made of cane, and consequently very light. This house may be taken quite to pieces, and put together again at pleasure. Every thing in it is arranged for the pleasure of the Khan, as he spends here three months every year, viz. June, July, and August. But on the 28th of August he adjourns to go to another place in order to perform certain sacrifices. In fact, the Khan has a stud of horses and mares as white as snow, perhaps 10,000 in number, of the milk of which none dare venture to drink, but those who belong to the family of Zingbis-Khan, except the family of Boriat, which once having behaved with great prowess in a battle, were honoured with the privilege of drinking also of this milk. Part of this mare’s milk the Great Khan is accustomed to sprinkle with his own hands in the air and on the earth, as an offering to the Gods and the Spirits, in order that his subjects, wives, children, cattle, and birds, the corn, and fruits of the earth may flourish and prosper. Three months of the year, viz. December, January, and February, Kublai Khan resides at Cambalu, properly called Khan Balgassin, or, for shortness, Khan-Balga, which the Arabian authors have
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH. 145

have converted into Khanbalick, or Khanbaligh; and the Italians to Chanbalig, or Chanbalu, Gambalu, and likewise Gamalecco. It signifies King-town, and is a translation of the Chinese word King-Tching, which is at present the northern part of the city of Pe-King, i.e. of the northern residence, and contains the Imperial palace. This town is at the beginning of Kathay, to the south-eastward, and the name of it signifies the Town of the Sovereign Lord (or Khan). The streets in it are straight, is full of stately edifices, and the Imperial palace is large and magnificent. There is also within the town an extensive park, with plenty of game, and several groves and shrubberies, together with lakes, and other pieces of water.

These are, in brief, the contents of the description of the northern parts of Asia, by Marco Polo.

Besides the remarkable circumstances mentioned here, we farther find the following piece of intelligence, viz. that in Kathay, or North China, they make a wine of rice and spices, which is very palatable, and intoxicates sooner than real wine. But far more ancient is the account given by a Mahometan traveller, A. D. 851, translated from the Arabian, and published by Eusebius Renaudot. He says, "They (viz. the Chinese) have a kind of wine made of rice; they have no other kind of wine in the country, nor indeed is there any other brought to them; they do not drink wine, and do not even know what it is." Thus we find the most ancient account of brandy in China, where they in all probability have learned this method of making an intoxicating liquor, by means of fermentation and by the assistance of fire, from the northern shepherds, who so frequently have conquered that country; for if we take a review of all those nations of shepherds in the north of Asia, which have horses, we shall find already prevalent amongst them, the use of the fermented and intoxicating milk of mares, which they call Kumys (Kofmos); and this liquor being
being drawn off by the assistance of fire, is called *Arak*, which name is also at present all over China and India, and even in Europe, given to the rice brandy.

Another remark of Marco Polo's deserves to be mentioned relative to *pit-coals*, which he calls black combustible stones, which are dug out of the mountains, and which, if laid on the fire, will burn like wood, and continue burning for a long time; so that when they are kindled in the evening, they continue to burn for the whole night. These stones are very much used, as in some places wood is very scarce.

Lastly, Marco Polo confirms what *Ruybroeck* and *Haitho*, and other authors after him, have said concerning the use of paper money in China. He says it is made of the bark of the mulberry tree, the leaves of which serve for food for the silkworms; the finest innermost bark is separated from the exterior coarser bark; it is then rubbed and stamped, and the whole made up with a kind of size so as to look like cotton paper. These coins are all black, of an oblong-square form, the greater as well as the smaller, and are made with great precision and formality. Every officer engaged in the process puts his mark upon each piece; and last of all, the Intendant appointed by the Emperor for this purpose, makes a stamp upon it with red cinnabar, from which stamp it receives its currency and value. The counterfeiting of this coin is punished with death, nor dares any body refuse to receive it on pain of death; and all payments are made in this money. It is pretty evident, that as well the bark of the morus papyrifera, or paper-mulberry tree, as of that with which the silkworms are raised in China, and perhaps also that of the white and black, and of the Tartarian mulberry-tree, is fit for the manufacturing of paper; and as still all the paper in China and Nipon (Japan) is made of the bark of the mulberry-tree, it would be certainly worth while, in the present prevailing scarcity of rags, to cultivate that very hard fruit, the Tartarian mulberry-tree, as not only the leaves of it will produce good food...
food for silkworms, but also its bark may be used with great advantage for the purpose of making paper.

VII. Oderic of Portenaus, a minorite Friar, in the year 1318, travelled to the eastern countries, and went, in company with other Monks, as far as China; after his return, he dictated the whole account of his journey, but without any order or arrangement, and just as it occurred to his memory, to Friar William de Solona (or Solanga) at Padua, A. D. 1330. From this relation we learn, that Oderic failed from Constantinople across the great (i.e. the Black) Sea to Trebizond, where he saw a man travelling along with a flock of more than 4000 partridges, which had been made tame, that whenever he sat down to rest himself, they all gathered round about him, like tame fowls, and in this manner he transported them to Trebizond, where the Emperor took as many of them as he wanted, the remainder being taken back by the man to place whence he had brought them. After this, Oderic went to Armenia Major, and Armenia (Erz-el-Rum) thence to Tauris (Tebrig) Solania (or Soltania) Caffan (alias Kaffin, or Kalvin) and Geff (or Yezd) which is situated where the Sandy Sea (Mare Arenorum) begins, and at length to Komum (alias Komu, Komru, Gomru, or Gombron) and finally to Ormus (or Ormus). From this last place he went to India, then to Manzi (South China) and after passing through

* This Oderic is likewise styled de Forsolli de Porta Pabonis (read Nahonis): he is also called Odericus and Oderifus. This Portenaus is probably the Mutatio ad Nenum mentioned in the Itinerarium Hieropolymitanum, being derived from Port, in the Kymerian tongue, a station, stage, or basking-place, and Nave, or Nave, nine; Portus Nanimis consequently is Portenaus. In Frisii this place is at present called Pordano. The account of his travels he has inscribed De Mirabilibus Mundi. These travels, together with the History of his Life, are to be found in Bellandi Actis S. S. m. Jan. d. 1., as also in Waddingii Annalium Minorum, Tom. iii. He died at Udine, A. D. 1331. Basilio Asquini, an Italian Barnabite, published at Udine in 1737, La Vita e Viaggi del beato Oderico da Udine, in 8vo.
many difficulties, at length arrived at the capital of the empire, Kambaleth (otherwife called Kambalick, or Khan-Balga) which is situated beyond the river Khara-moran (Kara-morin, or Hoang-Ho). Having seen many strange and marvellous things in Kathai, he proceeded 50 days journey to the weftward, to the country of Preftor John, and to the capital called Tozan (otherwife Kofan, Tifan, or Tifan-Nor). Upon this, after a long journey, he came to the province of Kafan (Kafan, or Turkeftan) which is upwards of 50 days journey in breadth, and 60 in length, and is full of populous towns, and likewise produces abundance of excellent provifions, particularly chestnuts. At length he came quite to Tibet (Tibet, or Tebet) in the capital of which resides an Abaffi, the Pope and Chief of the Idolaters. The women in this country wear their hair plaited in more than 100 braids. If any one dies, and the fon of the deceased wifhes to do his father honour, he calls together a number of ecclefaiftics, who, followed by all the friends and relations of the defunct, carry the body in great pomt into the fields; there they cut off the head, and give it to the fon; the flefh they cut off piecemeal from the bones, praying all the while devoutly. As soon as ever they depart, come the vultures, which are quife used to this bufliness, and carry off all the flefh. In confequence of this, the deceased is acounted a good man, and a faint, the angles being supposed to carry his corpse to Paradise. The fon in the mean time takes the head home, and eats the flefh of it. Of the skull a cup is made, out of which he and all the relations of the defunct drink with fefidal solemnity.

As we have only a few imperfect fragments left of the journey of Friar Oderic, it is hardly worth while to make any farther extracts from the remainder.

VIII. John de Mandeville was defcended from an ancient and very noble family in England. He was born at St. Alban’s. His inquisitive turn of mind,
mind, and his undaunted resolution prompted him to inquire into all the sciences, and that with equal success. He had studied physic as well as mathematics, with diligence and attention; and likewise, following the fashion of those times, had made great progress in divinity, and written books in all these sciences. He was equally expert in the exercises proper for a gentleman; and thus, in search of new adventures, he set out A.D. 1332 (1322) on a journey to the Holy Land, by the way of France; and, after an absence of 33 years, returned to his native country, having travelled nearly over all Asia, and having served in the army of the Sultan of Egypt, Mandybron (Malek el Nafer Mohammed, who reigned from 1310 to 1341) and in that of the Great Khan in China (Schun Hoamti, or Tokatmur). He died at last on the 17th of November, 1371, at Liege, where he also lies interred. He drew up an account of his Travels in Latin, French, and English. The best of these works seems to be that published in London in large 8vo, 1727, in the old English dialect, for all the others are merely extracts. However, it is with this journey, as it used to be with the writers of Chronicles in the middle ages. One always copied from the other. The Travels of Friar Oderic contain many things which are likewise to be found in the Travels of Sir John Mandeville. The copyists seem to have had the intention of completing their copy from another author who had written on a similar subject, and this is probably the reason of the exact correspondence observed between them. Besides the Latin, French, and English editions, already mentioned, there are also translations of these travels into the Italian, Spanish, and German languages.

The accounts of the southern parts of Asia do not concern us; we shall therefore content ourselves with observing, that in Mandeville's æter, the war was already begun with the revolted Prince of Manzi, or South China, who entirely drove the descendants of Zinghis Khan out of Kathay, or North-China. Cambalu however was still the residence of the Great Khan, where he resided for the space of three years.
The province of Kathai (by which probably is meant Kara-Kathay) has the kingdom of Tharth, to the east, and to the west the empire of Turquefian (Turkeftan). It contains many beautiful towns, the principal of which is Oshufar (or Otrar). The empire of Turquefian is bounded on the west (south-west) by Persia, and on the north (on the west) by Corafine (Khuarefm). This empire is very large, and to the eastward (to the northward) is contiguous to the desart. It abounds in all kind of provisions; the capital is also called Corafine (alias Khuarefm, or, according to Abulfeda, Korkang). It is bounded on the west (north-west) by the empire of Kommania, which is very extensive, but not so well inhabited; for in some places there is an insupportable heat, and in others as intolerable a degree of cold; the swarms of flies, too, which infest this country, render it uninhabitable.

IX. Francisco Balducci Pogletti, an Italian, wrote in the year 1335, a system of commercial geography, of great importance, considering the period in which it was written: the title is; Di divizamenti di paesi, e di Mesure, di mercatanzie, ed altre cose bifognavoli di sapere a mercatanti, di diversi parti del mondo*. No historian has hitherto profited by this treatise. Professor Sprengel has been the first to make use of it in his Extent and Increase of Geographical Knowledge. We shall therefore insert here a translation of that part of it which relates to our present undertaking, entire, and without any abridgment; he calls it, Avvimento del viaggio del Gattajo per lo Cammino della Tana ad andare e tornare con mercatanzia, i.e. an indication of the route that may be taken with merchandise from Tana (or Azof), to Gattay, (Kathay, or North China) and from thence back again.

* This Commercial Geography has been reprinted entire in a book where one would hardly think of looking for it, viz. in the 3d vol. of the work intitled Della Decima e della altre gravessae, Lisbona e Lucca, 1766, 4to.
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH. 151

"In the first place from Tana (or Azof) to Gintarchan (1) (or Aftrakhan) it is twenty-five days' journey with waggon drawn by oxen; but with waggon drawn by horses it is only ten or twelve days journey. On the road one meets with a great number of armed Moccels (Moguls.) From Gintarchan to Sara (2), by the river, it is but one day's sail; but from Sara to Saracanco (3), it is eight days journey by water; one may, however, travel either by land or water, whichever is most agreeable; yet, with merchandise, it is cheapest to go by water. From Saracanco to Organzi (4) it is twenty days journey travelling with camels. Whoever travels with merchandise will do well to go to Organzi, it being a convenient country for the expeditious sale of goods. And from Organzi to Oltrarra (5) it is thirty-five or forty days journey with camels. But in going from Saracanco straight on to Oltrarra, it takes up fifty days.

(1) Gintarchan, or Zintarchan, is by Joseph Barbaresco called Gitarchan; and Wijen says, in his Neer en Of Tartarye, p. 709, Aftrakhan was van vndi genaen Gitarchan, i.e. Aftrakhan was anciently called Gitarchan. By the Cimack he is called Hadshi Ader Khan, Balgafan, or the city of Hadshi Ader Khan; whence, all those names are derived, of Zitarkhan, Shirakhan, and Aftrakhan.

(2) Sara is undoubtedly the town of Saray, so often spoken of above, and situated on the eastern arm of the Wolga, or Achaabu. The Atrakhan mentioned by Baldecchi Pegolotti, was not on the same spot where that town stands now, but the ancient Atrakhan was demolished together with Saray, by the Emperor Timur, in the winter of 1395. The old town of Saray was pretty near the ancient Atrakhan.

(3) Saracanco is very probably the town formerly existing on the river Jalk, or Ural, the remains of which are still called Sarashikh.

(4) It is easy to recognize Organzi in the town of Urgench, in Khvacecin. This place is called likewise by Abulfed, Dyfderischan, and by the Persians, Korkang. But there were two towns of this name, viz. the Great and the Little Urgench. The one was very near the place where the Gihun discharges itself into Aral, this was called Old Urgench; another of this name, called New Urgench, is to be found near Chiwra, on the Gihun.

(5) Oltrarra is properly called Otra, and also Farab, which latter name is to be found in so early a writer as Abulfeda. It is situated on the river Siben, or Sirr. The Chinese, who cannot pronounce the letter "r", call it Ustora.

"journey;
VOYAGES AND JOURNEYS; AND IF ONE HAS NO MERCHANDISE, IT IS A BETTER WAY THAN THAT BY ORGANCI. FROM OLTRANRE TO ARMALLECO (6), IT IS FORTY-FIVE DAYS JOURNEY TRAVELLING WITH AFFES, AND IN THE ROAD ONE MEETS EVERY DAY WITH MOCCOL (Mogols). FROM ARMALLECO TO CAMMEXU (7) IT IS SEVENTY DAYS JOURNEY ON AFFES, AND FROM CAMMEXU TO A RIVER CALLED KARA MORIN (8) IT IS FIFTY DAYS JOURNEY ON HORSES. FROM THIS RIVER THE TRAVELLER MAY GO TO CASSAI (9), TO DISPOSE OF HIS LOADING OF SILVER THERE, THIS BEING A GOOD COUNTRY FOR THE EXPEDIENT SELL OF MERCHANDISE, AND FROM CASSAI HE GOES THROUGH THE WHOLE LAND OF GATTAY WITH THE MONEY HE HAS RECEIVED AT CASSAI FOR HIS SILVER; THIS MONEY IS PAPER MONEY, CALLED BABISCHI, FOUR OF WHICH BABISCHIES MAKE A SILVER SOMNO. FROM CASSAI TO GAMALLECO (10), WHICH IS THE CAPITAL OF THE LAND OF GATTAY, IT IS 30 DAYS JOURNEY.

IF THE READER HAS ANY IDEA OF THE DIFFICULTY ATTACHED ON MAKING OUT SO MANY NAMES OF PLACES DISGUISED BY A VICIOUS ORTHOGRAPHY, A DIFFICULTY WHICH IS STILL MORE INCREASED BY THE NECESSITY THERE IS FOR DETERMINING WITH ACCURACY THE SITUATION OF THESE PLACES, AND THEIR PROBABLE DISTANCE FROM EACH OTHER, HE WILL PERHAPS BE READY TO ALLOW, THAT THE TASK IS CERTAINLY NOT VERY TRILING, NOR TO BE ACCOMPLISHED WITHOUT MUCH LABOUR.

(6) ARMALLECO IS THE NAME OF A TOWN CALLED ALMALIG, WHICH, ACCORDING TO NASIR ETSIF, AND ULUGHEBUL, IS IN TURKESTAN. FROM SCHRIFTEHINIA,... THE AUTHOR OF THE LIFE OF TIMUR, IT APPEARS, THAT THIS ALMALIG IS SITUATED BETWEEN THE TOWN OF TASHKENT AND THE RIVER IRTISH, AND IN THE COUNTRY OF GENGIS, ON THE BANKS OF THE RIVER AB-EILE, WHICH AT THIS DAY DISCHARGES ITSELF INTO THE BOS, OR SIR-DARIA.

(7) CAMMEXU IS PROBABLY NOTHING MORE THAN THE NAME OF KHAME, OR KHAMM, WITH THE ADDITION OF XU, INSTEAD OF TSONG, WHICH IN THE CHINESE LANGUAGE SIGNIFIES A TOWN.

(8) THE RIVER ABOVE MENTIONED IS DOUBTFUL THE KARA MORIN, I.E. KARA MARTAN, BUT WHICH THE CHINESE CALL HSHANG-KO.

(9) KASSAI SEEMS TO BE THE PLACE CALLED KISSAI, ON THE NORTHERNMOST PRONGING OF THE HSHANG-KI.

(10) GAMALLECO IS WITHOUT DOUBT CAMALIG, OR PEKING, IN LIKE MANNER AS GATTAY IS BUT FOR KATAY.

Baldusci
Balducci Pegoli certifies also the existence of the paper money in China, previously mentioned by Raybroock, Hauh, Marco Polo, and Oderic of Portenau, which some of the above authors describe as being made of cotton paper; others, on the contrary, remark very justly, that it is made of the bark of the mulberry-tree. Oderic of Portenau calls it Balis, Balducci Pegoli Balisbi; Mandeville says it is made of leather. A Jesuit named Gabriel de Magallans pretends, that Marco Polo was mistaken with regard to the paper-money: but it is pretty clear, by the testimonies of about six travellers, eye-witnesses to the fact, that such paper-money actually did exist in the times of the Emperors of the Mogul race, or of the regal tribe of Yu, and then only, having been abolished afterwards.

X. John Schildtberger, from Munich in Bavaria, went from Hungary, A.D. 1394, with the army of king Sigismund, against the Turks, but in 1395 was taken prisoner by them, and by Bajazet I; or, as he constantly writes it, Weyafit, who reigned from 1389 to 1403, was sent into Asia. On Bajazet's being defeated and made captive by Timur, Schildtberger was taken prisoner likewise; and accompanied the Emperor Timur in his expeditions; and even in the last, during which he died, in the year 1405, at Otrar, or Farah, though Schildtberger says, that he died in his capital of Samarkant. He was afterwards with Schahrokh (Schah-Rokh), and remained with the auxiliaries which Schahrokh left with his brother Miranschah to fight against Kara-Joseph, a Turkomanian Emir, of the black-weather tribe. Miranschah having been beheaded by order of Kara-Joseph, Schildtberger followed Abubachir (Abubekr), Miranschah's son. With Abubekr there lived a son of a king of Great Tartary, of the name of Zegra. This Zegra received a message from Edigi* (Aideku, Ideku, or Yedighey-Khan), purporting that he would

* About this time many abuses had got footing amongst the golden tribe on the Wolga. Mamay and Yedigbei, had not, it is true, the title of the Great
would give up to him the sovereignty over Kaptchak. Zegra setting out on this occasion for Great Tartary, Schildtberger and four others went along with him. Their route carried them through Strana, which produces good silk; then through Gursey (Gurghia, or Georgia), where there are Christians; after this into the country of Lahinsbam, where silk is also cultivated; and then through another called Schurban (Shirwan), where the silk is produced, from which silk stuffs are made at Damascus and Kaffer. Next they passed through a town called Bursa (the mountain of al Burs) which is situated in Turkey, and from whence the fine silk is sent to Venice and Lucca, of which velvet is made: this is an unhealthy country; then through another called Temur capit (Demirkapi, or Derbend), that is, in the Tartarian tongue, the Iron-Gate, which separates Persia from Tartary. Then he went through a town of great strength, called Origens, situated in the middle of the water of Edil. After this he passed through a mountainous country, called Setsalet, in which there are many Christians, who have a Bishop, and some Carthusian Monks, who, however, do not perform the church service in the Latin, but in the Tartarian language, to the end that the common people may understand what is sung and read. They were now come into Great Tartary to Edigi, who had sent word to Zegra to come over, and that he would give him the crown. This Edigi had just at that juncture assembled all his troops, and was going to march them into the land of Iffibur (Bissibur, or Iffibur). They were obliged to march for the space of two months before they could reach it. In this country there is a range

Great Khan of the golden tribe in Kaptchak, but they had in fact the power in their hands, and set Khans from among the royal family on the throne, and deposed them again at their pleasure. They were descendants of Tuchin Khan; it is therefore no wonder, that after Timur's death, Tedighei Khan should endeavour to raise Zegra to the throne, who was of royal descent.

* It is evident, that Schildtberger mistakes here the mountain Al Burs for the town of Bursa, which was situated in those parts, and which at that time belonged to the Turkish Sultans of the race of Ofsman.
of mountains, of 32 days journey in length, and at the end of it is a defart, which is the end of the earth. The defart is uninhabitable on account of the reptiles and wild beasts with which it is infested. In the mountains there are savages roaming about, who are hairy all over, excepting on the face and hands. They live on green leaves and roots, and on whatsoever else they can get at. In these mountains also there are wild asses as big as horses, together with other wild beasts. The dogs in this country are made to draw carts and sledges, and serve their masters likewise for food. They are as big as asses.

The inhabitants of Issibur believe in Christ. They bury their young people who die in celibacy, with munc and rejoicing, and eat and drink on their graves. In this country they cultivate nothing but beans, and never eat any bread. Schilteberger likewise observes, that he saw all this himself, when he was with Zegra, the king's son.

Having conquered Issibur, they went to Walor (Bulgar, or Wolgar) and conquered that also; and then returned into their own country. It is a custom obtaining in that country, that the King of Great Tartary has an Obmann over him, who has the power to elect a King and to dismiss him; and also has power over the Lords of the land: this dignity was at that time in the hands of Edigi; and the king, together with the Obmann, all the nobility, and the whole people, with their wives and children, wander up and down, winter and summer, with their cattle and their whole property, in huts, which amounts to about the number of one hundred thousand.

Now there was at that time a king in Great Tartary, named Schudibbecken, or Kem (Schadibbeck-Khan) the son of Timur Utsuck, the grandson of Timur-melik-aglen, and great grandson of Urus-Khan; he reigned from 1401 to 1406. The instant he heard that Edigi was approaching, he took flight, but was pursued and killed in the skirmish. Edigi gave him a successor, named Polat (Pulad-Khan, son of Schadibbeck).
beck). He reigned for the space of a year and a half (from 1406 to 1408). After him Segel Alladie (Zedy Khan, the son of Tokatmysh, or Toktemysh-Khan) got possession of the throne: but he was soon driven away by Timir, the brother of Polat (Timur-Khan, son of Timur-Ulück) who reigned 14 months. His brother Thbak, taking the field against him, with a view to dispute the sovereignty with him, killed him, notwithstanding which he never attained to the throne, but his brother, Kerunbardin, ascended it, who however reigned but five months. Thbak now endeavoured to dispossess his brother of the sovereignty; but he did not enjoy it long; for at this juncture came Edigi, and set up Zegra in his place. But Zogra was Khan only for nine months, for Machmet (Mohammed-Khan, son of the above-mentioned Timur Khan, and grandson of Timur Ulück) fought a pitched battle with Edigi and Zegra, in which the first was taken prisoner, and the second fled into a country called Kefihisbach (Descht-Kiptschak.) But Machmet was in his turn driven away by Waroch; from whom, however, soon after, Machmet retook his dominions, which were a second time taken from him by Deblaberd, who kept possession of them but three days, when he was in his turn dethroned by Warocb. He was, however, afterwards killed by Machmet, who assumed the sovereign power: now Zegra endeavoured to seat himself once more on the throne, but he was killed; and Schildberger, with the four other Christians, attached themselves to Manufzujeb, who had been Zegra's counsellor, and who went on his journey to Kaffa in Crimea, where there were Christians, and where there are six different religions prevalent among the people. After a stay of five months in Kaffa, Manufzujeb crossed an arm of the Black Sea (the straits of Zabake) into a country called Zekchbas (Zilchia) where he remained six months. But the Sultan of Turkey sent to the sovereign of the country, requesting him not to allow Manufzujeb to stay in his dominions. He therefore went into the land
land of Magnill (Mangrill, or Mingrelia). Schildtberger and his Christian companions now resolved to return home, as they were at the distance only of three days journey from the Black Sea; they took leave therefore of Manufzuftib, and going to the capital of the country of Bathan (Bedian, Bedias) desired they might be conveyed across the sea, which was, however, refused them; upon this they rode four days along the coast, till at length they espied a Kokan (or ship) which was at the distance of about eight Italian miles from the shore. They then made a signal to the ship by means of fire, which thereupon sent people to them in a zullen (boat) to whom they made themselves known; and having, by rehearsing the Lord’s Prayer, Ave-Maria, and the Creed, proved themselves to be Christians, and the men having carried an account thereof to the Captain of the ship, they came back with zullen (boats) to fetch them. After going through many dangers, they landed at last at Constantinople, where they were well received by the Grecian Emperor (Johannes Palaeologus), who sent them in a galley to the castle of Gili (Kilia), on the lower end of the Thonau (or Danube). Schildtberger having parted with his friends, went with some merchants to a town called Whitetown (Akkierman, Afprokafro, Tchetat-alba, Belgorod) which is situated in Walachia. From thence he went to the capital of the Lesser Walachia (Moldavia), called Sedhof (Sutfchawa, formerly the capital of all Moldavia). Then they came to a town called in the German tongue Lubawa (Lwow, or Lemberg) which is the capital of all White Russia, where Schildtberger lay sick for near three months; and, finally, he went by the way of Cracow, the capital of Bolen (Poland), and Pressla (Breslau), the capital of Sileria, through Misnia, Eger, Ratibon, and Freyssingen, back to Munich, having been from home upwards of thirty-two years.

This
IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)
This narrative of Schildtberger's furnishes us with many particulars which ascertain the situation of Tartary at that time. The succession of the Khans of Khapschak is very deferving of our attention; as is also the following circumstance, viz. that we no longer find any mention made of Saray and Atrakhan; for if I am not mistaken, his Origens is Agraeban. As to his saying that it stands in the middle of the Edil, or Volga, this is probably a mistake, for Edil signifies any river whatever; in fact, Atrakhan, as well as Saray, has already been demolished by the Emperor Timur, about the year 1595. He speaks of the wild ases in the mountainous deserts, and the dogs which were harnessed to fleges. The town Issibur, or Bissibur, is the ancient Russian town of Isborke. In short, he must be allowed to be a sensible writer, and a man of veracity.

XI. The ambassadors of the Emperor Timur's son, Schah Rokh, in the year 1420, went from Herat, the residence of Schah Rokh, to Kathai, to the court of the Emperor Yanglo, and had audience of him. This journey has been described by the famous Persian historian, Emir Khond (or Emik-Khovand, or Mirchond), in his book "of the wonders of the world." The worthy Burgomaster of Amsterdam, Nicholas Witfen *, has inserted this journey, translated from the Persian language into the Dutch, in the fe-

* This remarkable work of Nicholas Witfen is very rare, either of the two editions of it being extremely seldom to be met with; for Witfen suppressed this work from motives with which we are not acquainted. This is the reason why it is so seldom to be found even in large collections of books. The library of our University is in possession of a copy of it; which formerly belonged to the Empress of Russia's library, and was purchased for the said library, at the sale of the late M. Thunman's effects, for eighty rix-dollars. I have now the pleasure to inform the public, that Schabkamp, the bookseller at Amsterdam, has at length procured from the heirs of Witfen the remaining copies of this book, together with the plates; and according to the advice I have received from Amsterdam, he intends to accommodate the public with it in the month of May; but at the same time I am informed " that it will not appear in so complex a state as that of the genuine impression," though it will be set off with a new preface, and " with as many plates as the editors have been able to find."
cond edition of his excellent work, intitled *Nord en Oost Tartarye*, from page 435 to 452. We will here give an extract of the most interesting part of it. And though this journey was not undertaken by Italians, yet as, like all the other travels inserted above, it throws some light on the interior parts of the North of Asia, with which we have hardly the least acquaintance, we think ourselves justified in presenting it to our readers, as an important addition to the common stock of knowledge with respect to different countries and nations.

"The ambassadors of *Mirza Schab Rokh*, of whom *Shadi Khodja* was the principal, set out from *Herat*, A. D. 1419, about the month of November, and went to *Balkh*. In January 1420, they proceeded to *Samarkand*, from which place they did not depart till February, when they went to *Taafshkent*, and *Asperab*, and immediately after came into the territory of the Moguls: on the first of April they arrived in *Pielgutu* (Palchas?) a place belonging to *Muhammed Beck*. They then went over the water of *Lenger* (Abi-lenger, Abi-longur); and visited the Sultan *Schadi Gurgahan*, the son of *Muhammed Beck*, who received them kindly; and in eight days after this they came to that district which was the residence of the *Jel*, the tribe of *Schier Begrahm*. This was a desert, where the cold is so intense, that even at the summer solstice the water is sometimes covered with ice two inches thick. Some time after having learned that the ambassadors of *Oweys Khan* had been attacked and plundered, their fears occasioned them to travel over the mountains with the greatest expedition, notwithstanding that it rained and snowed continually, insomuch that, by the 12th of May, they reached the town of *Turfan* (Turkhan, Tarlaam, or Tarkhaan). The greatest part of the inhabitants here were Idolaters, and worshiped a large idol called *Schamku*, which they kept in a temple. Two days after this the ambassadors made their departure, and in three days more came to *Kharadzhia* (Harashchar, or Asfaralic, or rather Haracoja). Here they had scarcely
scarcely been five days, before there arrived some Kathayan secretaries, who took down in writing the names of the ambassadors, and the number of their retinue. Nine days after this they came to a town called Naaz (or Naar), where there are several Zeijids, or descendants of Mahomed, who are settled thereabouts at a certain place called Termed. In two days more they came to the town of Kabul (Kamyl, or Khamil), where the Mahometans have a fine mosque, built by their superintendent Emir Fakhr-Eddien. From thence they travelled for the space of twenty-five days through a desert, during all which time they came every second day only to a watering place. They also saw lions there, contrary to the opinion of some who pretend there are no lions in Kathay; they observed likewise, a very particular kind of wild bulls, called Gau Khottabi, which were endued with such strength, as to be able to lift a man from off his horse, and had very hairy tails, which are in great estimation over all Asia; they being by some carried about on long poles by way of ornament, and by others hung round their horses' necks; while on other occasions they are made use of for fly-flaps. Next they came to a small Kathayan town called Katajekt-scheu (Sektscheu, Schatfscheu); and the latter part of the journey having been through the desert, where they were for the space of ten days without water, they were met by the order of the Emperor, in a pleasant green field, by some Kathayans. These latter erected tents for them, and entertained them with roasted geese, fowls, and other sorts of flesh-meats, as also with different kinds of fruits, dried and fresh, which were served up to them in china dishes; after their repast they were regaled likewise with all sorts of inebriating liquors. The huts in which these entertainments were given, were ornamented with green boughs of all kinds; the entertainments, however, were not so elegant and expensive as those with which they were usually welcomed in large
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH. 161

large towns. At this place very exact lists were made of all the servants belonging to the embassy, the ambassadors being at the same time very earnestly requested to state the exact number and no more, and the merchants having been stated in the number of servants, were on that account obliged to perform the services falling to their lot. The list of the servants belonging to the Emir Khodscba, and to the ambassador Kuklicbah, amounted to two hundred people; and that of Ardeuahm to fifty. The ambassadors of Mirza Ulug Bek, the son of Schah Rokh, had set out before; but those of Mirza Ibrahim Sultan *, were not as yet arrived. It is remarkable, that amongst the many viands, fruits, and liquors, that were set before them, there was also a pot of Chinese tea, a potion which the Jesuit Trigault imagined had come into use of late years only in China **.

From this place their route lay again through a defart, in which, after some days, they met with a Karawul ***, or out-post, which was not only very

* Mirza Ibrahim Sultan was also a son of Schah Rokh, and his dominions extended over the province of Fars, the capital of which was Shiras.

** Tea is called by the Chinese Tscha, and its use is very ancient. We have two Arabian authors, the one of which wrote A. D. 851, and the other 867. The most ancient of these mentions, that even at that early period, the Chinese made frequent use of an infusion of the leaves of a shrub, called by them Sab, or Tscha; and the use of this herb must by this time have become absolutely necessary to the Chinese, for the Emperor had a great income from a tax he had laid upon tea; and the plant has become so universally necessary, that they might confidently venture to lay a tax on it. Eufebius Renaudot has published a French translation of these two Arabian writers of travels, the title of which is, Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine, traduites de l'Arabe par l'Abbé Renaudot à Paris. 1718. 8vo.

*** This Persian word is also introduced into the Tartarian language, and from thence the Russians have transplanted it into theirs; for a guard, or watch, is called in the Russian language, a karawul.
strongly fortified, but also very full of people.

Now this was a pass in the mountains through which all travellers must unavoidably go. Here their retinue was examined again. From this pass they came to the town of Natshiu (Nang-thieu, Naatshieu), which is very large, and encompassed by a strong wall, and has many markets for all kinds of merchandise and meat. The markets are very clean swept, and are laid with a strong cement of stucco. The four principal streets cross each other at right angles. From Nang-thieu they came to another town called Kamtschu. After some time they came to the Abi Daraan (or the water of Daraan, which immediately after is called Khararaan, and probably ought to be Kara-Moran), which they crossed on a pont volant, or flying boat-bridge, and came to a very fine town with magnificent temples; here they also found three houses, with some elegantly dressed and very beautiful public women in them, most of whom were natives. The Persians called this town in their language (Rhosnabaad) the habitation of beauty. After this they passed through some more towns, and came to a river which was twice as large as the Oxus (or Gihon), and then they met with several more rivers, which they crossed by means of bridges and ferry-boats, till they arrived at Obiendiuenpuhr, a very large and populous town; there they saw a cast image of yellow metal gilded, a hundred feet high, which had a great number of hands, each of which held an eye; this image was placed on a pedestal of polished stone, and surrounded by six tiers of balustrades. At length, in December 1420, they reached the city Chaam-Balug (Khanbaligh). The workmen here were still occupied in building the walls of the town, which is square; and of which the external wall measures four miles on each side. The ambassadors being arrived at the imperial palace, which was very magnificent, were, after some time, presented to the Emperor, and having taken refreshments, were dismissed. Some days after, the Emperor
Emperor gave them an elegant entertainment, and they were daily well received at court, where they remained five months. The Emperor then made presents to the ambassadors, and gave them also some other presents for their masters, which latter presents chiefly consisted of falcons. It is farther to be observed, that each of the principal ambassadors was presented with several Balifch of silver; hence it appears that a Balifch is either a coin or a weight; and as we have seen before, that the paper money of the Zingbijikanides was also called Balifch, it seems evident that these Balifch were pieces of silver of a certain value; we know, however, that the amount could not be very considerable, as silver has always been scarce in China, and the principal ambassador had only ten Balifch given him, while the others received no more than seven or eight. Finally, I find also amongst the presents many things of which we have not the least knowledge; and last of all, 2000 or 5000 Dzjau, or Tzjau, which Witfen interprets to be an unknown species of coin. It is possible, however, that Witfen may have been mistaken in this, just as he was in the Balifches of silver, which he makes out to be head-pillows; and indeed to me it appears probable, that it was Tscha, or tea, of which we should perhaps understand here, 2000, or 5000 Kafch, or Kanderins, i. e. certain very small Chinese weights. But what is no less remarkable, is that tin appears also here amongst the presents, in seventy, and twenty-four small pieces.

Just before the departure of the ambassadors, one of the Emperor's favourite comforts happening to die, great preparations were made for her funeral, when the palace, which was quite new-built, and japanned and gilded all over, was struck by lightning, and, together with many out-buildings, burnt down to the ground. These events affected the Emperor so much, that he fell sick, and died of mere grief and sorrow; and for the remainder of the time that the Ambassadors stay there, his son conducted the affairs of the empire.
About the middle of May, 1421, the ambassadors set out again from Chanbaligh, accompanied by some of the chief officers of the Empire, and were again regaled in all the towns in the same manner as they had been in their way thither. In about a fortnight they arrived at Sekaan, or Segaan (Sigan-fu); they were likewise permitted to pursue their journey uninterrupted, and without having their baggage searched, as was otherwise usually done. Thirty-five days after this, they came to the river Karamuran; and in nineteen days more they reached Khamsi (Khantzechu); here every thing was restored to them, that had been taken from them by the Kathayans, when they were on their road to the capital, as well as what they had left there to be taken care of till their return. In this town they stayed seventy-five days, and soon after came to Nangtschiu. They did not set out again on their journey before the month of January, 1412, when they came to Karaul, the out post before-mentioned, near the pafs in the mountains. From the middle of January, to the tenth of March, in order to avoid the bad roads, they travelled with great difficulty and labour through the desert, and reached, in fifty-five days, Chatan (Khoten, Hotum) about the beginning of May. In the beginning of August they came to Khafseger (Kaschar, or Hafiker). In fifteen days from this, they arrived at Andegan (Andifchdan, or Dedchan); and in about twenty days more, reached Herat, the residence of Schahrokh, in the first part of September, 1422.

This expedition is also remarkable, inasmuch as the ambassadors returned by a road very different from that by which they came; for the tracks of these routes are in some places nearly five degrees of latitude distant from each other. We find tea already in use here. We see that at this period the paper baliches are no longer used, silver baliches, which however seem to be very scarce, being made use of in their stead. Tin must have been a commodity of peculiar value here and scarce. In an except to this, the people had occasion to have a number of taste them when they passed into and out of their country, without being searched, as was otherwise usually done. The monarch of the Kathayans is still using the papier-maché boxes, which are considered the most valuable articles of their commerce.
peculiar value even amongst the Chinese. We cannot here avoid remarking with pleasure, the honorable reception given by the Chinese to the Ambassadors; the particular attention with which they registered the number of their retinue; and the exact probity with which they preferred, and restored the things entrusted to their care. Finally, I must observe farther, that gilt and japanned dwelling-houses, like the before-mentioned, must necessarily be very much exposed to thunder, as the gold acts as a conductor, and draws the fire of the lightning straight into the inner rooms, which are composed of wood, and varnished with so combustible a substance as lac, and where, consequently, it must hardly be possible to extinguish it."

XII. Jofaphat Barbaro, a Venetian, was, by the republic of Venice, in the year 1436, sent ambassador to Tana, a town now called Azof, which at that time belonged to the Genoese; and also afterwards, viz. in 1471, to Persia, to Uffum Hassan (alias Aflambei), at that time a Turkomanian prince, of the tribe of the white weather. He was sixteen years among the Tartars, and on his return to his native country, gave an account of both these his expeditions. This relation has been printed in a small and scarce collection, published by Antonio Minuto, at Aldus's press, at Venice, in 1543, and was afterwards inserted, by Giuseppe Baptista Ramusio, in his large collection of travels, consisting of three volumes in folio. It is to be also found translated into Latin in the Scriptores rerum persicarum, published at Frankfort in 1607. He died at a very advanced age in his native country, in 1494.

The journey to Persia to Uffum Hassan containing but few accounts of those parts which are the peculiar objects of our researches, I shall communicate only some short extracts from the first journey to Tana, or Azof.

Jofaphat
Jofaphat Barbarus began his journey to Tana in 1436, and explored that country with great assiduity, and spirit of enquiry that does him honour, partly by land, and partly by water, for the space of sixteen years. The plain of Tartary is bounded on the East by the great river Ledil, (Wolga) on the West by Poland, on the North by Russia, and on the South by the Great (or Black) Sea, Alania, Kumania, and Gazaria, which altogether border on the sea of Tabacke (Zabachi from Tchaback-Denghiffi, i.e. the Brachfen Sea). Alania has its name from the people called Alani, who in their own language call themselves As. They were Christians, and their country had been ravaged and laid waste by the Tartars (i.e. the Mogols). This province contains mountains, rivers, and plains, in which latter are found many hills made by the hands of men, and serving for sepulchral monuments; on the top of each of them is a large stone with a hole in it, in which they fix a cross, which is likewise made of a piece of stone. These sepulchral monuments are innumerable; and it is said, that sometimes there are great treasures buried in them. But it is 110 years since the religion of Mahomet was introduced amongst the Tartars (or rather Mogols); before that period, indeed, there were some Mahometans here, but, at the same time, every one was permitted to follow whatever religion he pleased. In consequence of this some worshipped wooden images, and idols of fir, which they carried about with them on their carts; but the compulsion to the Mahometan religion take its date from the time of Hedihi (alias Edigi, and Jedighei), who was a general of the Tartarian Emperor Sidabhameth Khan. This Hedihi was the father of Naurus, of whom Jofaphat relates, that in his days Ulu-Mahomet (i.e. the great Mahomet) was Khan. But this Naurus happening to have some misunderstanding with the Emperor, went with the Tartars that adhered to him, to the river Ledil (i.e. the Wolga), where there was one of the Emperor's relations called Khezi.
Khezi Mahamet, i.e. little Mahomet. These two resolved to wage war against Ulu Mahameth. Accordingly they marched by Giterban (or Aftrakhan) and through the plains of Tumen (i.e. the great Defart extending between the Wolga and the Don, quite to the Caucasus), close to Circassia, and turned off to the river Tana (or Don) and to the sea Tabache (Tschabaki), which was frozen over, as was the river Tana. They marched in different parties, and at a considerable distance from each other, in order to find food for their cattle; so that some of them crossed the Don at a place called Palastra, while others crossed this river where it was covered with ice, near Bojagaz, which two places are at the distance of 120 miles from each other. They came upon Ulu-Mahumeth so unexpectedly, that he fled with his wife and children, and left every thing in confusion behind him; when Khezi-Mahomed became Emperor in his stead, and in the month of June crossed the Don again.

Going from Tana westwards, along the coast of the sea of Tabache to the left, and then for some distance along the Great (or Black) Sea, quite to the province of Mengleria (or Mingrelia); one arrives after three days journey along the sea, at the province of Chremuch (otherwife Kremuk, and Kromuk), the sovereign of which is called Biperdi, i.e. Decodati, given by God; and his son is called Chertibei (or Khertibe), i.e. the true and real Lord. He is in possession of a beautiful country, adorned with fertile fields, a great number of fine woods, and considerable rivers. He can raise about a thousand horse. The great people of this country live on plundering the caravans. Their horses are good, the people themselves valiant, and very artful; they have nothing strange in their appearance. This country abounds in corn, as also in meat and honey; but produces no wine. Beyond this province are others, which have a different language, and are not far from each other, viz. 2. Elipebe (Chippiche, Kipple) 3. Tatar-kofia
VOYAGES AND

Tatartupia). 4. Sabai, 5. Chenerthei (otherwise Cheuerthei, Khewerthei, Kharbatei, Khabardei, Khabarda), 6. As, i.e. the Alani. These provinces extend for the space of twelve days journey quite to Mengleria (Mingrelia). This Mingrelia borders on the Kaitacchi (or Chaitaki) who live about the Caspian mountains, partly also near Giorgania, and on the shores of the Black Sea, and on the range of mountains which extends into Circassia. On one side it is encompassed also by the river Phafus, which empties itself into the Black Sea. The sovereign of this province is called Bendian (Dadian), and is in possession of two fortifications near the sea, the one of which is called Fathi (Badias), and the other Savopolii, (otherwise Sabastopolii, also Lguriah, or Dioskurias); and besides these, he has several other castles and fortified rocks. The whole country is stony and barren, and produces no other kind of corn than millet. They get their salt from Kaffe. They manufacture some dark stuffs, and are a beauteous people. In this country, white is called Tetarti, and properly signifies silver coin; in like manner the Greeks call silver coin Aspro, the Turks Akeia, and the inhabitants of Zangathai, Zengh, all of which signifies white; hence, as well at Venice as in Spain, certain coins are still called Bianchi. This last observation exhibits a surprising conformity of so many different nations to call one and the same thing by a name of the same, or similar import.

"Now going from Tanna across the river, along the sea of Tabache, to the right hand from the mouth of the Don quite unto Kaffa, one comes to an isthmus which connects the island with the main land, and is called Zebala; similar to that which connects the Morea with the continent, and is called Epimilia. Here are large salt lakes, in which the salt crystallizes.

"Going into the peninsula, on the sea of Tabache, the first province one comes to is Kumania named thus after the people called Kumanians. Then follows
Iows the chief province, which is called Gazzaria (Chazaria) where also Kaffa is. The ell (pico), by which in those parts, and even in Tana, every thing is measured, is called, from this country, the Gazarian ell (pico de Gazzaria).

"The low country of the Island of Kaffa is governed by Tartars, who have a sovereign called Ulubi, the son of Azicharei. They are able, in cafe of need, to bring into the field three or four thousand horse. They possess two walled, but not strong, places; the one, Sergathi * (Solgathi), is by them also called Ineremia (Chirmia), which signifies a fortification; the other, Cherchiarde ** (Kerkiarde) means, in their language, forty places. On the Island, even on the mouth of the sea of Tabaccha, is a town called Cherv *** (Kerch, or Kars), which by the Italians was called Bosphorus Cimmericus. Then comes Kaffa †, Soldaja ‡‡ (alias Soldadia, Soldaja, more properly Sugdaja, and at present Sudak, or Sudag), Grufui ‡‡‡ (or Grusui) Cymbalo ‡, (Cimbalo, Symbolon Hormos,

* Sergathi is the place which Abulfeda, previous to this author, had called Solget, or Kirka; it is at present called Efkiyren, i. e. the Old Citadel.
** Kerkiarde is the Kerki of Abulfeda, situated on an inaccessible mountain, and signifies, in the Turkish language forty men. Some call the place Kyrk, and the Poles give it the name of Kirkiel. This was a castle belonging to the Jews, or Goths, who dwelled in those mountains, and of whom but a short time since there were some traces remaining; they had a language of their own, which contained many words common to it and the German.
*** Kerka is even now called Kerkh, and was the ancient Pontica-paun of the Bosphorian kings, and so early as in Philip of Macedon's time bore the name of Bosphorus. It is the Ol-Kara of Abulfeda.
† Kaffa, or Kupha, is nearly on the same spot, where, in the times of the Greeks and Romans stood the town of Theodosia.
‡‡ Soldaja was so early as in Abulfeda's time called Sudak, ‡‡, indeed, it is at present; it was formerly very famous, and a town of great trade.
‡‡‡ Grusui is a place at present entirely unknown; it, however, probably stood where now, under the denomination of Krusmufin, there seem to remain some traces of the name.
‡ Cimbalo is certainly Symbolon Hormos, and is the haven of Buluklawa of the moderns.
or Limen, Sarfona *, (or Cherson), and Kalamita **. All these places are at this present time subject to the Turks.—Farther on from Kaffa, in the Island where it is encompassed by the Black Sea, lies Gothia, and still farther Alania, which is situated without the Island, towards Moncaстро ***. The Goths speak German: I know it from this circumstance, that when the servant whom I had with me, and who was a German, spoke with them, they understood him tolerably well, just as a native of Furli in the Pope's dominions might understand a Florentine †. From this

* Sarfona (otherwise Sarfona, Scherson, and Scherschi) was formerly called Cherson Treccea, and the foundations of it were laid almost 600 years before the birth of Christ, by the inhabitants of Heraclea in Pontus: it was also called Chersonesus, i.e. the Peninsula, for thereby was meant the whole of the Peninsula between this harbour of Cherson, and that of Symbolon, which was entirely inhabited by Greeks. The Russians took the town in the reign of Vladimir the Great, and in their ancient annals call it Kersus.

** Kalamita appears to me to be an adulteration of the word Klisonta. For all these towns which Joseph Barbaro names, from Kaffa to Cherson, belonged formerly to the fortified castles and towns called Accras, in Oriental.

*** Moncastro is a place at the mouth of the Dniefer, which the Turks at this present time call Ak-khersan; the Wallachians, Yehonat Alba; the Russians, Belgorod; the Greeks, Astra Kafiro; and the Genoese, 350 years ago, called it Moncaistro. Now all these different appellations have their origin in the name given to this place by the Romans, who called it Albacosta.

† This circumstance is worthy of observation. Rushbrooke had before remarked it, (our Author remarks it too) and so does Buseck. Father Melchior met with many of the slaves in the galleys at Constantinople, who were deftined for the Goths, and spoke a language very like the German. Now, at this time, when Russia is in possession of the Crimea, it is to be wished, that the few remaining traces of the Gothic language may be inquired after, and particularly, that strict search may be made among the relics of this Gothic people, which must still dwell somewhere in the Crimea. This language would serve to explain and illustrate the few remains we possess of Bishop Uffel's translation of the gospel into Gothic; while the names and customs of this people, together with many of their phrases, and peculiar turns of expression, would throw great light on the manners and customs of the ancient Germans. Nay, it is possible, that some families of the first rank among them may have preserved to this day several books, the finding of which would prove a very important discovery indeed. Our ingenious traveller...
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.

This vicinity between the Goths and Alanians, originates, as I imagine, the name of Gotitalani. The Alanians were the first inhabitants; the Goths came at a later period, and conquered these countries, and, as the two nations mingled with each other, this mixed name likewise came into use. All these profess the Greek religion, as do likewise the Tseberkians.

And as I have before made mention of Tumen and Githercan (which latter is otherwise called Citracan and Aftrakhan) I will relate some remarkable circumstances concerning them. Going from Tumen eastwards, and to the south-west, seven days journey, one arrives at the river of Ledil (otherwise the Erdil, Erdil, Atel, Athol, and Wolga) on the banks of which is situated Githercan, a little, insignificant town (terrazuola, terriciola) laid waste, as it were, and in ruins. Formerly it was very considerable and celebrated; as before the devastation of it by Tamerlane, the spices and silks, which go to Syria, were carried by Githercan, and so to Tana, from whence they were fetched, by six or seven large galleys to Venice; for at that time no other nation besides Venice traded to Syria. The Edil is a large and very broad river, which discharges itself into the sea of Baku, 25 Italian miles below Githercan. Both in this sea and in the river, innumerable fish are taken. In this sea (which is likewise tolerably salt) there is a great number of fish, like Tunnies (Morone) and flurgcons (Schenali). One may sail up this river to within three days journey from Mosco (Moscow, or Mokwa) in Russia. The inhabitants of Mosco go with their ships every year to Githercan to fetch salt; and down to this place the passage is

traveler here compares the difference between the language of a Goth of Crimea, and that of a German, to the difference between the dialect of the inhabitants of Forli in the Pope's dominions, who train out their words in the pronunciation to a great length, and that of the Florentines, who speak from the throat; both which people, though they are near neighbours, yet speak very different dialects, but at the same time are able to comprehend each other.
easy, as the river Mosca runs into the Occa, and this again into the Erdil. In this river there are a great many islands and forests; some of the islands are 30 miles in circumference, and the woods contain trees of such a size, that one of them when hollowed out, will make a boat, which will take eight or ten horses, and twice as many men to draw it. Cross the river, and going 15 days journey to the north-west of Mosca, along the same river, one meets with innumerable hordes of Tartars. But, if one travels to the north-ward, and reaches the confines of Ruffia, one arrives at a small town called Risam (or Rezan) which belongs to a relation of the Grand Duke of Ruffia, John. The inhabitants of it are all Christians, and follow the usages of the Greek Church. The country abounds in corn, flesh, honey and other good things. They likewise import Boffia* here, which is a kind of beer. In this country there are woods and villages in great number. Somewhat farther still, is a town called Colona (or Colonna). The fortifications of both places are made of wood, of which materials likewise all the houses are built, as nothing is seen in these parts built of stone or bricks. Three days journey farther on is the province of Mosca, where John, Duke of Ruffia, resides. Through this province runs the river Mosca (Mokwa, or Moscow) which in several places has bridges over it, and from which in all probability the country takes its name. The cattle is situated on a hill, and is encompassed round about with woods. The fertility of the country with respect to corn and flesh, may be understood, from this circumstance, that flesh is not sold by weight, but they give it out in large pieces, as much as would weigh four pounds. Seventy hens may be bought for a ducat, (from four to five shillings each,

* At this present time they have in Ruffia an inebriating liquor, prepared from millet, which is called Boffia, and is very heady. This probably is what is meant here by our author.
though the value varies in Italy according to the different provinces) and a goose is worth three marketti or little marks (i.e. somewhat less than a penny). It is very cold in this country, so that even the river freezes over. In winter they carry to market oxen and other beasts, ready slaughtered, and with their entrails taken out, and set them on their feet, which are frozen as hard as a stone, in such numbers, that if any one chose to buy up 200 of them it might easily be done; as to cutting them up, it is impossible, for being as hard as marble, they are delivered out whole. As to fruit, one meets with none, except a few apples, nuts, and small walnuts. When they have a mind to travel from one place to another, especially when the distance is very great, they travel in winter, as at that time every thing is frozen: they then travel very comfortably, excepting the inconveniences arising from the cold. At this season of the year they take with them on their Sanì (or sledges, which are to them what our wagons are to us) every thing they have a mind, with the greatest ease. In summer, when it is very dirty, and there are large clods on the road, a circumstance which proceeds from the country being extremely woody, and for that reason, in a great measure, uninhabitable, they do not venture to take long journeys. They have no grapes but make a kind of wine from honey, or a species of beer from millet, in which beer they put hop-blossoms (fiori di brufcandoli) of which the odour is so powerful as to occasion sneezing, and which intoxicate like wine. And here I cannot pass over unnoticed what the Grand Duke did, on finding that his subjects were such drunkards, and, in consequence of their drunkenness, neglected businesses of every kind; as indeed he took in hand many other things for their service. He gave orders, in fact, that no more beer should be brewed, nor mead made, nor hops used, by which means he obliged them to lead sober and regular lives. This happened about 25 years ago.
Before this period the Russians paid tribute to the Emperor of Tartary; but now they have conquered a country, called Kafan, which signifies Kettle, and is situated at the distance of five miles from Moscows. This country lies to the left of the river Ledil (or Wolga) as one goes to the sea of Bocri (or Bakhu). This country has a considerable trade, and a great quantity of furs is got from thence, which are carried by way of Moscows to Poland, Prussia, and Flanders. These furs come from the north-east, at a great distance, out of the empire of Zaghathai*, and from Moxia**, which northern districts are inhabited by Tartars, part of whom are idolaters, as are the Moxians to this day.

Now as I have some accounts concerning the Moxians, I shall relate what I know of their religion and situation. At a certain time they are wont to take a horse, which they lead into the midst of their assembly, and bind its four feet to an equal number of stakes, likewise his head to a stake driven into the earth. Upon this, one of them takes his bow and arrow, and places himself at a considerable distance, and shoots at the heart of the animal, till he has killed him. After that he fleas him, and stuffs the skin, but the flesh they eat, after having performed certain ceremonies with it. The skin they stuff with straw, and sew it together, so as to make it appear entire; and stick flat pieces of wood through the skin that covered the legs, so that the creature may seem to stand on its legs just as it did

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* Zaghathia was the name of one of the sons of Zinghis Khan, and as that part of the empire fell to his share, which comprehended Turkestan, Miswarahbara, and Karesim, in the sequel these provinces were called the empire of Zaghathai.

** Moxia is the country of the Morduaniens, part of whom give themselves the name of Mishcha.
when alive. Lastly, they cut the branches of a large tree, and making a stage on the top of it, set the horse upon it; when they worship it, and offer up to it fables, ermins, grey squirrels (vari) and foxes, which they hang on the tree (just as we offer up wax-lights to the saints) in such a guise, that the tree is hung all round with these furs. The food of this people consists in a great measure of flesh, and that chiefly venison; and likewise of fish, which they catch in the rivers; and so much for the Moxians. Of the Tartars, I have nothing farther to observe, than that many of them are idolaters, who carry the idols which they worship about in their carts: sometimes one meets with those who are accustomed to worship each day the animal that meets them first, when they go out of their houses.

The Grand Duke has likewise taken Nowgorod, which signifies Newcastle. It is an extensive district, which is eight days journey to the north-west of Moscow. It was formerly governed by the people. The inhabitants were people without any sense and reason, and had a great many heretics among them: but at present the Catholic faith makes its way by degrees, though even now some believe, and others not: in the mean time, however, they lead more rational lives, and justice is properly administered.

In going from Moscow to Poland, it is 22 days journey ere one reaches the latter. The first place one meets with in Poland is a fortified place called Trocki*; but one cannot get thither otherwise than by travelling through woods and over hills, as it lies in a defert. There are, it is true, fire-places from place to place, where the inns are bespoke beforehand, in which travellers may, if they please, rest themselves awhile, and make a fire. Sometimes, though extremely seldom indeed, one meets with a small hamlet a little way out of the road. Going

* Trocki is likewise called Trenk, and is a well-known town in Lithuania, in the neighbourhood of Wilna.
from Trocki, farther on, one meets with more hills and woods; there are, however, some habitations, and nine days journey from Trocki is a fortified place called Loniri (or Lonin*). After this one comes into ** Lithuania, where one meets with a district called Varsonich ***, which belongs to certain Lords, who are subject to Kazimir, King of Poland. The country is fertile, and contains a great many walled towns and villages, but none of any great importance. From Trocki it is seven days journey to Poland, and the country is good and beautiful. Here one meets with Merfaga †, a tolerable good town, and here ends Poland, concerning the towns and provinces of which country I shall say nothing farther, for want of proper intelligence, excepting that the King, together with his sons and his whole household, are very good Christians, and that the eldest of the Princes is the present King of Bohemia.

Travelling four days more, we got out of Poland, and reached Frankfort, a city which belongs to the Margrave of Brandenburg. We were now in Germany; but I shall say nothing of this country, as it is a place where we are, as it were, at home, and with which besides most people are well acquainted. Now

* Of Loniri, or Lonin, I have not the least knowledge; I am therefore apt to imagine that we should read Slavan, which was formerly a place of great note, and used to be a duchy allotted to the appanaged Princes of the Grand Ducal House of Lithuania.
** Here we must read out of, not in Lithuania; for Warsaw is not in this province, but in Mazura, or Masovia.
*** By Varsonich in all probability is meant the city of Warsaw.
† Of Merfaga it is not easy to determine the situation; though I am apt to conclude, from its situation on the borders of Poland towards the Brandenburgh territories and the neighbourhood of Frankfort on the Oder, that it is Mesheris, or Miedzyrynys, must be meant. In the mean time, with respect to these three last-mentioned names of places in Poland, the situation of which I have endeavoured to investigate in the notes, I have been several times struck with the reflection, that in the explication of the names of these places, which, as Jolaphat Barbaru says, are situated in countries with which we are well acquainted, there appears less certainty and less degree of probability, than in the explication of the names of those places that lie in much more unknown regions; and indeed I myself have received less satisfaction from them.
Now we must say somewhat concerning Giorgania, which lies directly opposite to the last-mentioned places, and borders upon Mongrelia (Mingrelia). The King of the province is called Pancratius. He is the Sovereign of a delightful country, which produces bread, wine, flesh, corn, and other fruits of the earth in great abundance. They make a great quantity of wine on the trees, as in Trebizond. The people are very handsome and well made; but they have most horrid manners and the worst customs of any people I ever met with. Their heads are shaved, excepting some few hairs, all round, which they suffer to remain, in the same manner as it is practised by our Abbots, who have a good income. They wear whiskers about six inches long. On their heads they wear a cap of various different colours, with a feather at top. They cover their bodies with a tolerably long, though straight jacket, which is cloven behind quite up to the loins, for otherwise they could not mount their horses; in which respect I do not blame them, as I see that the French wear the same. On their feet and ankles they wear boots, the soles of which are made in such a manner that when the wearers stand upright on their feet, the toes and heels touch the ground. But in the middle they are so high from the ground, that one may trust one's foot under the sole, without hurting one's self, and thence, when they walk, they do it with difficulty. I should blame them for this, did I not know that they wear the same in Persia. At their meals these people have the following custom, agreeable to what I saw in the house of one of their great men. They have a quadrangular table, half an ell over, with a rim to it. In the middle of it they set a heap of boiled millet without salt, and without any fat or other addition to it; this they

May not the greater progress made in point of cultivation in such countries as are more known and occupied by civilized and Christian nations be the cause, that we are not able at present to recognize these places mentioned 400 years ago.
use instead of sauce. On another similar table they
place, over coals, some wild boar's flesh, which is
so little roasted, that the blood runs out, when they
cut into it; and of this they are very fond. I, for
my part could not touch it, and so took up with
a little millet. There was wine in abundance, and
it went round the table with great hospitality. Oth-
er provisions we had not.
In this country there is a great number of large
woods and mountains. There is in it a district cal-
led Tiflis (Tiflis) beside which runs a river named
Tigris* (or Tygris): this is a very good country,
but thinly inhabited. It has likewise still a fortifi-
cation †, Gori (Gonieh) which lies towards the
Black Sea.
This is what I have to relate concerning my
journey to Tanna, the countries in that part of the
world, and the events that are worth mentioning.

§ XIII. The family of the Zeno, in Venice, is
very ancient, and is not only of the highest rank of
nobility, but is likewise celebrated for the perfor-
manace of great actions, as also by reason that the
highest offices and dignities in the state had been fil-
led from time immemorial, by men of merit belong-
ing to this family. About the year 1200, Marin
Zeno assisted in making the conquest of Constan-
tinople, and he was Podesta, or Governor of that place
about the year 1205. He had a son named Pietro
Zeno, who was the father of Remieri Zeno, who, in
1282, was Duke or Doge of Venice, and governed it
for the space of 17 years, and carried on a war
against the Genoese with great success. He adopted
his brother Marco's son Andrea, who was afterwards

* It is not the Tigris which runs by the side Tiflis, or Tbilis, but
rather the Kar, or the Kyrus of the ancients, and the Merkuri of the
Georgians.
† Nor far from Tiflis, and to the westward of it there is a place cal-
ded Gori; but this is still at a considerable distance from the Black Sea.
Gonieh lies on the shores of this sea. There is likewise the province
of Gurie, situated between the Phaeth and the Bathum (or Bathys).

Captain-
Captain-General of the Venetian fleet, fitted out against the Genoese. His son, Rinieri II. was the father of Pietro, who, in 1362, was Captain-General of the state in the league of the Christians against the Turks, and had the surname of Dracone, from the dragon which he bore in his shield. He had three sons, viz., Carlo, Leone, Nicolo il, Cavaliere, and Antonio. Of these, Carlo Leone, was Procurator and Captain-General of the Republic, and rescued her from imminent danger in war, in which the power of almost all Europe was joined against her. The second son, Nicolo, was a Knight, and having shown great valour in the afo-mentioned war of Chioggia with the Genoese, he had a strong desire to travel, in order that, by getting acquainted with the manners and languages of foreign nations he might render himself still more useful to his country, and acquire to himself credit and honour. With this view (being a man of great property), he fitted out a ship at his own expense, and sailed through the straits of Gibraltar to the northwards, with an intention to visit England and Flanders; but, by a storm that lasted several days, the vessel was cast away on the coast of Friesland (Frillandia); the crew, however, were saved, with great part of the cargo. This happened in the year 1380, nevertheless they were soon attacked by the natives, against whom they were hardly able, weary and weather-beaten as they were, to defend themselves. But, fortunately for them, the reigning Prince of Porland (Porlanda) by name Zichmni, who was at that time in Friesland, hearing of their misfortune, came with all speed to give them his assistance, of which indeed they stood at that juncture in great need. After discoursing some time with them in Latin, finding that Nicolo Zeno was very expert both in naval and martial affairs; he gave him the post of Admiral of his whole fleet, which the latter, however, at first refused. Nicolo not long afterwards
wrote to his brother Antonio, inviting him to come to Friefland, who accordingly soon arrived there, and lived four years with him, and afterwards ten more with Prince Zichmni. The whole of this relation was written by Francesco Marcolini, having been extracted by him from the letters sent by Antonio Zeno to his eldest brother Carlo; in it he laments, that these writings having fallen into his hands in his earliest youth, he had (child like) torn them, and afterwards, finding them to be of great consequence, he had collected together what remained of them, and put them into order, in order that a discovery of so much importance might not be entirely forgotten.

This is the account given of the affair by Ramusio, Vol. II. p. 232, fol. 2. From the manuscript relation of Marcolini, others have, it seems, extracted the accounts which they have given of this discovery, and though these relations have very much the air of the marvellous, yet it is evident, that upon the whole there is every reason to suppose them authentic: and as it may be farther objected, that the countries mentioned in them no longer exist, we intend, towards the conclusion of this relation, to expatiate on this topic, and not only to give a sufficient reason for what we shall advance, but likewise answer every objection that may be made.

Nicolo Zeno having been shipwrecked in 1380 on the island of Friefland, in consequence of their having been overtaken by a tempest, and likewise having been saved by Prince Zichmni from the rude attacks of the inhabitants, put himself, with all his men, under the protection of this Prince, who was Lord of certain small islands which lay to the south of Friefland, which were called Pepperland, and were the most fertile and populous of all the islands thereabouts. He was besides this, Duke of Sorany, a place which lies over against Scotland. Of these northern parts, I (i.e. Antonio Zeno) have drawn up a chart,
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.

chart, which hangs up in my house, and although it be much decayed by time, may serve to give some insight to the curious in these matters.

Zichmni, the Lord of all these countries, was a man of great courage, and famous for his skill in navigation. The year before Nicolos's arrival there (viz. A.D. 1379 *) he had defeated the King of Norway (Hakon) in a pitched battle, and was now come with his forces to conquer Friesland, which is much larger than Iceland. On account of the knowledge Nicolos Zeno had of maritime affairs, the Prince took him and all his crew on board the fleet, and gave it in charge to his Admiral to treat him with the highest respect, and to ask his advice in every affair of importance.

Zichmni's fleet consisted of thirteen vessels, of which two only were rowed with oars; the rest were

* Though this Friesland, together with Perland and Sorren, appear to be countries which have been swallowed up by the sea in consequence of earthquakes and other great revolutions in the above-mentioned element, yet I cannot help communicating in this place a conjecture, which has struck me whilst I was employed on this subject. Precisely in this same year 1379, Hakon, King of Norway, invaded the Orkneys, a perilous of the name of Henry Sinclair, who was one of the descendants in the female line from the ancient Earls of Orkney. This name of Sinclair appears to me to be expressed by the word Zichmni. The appellations of Faires, North Faire, South Faire, or Fara's Land, have probably given rise to that of Friesland. Perland must be the Fara Islands (the Far-eris, or Farland) and Sorren is the Sideres, or Serena; i.e. the western islands. Add to this, that the names of the Sketland Islands correspond with many of those conquered by Zichmni in Firlond: Brus is undoubtedly Bruges, Talas appears to be Toil, or Zeal; Bros is Brage, Icent is Uth, Truns is probably Trondra, and still more similarities of this kind affording yet greater foundation for these conjectures. Nay, the amazing quantity of fish that was caught yearly off the Orkneys, or, according to Zeno's account, off Friesland, and with which Flanders, Britain, England, Scotland, Norway, and Denmark were supplied, and the inhabitants of Friesland greatly enriched, relates doubtless to the herrings that are caught here every year in great abundance. Iceland was too powerful for Sinclair (or Zichmni) to conquer. Nicolos Zeno visited likewise East Greenland. But Elliotland and Brogio, which were discovered afterwards, appear to be some country that lies to the southward of Old Greenland. Perhaps Newfoundland, or Westland, where some Normans had settled previous to this, who likewise, in all probability, had brought with them from Europe the Latin books which were at this time in the King's library there.
small barks, and only one of them was a ship. With all these they sailed to the westwards, and without much difficulty, made themselves masters of Ludlow and Iflo, and divers other smaller islands, and turning into a bay called Sudero, in the haven of the town named Sanculiar, they took several small barks laden with fish; and here they found Zichmni, who came by land with his army, conquering all the country as he went. They stayed here but a short time, and shaped their course to the westwards till they came to the other cape of the gulph or bay, and here turning again, they found certain islands and broken lands, all which they brought under subjection to Zichmni. These seas were in a manner nothing but shoals and rocks, insomuch, that if Nicol Zeno, and the Venetian mariners, had not been their pilots, the whole fleet, in the opinion of all that were in it, had been cast away, so small was the skill of Zichmni's men, in respect of ours, who had been trained up in the art and practice of navigation from their childhood. Now the fleet having done as we have just before mentioned, the Admiral, by the advice of Nicol Zeno, determined to go ashore, at a town called Bonda, with a view to get intelligence what success Zichmni had in his wars; where they

* It is hardly possible to mention all the little islands, and the places situated on the largest of the Orcadian islands; which by the ancients was called Powan, and, on account of its size, bore likewise the name of Mainland, also of Brod-sty, i. e. Grutis, the Great Island. The town had the name of Kirkwall, or the Harbour near the Church, and is at this time called by the Scots Kirkwall.

** This is a very early mention made of salted fish, but yet within the life-time of William Beuckel son, the supposed inventor of the art of pickling herrings, who died in 1597. But Professor Spenger has shown that herrings were caught at Gremesse, i. e. Yarmouth) so early as in the year 1283; nay, in Leland's Collect. Vol. III. p. 173, we meet with a proof that pickled herrings were sold in 1273; and there are extant German records which speak of them so early as in 1236. Vid. Gerken Codex Diplomat. Brandenburg. T. I p. 45. T. II. p. 43.
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.

heard, to their great satisfaction, that he had won a great battle and put to flight the army of his enemy; in consequence of which the inhabitants sent Ambassadors from all parts of the island to yield the country up into his hands, taking down their flags and ensigns in every town and castle; they therefore thought good to stay in that place for his coming, it being reported for certain that he would be there very shortly. At his coming there were great congratulations and rejoicings, as well for the victory by land, as for that by sea; for which the Venetians were honoured and extolled in all parts, in so much that there was no conversation but of them, and of the great prowess of Nicolo Zeno: the Prince, on his part, caused Nicolo to be brought before him, and, after having bestowed the highest commendations upon him, and in particular praised his great valour and naval knowledge, by which two things he acknowledged that he had received an ineffable benefit, such as the saving of his fleet and the taking of many towns without any great difficulty, he knighted him, and rewarded his men with many rich and liberal presents. Then, departing thence, they went in triumph towards Friesland, the chief city of that island, situated on the south-east side of it, within a gulph, of which there are many in the island. In this gulph, or bay, there are such great quantities of fish taken, that many ships are laden with them to serve Flanders, Britain, England, Scotland, Norway, and Denmark, which brings great riches into the country.

This was the contents of a letter sent by Nicolo Zeno to his brother Antonio, in which he invited him to come to him to Friesland; accordingly the latter set sail, and after having past many dangers, arrived at his brother's. Antonio stayed in Friesland fourteen years in all, ten years alone, and four years with his brother Nicolo, who ingratiated himself so much in the Prince's favour, that this latter made him Admiral of the fleet sent out on the expedition to Est-
VOYAGES AND

land, which lies between Friesland and Norway. Here they committed great ravages; but hearing that the King of Norway was coming towards them with a considerable fleet, they departed in haste, the wind blowing with such violence that they were driven upon certain shoals, where a great part of their ships was cast away; the rest were stayed upon Grisland, a large island, but uninhabited. The King of Norway's fleet was overtaken by the same storm, and perished. Of this Zichmi was apprized by one of the enemy's ships which, as well as they, was cast away upon the coast of Grisland; when, after having repaired his own fleet, perceiving that he had been driven so far northwards, he resolved to make an attack upon Iceland, which belonged to the King of Norway; but finding it too well fortified and defended, and reflecting that his fleet was both small and ill equipped, he was glad to retire. He therefore fell upon the other islands, of which there are seven in number, viz. Talas (Zeal) Brea (Brassia Sound) Ifant (Unit or Vult) Trans (Trondra) Miant, Dambert, and Brea (Brassia) all of which he plundered, and built a fort in Brea, where he left Nicolo Zeno with several small barks, men and ammunition, while he himself went back to Friesland. In the spring Nicolo Zeno resolved to go out on discoveries; and having fitted out three small ships, he set sail in July, and shaping his course to the northwards, arrived in Engroveland (Engroneland, Greenland, or Greenland) where he found a monastery of Predicant Friars, and a church, dedicated to St. Thomas, hard by a mountain that threw out fire like Aetna or Vesuvius.

They have here a spring of boiling hot water with which they heat the church, the monastery, and the Friars' chambers. It comes likewise so very hot into the kitchen, that they use no fire for dressing their victuals.
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.

victuals; and putting their bread into brass pots without any water, it is baked as though it was in a hot oven. They have also small gardens covered over in winter, which gardens being watered with this water, are defended from the snow and cold, that in these regions, situated so near the Pole, is extremely great. In this manner they produce flowers, fruits, and different kinds of herbs, just as they grow in temperate climates; so that the rude savages of those parts, seeing these supernatural effects, take these Friars for Gods, and bring them divers presents, such as hens (Polli, these, however, can have been nothing else than Ptarmagans) flesh (viz. of rein-deer) and various other things; besides this they reverence the Monks as their Lords. When the frost and snow is considerable, they heat their houses in the manner above mentioned; and by letting in the water, or opening their windows, are able in an instant to temper the heat at their pleasure. In the buildings of their monastery they use no other matter than what is presented to them by this fire; for they take the burning stones that are cast out, in the form of sparks or cinders, at the fiery mouth of the mountain, and when they are at the hottest throw water on them, by which means they are entirely dissolved, and are converted into a very good lime, which is so binding, that when it is used in building, it lasts for ever; and the very sparkles, when cold, serve instead of stones to make their walls and vaults, for when they are once cold, they cannot be broken, except indeed they be cut with some iron tool; and the vaults that are made of them are so light, that they need no prop to hold them up, but continue always whole and entire. On account of these great conveniences, the Friars have made so many walls and buildings of different kinds, that it is really wonderful to see them. The coverings or roofs of their houses are for the most part made in the following manner: First, they carry the wall up to its full height, and then they make it inclining or binding in by little
and little, till it forms a regular vault. But indeed they are not much troubled with rain in that country; for the climate being, as I have said before, extremely cold, the first snow that falls does not thaw for the space of nine months, at which time their winter ends.

They live on wild fowl and fish; for in consequence of the warm water running into the sea, in a large and wide haven, which, by reason of the heat of the water, never freezes, there is so great a concourse in this place of sea fowl and fish, that they take as many of them as they can possibly have occasion for, with which they maintain a great number of people round about, whom they keep continually employed, both in building and in taking of fowls and fish, as well as in a thousand other necessary occupations and affairs relative to the monastery.

Their houses are built about the hill on every side, of a round form, and 25 feet in width; as they go upwards they are made narrower and narrower, a little hole at the top being left for the air and the light to enter at; and the floor of the house is so hot, that those who are in the house feel no cold at all. Hither in the summer time come many barks from the neighbouring islands, and from the cape above Norway, and from Frenchen (or Drontheim) and bring the Fathers all kinds of commodities and merchandize, according to what they wish for, taking in exchange fish (which they dry either in the sun or else by means of the cold) and the skins of divers beasts; for which they have wood for fuel, and wooden utensils very ingeniously carved; together with corn, and cloth to make their clothes with. For all the nations around them are very desirous of bartering with them for these two commodities, so that the Monks have all they can desire without either pains or cost. To this monastery resort Monks from Norway and Sweden, and from other countries, but principally from Iceland. Here is continually a great number of barks which cannot
cannot get away by reason of the sea being frozen over, but wait for the spring of the year, to dissolve the ice. The fishters boats have the form of a weaver's shuttle. They are made of fish bones, cased over with the skins of fishes; these they sew together in many doubles, and by this means make them so tight and substantial, that it is surprizing to see how they will in storms bind themselves fast within them, and let the winds and waves carry them; they care not whither, without any fear either of their boats splitting or of themselves being drowned: and if they happen to be driven upon a rock, still they remain found without the least hurt or damage. They likewise have a kind of sleeve at the bottom, which is always tied fast in the middle; and when there comes any water into the boat, they let it run into one half of the sleeve, then fastening the end of the sleeve with two pieces of wood, and loosing the band beneath, they convey the water out of the boat; and this operation they repeat as often as is necessary, without the least danger or hindrance.

Farther, the water of the monastery, being of a sulphureous nature, is conveyed into the cells of the principal Friars, by means of copper, tin, or stone pipes, so hot, that it heats the place like a stove, without carrying along with it any disagreeable or unwholesome stench.

Besides this, they convey fresh water, fit for drinking, in a walled canal under ground, in order that it may not freeze, into the middle of the court, where it falls into a large copper vessel, which stands in a reservoir of boiling hot water; and by this means they heat the water for their own drinking and for watering their gardens. So that from this mountain they have every possible convenience; and thus these good Friars make it their chief study and business to keep their gardens in order, and to erect commodious and elegant buildings; neither do they want
want for good workmen, and ingenious artizans; for they give great wages, and to those that carry them fruits and seeds they are bountiful beyond measure; so that there is a great resort of workmen and artists of every denomination, as there are great profits to be made, and provision is very cheap. Most of these Monks speak Latin, and particularly the superiors and principals of the monastery.

And this is as much as is known of Engroveland (Engroneland, Groenland, or Greenland) from the relation of Nicolo Zeno, who gives likewise a particular description of a river that he discovered, as is to be seen in the chart that I (viz. Antonio Zeno) have drawn. Nicolo, not being able to bear the severe cold of these northern climates, fell sick, and a little while after returned to Friesland, where he died. He left behind him two sons, one of whom was named John, and the other Thomas, which latter likewise had two sons, Nicolo, the father of the celebrated Cardinal Zeno, and Peter, from whom are descended the rest of the Zenos, who are now living. After the death of Nicolo, his fortune, as well as his dignity and honours, devolved upon Antonio; and though he made great supplications and entreaties for the purpose, yet he was not permitted to return to his native country: for Zichmni, being a man of a high spirit and great valour, had resolved to make himself master of the sea. For this end he made use of the talents and advice of Antonio, and ordered him to go with a few barks to the westward; as in the summer several islands had been discovered in those seas by some of his fishermen. Of this discovery Antonio gives a description in a Letter to his brother Carlo, which we here give just as it was written, having made no other alteration in it than that of a few antiquated (Italian) words. (Letter III.)

"Six and twenty years ago four fishing-boats, which had been overtaken by a violent storm, were tossed to and fro in a terrible manner on the sea, for the space of a great many days; when, at length, the tempest
tempest ceasing, and the weather growing fair, they discovered an island called Effotiland, which lay above a thousand miles to the westward of Frieland. One of the boats, with six men in it, was cast away on this island, and the men were immediately taken by the inhabitants, and conducted to a fine and populous city, where the King of the place was, who sent for various interpreters, but none could be found, who understood the fishermen's language, excepting one, that spoke Latin. This man, who had in like manner been cast by accident on the same island, asked them, on the part of the King, of what country they were; and, having been made acquainted with their case, informed the King of it, who, upon this, ordered that they should stay in the country; these orders they obeyed, as indeed they could not otherwise, and stayed in that country five years, and learned the language of it; one of them indeed was in various different parts of the island, and affirms, that it is a very rich country, abounding with every commodity and convenience of life; that it is little less than Iceland, but much more fertile, having in the middle of it a very high mountain, from which sprung four rivers, that pass through the whole country.

"The inhabitants are a very ingenious and sensible people, and have arts of every kind, and handicrafts, as we have; and it is highly probable that formerly they have had some traffic with our Europeans; for he says, that he saw some Latin books in the King's library, which at present they do not understand; for they have a language of their own, and letters and characters peculiar to themselves*. They trade

* In Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages, Vol. III, p. 144, it is added, "They have mines of all manner of metals, but especially they abound with gold." This passage, however, is not to be found in the Italian original of Ramusio.

[From many circumstances it appears that Hakluyt's Collection was made principally with a view to excite his countrymen to prosecute new discoveries in America, and to promote the trade to that quarter of the globe.]
trade with Engroneland, and get from thence furs, brimstone, and pitch. To the south of them there lies a very large and populous country, which abounds greatly in gold. They sow corn, and make beer (cervqua) a liquor which is drank by the people of the North, as wine is by us. They have large and extensive woods; they make their buildings with walls, and have a great number of towns and castles. They build ships and navigate the sea; but they have not the lodestone, and know nothing of the use of the compass; on which account these fishermen were held in high estimation, inasmuch that the King sent them with twelve ships to the southward, to a country called Droges. In their voyage thither they had such contrary weather, that they thought they must have perished in the sea; but, escaping that dreadful kind of death, they met with another still more terrible; for they were taken prisoners in the country, and were most of them devoured by the savages, who feed on men's flesh, esteeming it the most delicious of all food. But this fisherman, with his comrades, shewing them the way to take fish with nets, saved their lives; and would go every day to the sea and the fresh rivers, and catch great quantities of fish, and give it to the principal people of the country; by which means he got into so great favour, that he was beloved and highly respected by every body.

"The fame of this man being spread abroad in the country, there was a Lord in those parts, who was very desirous of having him with him; in order to see how he practised his wonderful art of catching fish; inasmuch that he made war with the other Lord with whom the fisherman was before; and in the end prevailing, as he was more powerful and a better

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Considering it in this light, and that hardly any thing was thought worthy of notice in that age but mines of silver and mountains of gold, we need not wonder at the interpolation. But the passage itself is to be found in Ortelius. See the same Collection, page 127."

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warrior, the fisherman was sent to him, with the rest of his company; and for the space of thirteen years that he resided in these parts, he says, that he had been sent in this fashion to more than twenty-five different Lords, as they were continually at war with each other for the possession of him; so that, in wandering about the country in this manner, without any fixed abode, he was perfectly well acquainted with all that region. He says, it is a very extensive country, and, as it were, a new world; but the inhabitants are a rude, unpolished people, without the enjoyment of any convenience of life; for they all go naked, so that they are miserably pinched with the cold; neither have they the sense to cover their bodies with the skins of the beasts which they take in hunting. They are not in possession of any kind of metal, and live by the chase. They carry spears of wood, made sharp at the point, and use bows, the strings of which are made of the skins of beasts. They are a very uncivilized people, and, in the wars they make one with the other, commit dreadful ravages, so as even to devour each other. They have Governors, and laws very different from each other: but farther to the south-west the manners are more civilized, in proportion to the increasing mildness of the climate, insomuch that one there meets with cities and temples, dedicated to idols, to whom they offer up men in sacrifice, and afterwards eat them. The people, too, in those parts, are not without some degree of knowledge, and make use of gold and silver.

"Now this fisherman, after having resided a great many years among them, purposed, if it were possible, to return to his own country; but his companions, despairing ever to see it again, wished him health and happiness, and staid behind: so, bidding them farewell, he fled through the woods, by the way that led to Drogia, and was received with great kindness."
kindness by the Lord that lived near to the place from whence he came, who knew him, and was a great enemy to the other Lord; and thus, going from one Lord to another, with all of whom he was already acquainted, having passed through their hands before, after a long time, and with much difficulty, he arrived at Drogio, where he lay three years; when, fortunately hearing of some of the inhabitants, that several small vessels were arrived on the coast (a piece of intelligence which inspired him with great hopes of accomplishing his purpose) he went to the sea-side, and asking them what country they were of, learned, to his unspeakable satisfaction, that they were from Efstiland. Upon this he requested that they would take him on board, which they did very willingly; and as he could speak the language of the country, which none of their company could do, they made use of him as their interpreter; and afterwards he made repeated voyages thither in company with them, in so much that he became very rich; and so equipping a bark of his own, he returned to Friesland, where he made a report to his Lord of the discovery of this wealthy country; and his strange and marvellous account was credited, as every thing he said was confirmed by the testimony of the sailors.

"Accordingly this Lord (i.e. Zichmni) is determined to send me out with a fleet to these parts, and there are so many that desire to make the voyage with us, on account of the novelty and uncommonness of the thing, that I believe we shall be very well manned and fitted out, without any expense to the public in general."—And this is the tenor of the Letter before mentioned, which I have here set down, in order to give an account of another voyage made by Antonio Zeno, who set sail with a great number of ships and men, though at that time he was not Commander in Chief, as he at first thought he had been; for Zichmni went in person; and upon this subject I have a letter to the following purport:

"Our
Our great preparation for the voyage to Estheland was begun in an unlucky hour; for, three days before our departure, the fisherman died, who was to have been our guide: notwithstanding which, this Lord would not give up the enterprize; but, instead of the fisherman, took with him for his guides several sailors who had returned with him from the island. And so, shaping our course to the westwards, we discovered several islands, subject to Friesland; and, after passing by a shoal or two, we arrived at Ledovo, where we stayed a week to refresh ourselves, and to provide the fleet with necessaries. Departing from hence, we arrived on the first of July off the island of Ilfe; when, the wind being in our favour, we did not stop there, but went farther on. Shortly after, being on the main sea, we were overtaken by so dreadful a tempest, that for the space of eight days we were tossed to and fro by the winds and the waves, without knowing whereabouts we were. By the violence of this storm we lost a great part of our ships; afterwards the weather proving fair, we collected together the wrecks and shivers of our shattered vessels; and, having got a good wind, sailed till we descried land to the westward, to which directing our course, we arrived in a good and safe harbour. Here we saw an infinite number of armed men come running furiously to the sea-side, as it were, for the defence of the island. Upon this, Zichmni commanding his men to make signs of peace to them, they sent ten men to us, who could speak ten different languages, none of which, however, we understood, excepting one that was an Icelander. This man being brought before our Prince, and asked, what was the name of the island, by what people it was inhabited, and who governed it, answered, that the land was called Icaria, and that all the Kings of it were named Icar, after the name of its first King, who, according to them, was the son of Dedalus, King of Scotland, who conquered
quered this island, and left them his son to be their King, together with those laws by which they still were governed. After this, he sailed farther on; but, being overtaken by a violent storm was drowned; in memory of which fatal accident they called that sea the Icarian Sea, and the Kings of the island Icari; and as much as they were contented with the state which God had given them, and did not chuse to make the least alteration in their manners and customs, they would not receive any stranger; and therefore requested of our Prince, that he would not seek to violate those laws which they had received from this their King of glorious memory, and had hitherto duly observed; which, however, should he attempt, it would turn out to his manifest destruction, as they were absolutely resolved rather to lose their lives than give up their laws. Nevertheless, that we might not imagine they shunned all manner of intercourse with other people, they told us, by way of conclusion, that they were very willing to receive one of our men, and advance him to be one of the chief amongst them, and that merely with a view to learn my language, and to gain information concerning our manners and customs, in the same manner as they had already received amongst them those other ten men who had come into their country from ten other different nations. To all this Zichimi returned not the least reply; but, ordering his men to look out for some good harbour, made as though he was going to depart; when, sailing round the island, he espied at length a harbour on the eastern side of the island, where he put in with all his fleet. The mariners now went on shore to take in wood and water, which they did with all possible speed, for fear of being attacked by the natives. Neither indeed was this precaution taken in vain, for such of them as resided near that spot, made signals to the others by means of fire and smoke, and immediately took to their arms, and the others going to them, they all came running down together to the sea-side upon our men, with bows and arrows, and other weapons, to that
that many of them were killed, and others dangerously wounded. And though we made signals of peace to them, it was to no purpose, for they were only the more enraged, and fought as though their all was at stake. We were therefore obliged to depart, and to sail on in a large circuit round the island, being all the while accompanied on the tops of the hills and on the sea coast by an infinite number of armed men; and just where the point of the island bends to the northward, we met with many large shoals, on which we were in continual danger, for the space of ten days, of losing our whole fleet; but that very fortunately for us, the weather was fair during the whole time. We sailed on, however, till we came to the eastern cape; and saw the inhabitants still keeping up with us on the tops of the hills and on the sea shore, and by loud cries and shooting at us from afar, giving us the most manifest token of their unconquerable hatred and aversion to us. We therefore resolved to stay in some safe harbour, and endeavour, if possible, to speak again with the Icelander; but all in vain; for these people, scarcely a degree above the brute creation, stood continually under arms with the intent to attack us, if we once attempted to land. Upon this Zichmni, seeing that he could do nothing with them, and that if he persevered and obstinately adhered to his first intentions, the fleet would have been in want of provifion, weighed anchor, and sailed with a fair wind, for the space of six days, to the westward; but the wind shifting to the south-west, and the sea growing rough, we sailed four days with the wind in the poop, and at length discovered land, to which, however, we were afraid of approaching too near, as well on account of the sea being extremely rough, as of our being unacquainted with the coast. But, by the providence of God, the wind ceased and the sea became calm. Upon which some of our company rowed to land with oars, and returned with the agreeable tidings that they had found a very good country and an excellent harbour. On the receipt of this piece of intelligence we towed our ships and small
barks into the harbour, which when we entered, we
defcried at a small distance a huge mountain that emi-
ted smoke, which gave us great hopes that we should
find some inhabitants in the island: and though the
place where the smoke appeared to issue was at a great
distance from us, Zichmni would not rest till he had
sent 100 soldiers to explore the country, and bring back
word what people they were that inhabited it. In the
mean while they took in wood and water for the use of
the fleet, and caught vast quantities of fish and sea fowl;
and at the same time found so great a number of birds
eggs, that our men, who before were half famished,
had more than they could eat. While we rode in this
harbour the month of June * commenced, at which
time the air in the island was as mild and temperate as
one could wish; but seeing nobody, we began to sup-
pect that this delightful place was desolate and unin-
habited. To the haven we gave the name of Trin,
and the point that stretched out into the sea, we called
Cape Trin. The hundred soldiers that had been sent
out, in the space of eight days returned, and informed
us, that they had been all through the island quite
the mountain, and that the smoke we saw proceeded
from a fire at the bottom of it, and that at the same
place there was a spring, from which issued a liquid
of the nature of pitch, which ran into the sea. Like-
wise that the interior part of the country was inhabited
by wild people, who hid themselves in caves; were
short of stature, and very timid; for as soon as they
saw our people they fled to their holes: moreover, that
in that part of the island there was a large river and
safe harbour. Zichmni, after receiving this piece of

* So long before as when the fleet was arrived off the Isle of Hove,
it was the 1st of July; and now we are told, "commenced the month of
June," which shews very evidently, that there must be an error in one
of these passages; and as Zeno soon after this tells us, that the people
under his command complained that "the winter was coming on,"
there can be no doubt but that in this place, instead of June, we should
read August.

intelligence,
intelligence, considering that the island was blest with a pure and healthy air, a good soil, fine rivers, and many other advantages, resolved to people it, and build a town on it. But his people, quite wearied out with so long and tedious a voyage, began to murmur, saying, that they chose to return to their own country; for the winter approached very fast, and were that once come, they should not be able to get away again before the ensuing summer. On which account, retaining only the barks with oars, and such of the men as were willing to stay with him, lent all the rest, with the ships, back again, and chose that, though fore against my will, should command them.

"Taking therefore my departure (as indeed I was obliged to do) I failed for the space of 20 days to the eastward, without having sight of any land; then, shifting my course towards the south-east, in five days I discovered land, and perceived that I was near the island of Neome *, and knowing the country, found that I had already passed by Iceland; so that taking in refreshments of the inhabitants, who were subject to Zichmni, we failed in three days, with a fair wind, to Friesland; where the people, who by reason of our long absence, thought they had lost their Prince, received us with demonstrations of the greatest joy."

Besides what is contained in this Letter, I know nothing more, than what I gather by conjecture from part of another Letter, which I will here set down, viz. "That Zichmni built a small town † in the harbour of the island he had discovered, and that he took great pains to explore the country, and discovered the whole of it, together with the rivers on both sides of Engroneland (Greenland) forasmuch as I see

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* Neome seems to be the island of Siremoe, one of the Faro Islands, as it is, in fact, to the southward of Iceland, and only three days sail from the Orkneys, or Faro Islands, i.e., Friesland.

† Hakluyt translates it thus, "built a town." The original says, "Fece una terras."
it particularly described in the map, but the narrative of it is lost. The passage alluded to of the Letter runs thus:

"As to the particulars you are desirous to know of me concerning the customs of the people, the animals, and the adjacent countries, of all these I have written a separate book, which, God willing, I intend to bring with me; in this book I have given a description of the country, the wonderful fishes, the laws and customs of Frisland, Iceland, Estland, the kingdom of Norway, Estotiland, Drogo, and, finally, the life of the Chevalier Nicolo Zeno, our brother; with the discoveries made by him, and the state of Greenland (Grolanda). I have also written the life and acts of Zichmni, a prince as worthy of immortal fame as any that ever lived, on account of his great valour and humanity; therein, too, I have described the discovery of Engroveland (Engroneland, or Greenland) on both its sides, and the town that he built. I shall therefore say no more on the subject in this Letter, as I hope soon to be with you and satisfy you concerning many other things, in person."

All these Letters were written by Meffier Antonio to his brother Carlo.

This is the whole of the account of the voyages made in the North by the two Zenos. Many have been inclined to reject the whole of this narrative, as being false and fabulous, because the names of the countries, Frisland, Estland, Porland, Sorani, Estotiland, Drogo, and Engroveland, are no longer anywhere to be met with. But after I had narrowly inspected it, and translated it myself from the Italian of Francesco Marcolini, preferred in Ramusio's collection, it was in the highest degree evident to me, that the whole of this relation is true, as, in fact, it contains within itself the strongest proofs of its own authenticity.
The author of this relation, Marcolini, has extracted it from the original letters of the two Zenos, one of the most considerable families in Venice; a family on which no one would have the boldness to palm stories of this kind, supposing them to be absolutely false. It must doubtless be well known, and be demonstrable from accounts to be found in original records and archives at Venice, that there were such people actually in being as these brothers, Carlo, Nicolo, and Antonio Zeno; that the Chevalier undertook a voyage to the North, and his brother Antonio followed him thither; that this same Antonio laid down all these voyages and countries on a map, which he brought with him to Venice, and which hung up in his house in Marcolini's time (where it was in the power of every one to see and examine it) as a sure pledge and an incontrovertible proof of the truth of this narrative. This being then the case, how is it possible for any one to harbour the least doubt concerning the truth of these relations, much more absolutely to reject them as fabulous? Should, however, any one persist in such incredulity, nothing farther can be opposed to him; as in this case there must be an end to all faith in history; and it would be but labour in vain to endeavour to convince one who purposely shuts his eyes against the truth.

But it is alleged likewise, that the whole narrative has the appearance of a mere fable. In what part of the North is Friesland, and the other countries mentioned in the narrative? Who has ever heard of a Zichmi, that in 1379, or 1380, vanquished the King of Norway, who at that time was called Hakon? It must be confessed that there is some degree of plausibility in all this. Yet we think we can do a great deal towards clearing the whole of this history from the difficulties which attend it.
And first, we shall endeavour to get over the geographical objections. Long before I had taken in hand this work on the Discoveries made in the North, the countries described by the Zenos appeared to me to have actually existed at that time, but that they had been swallowed up since by the sea in a great earthquake. This opinion I still held in the winter of 1782, when I laid down my map of the countries near the North Pole. It is founded on the probability that all the high islands which have been hitherto discovered in the middle of the sea, either have volcanoes in them still burning, or else exhibit the most evident traces of extinct volcanoes, such as craters, lava, puzzolana, black flags, and pumice-stone. This can be proved beyond a shadow of doubt to be the case with respect to Madeira, the Azores, the Cape Verd Islands, St. Helena, Ascension Island, Otahite, and the whole cluster of the Society Islands, Easter Island, the Marquesas, many of the new Hebrides and Friendly Islands, and even with respect to Iceland and the Faro Islands. It was therefore probable, that these islands, mentioned in the narrative of the Zenos, were likewise volcanic, and had been by a violent earthquake a second time buried in the bottom of the sea. But afterwards reflecting, that so great a revolution must however have left behind it some historical vestiges, or traditions. I began to examine over again the names of the countries described; and now I found that they actually bore the strongest resemblance to the Orkneys, the Shetland, Faro, Western Islands, &c. and as I have already made some mention of this above, I shall only slightly touch upon the subject at present. The Zenos having represented _Perland_ as entirely composed of small islands, has suggested to me the idea that all these general names of countries appertained to whole clusters of islands taken collectively. Accordingly _Eiland_ appeared to me very much to resemble the _Zetland_ or _Shetland_ islands; and on comparing the names of _Talas, Broos, Iscant, Trans, Mimant, Dambera_, and _Bres_, with those of _Yell, or Zeal_ (probably _Teal_).
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.

ray, (or Bura, of which name there are two places; Westburna and East-Bura, when taken collectively called the Buras) Unst, Ynnda, Mainland, Hanner (a place in Mainland to the northward.). Bressa, or Breja, the resemblance appeared to me to obvious, that I could no longer harbour the least doubt about the matter. After this I began to consider where the other islands and clusters of islands were to be sought for. The land of Sorani, of which Zichmni was Duke, lay over against Scotland (according to the English translation in Hakluyt) but the Italian original of Marcolini says (posta della banda verfo Scotia) it lay on one side of Scotland. Here the Soderoe, or southern islands of the Normans and Danes, naturally suggested themselves to me, thes which are, in fact, the same with those called at present the Western Isles, and lie directly close to Scotland, but which in respect to the Shetland and the Faro Islands, lie to the southward. Now, from the word Soderoer (Soder signifying southern, and Oer islands) is formed by contraction Sorær, and (varying the termination of the plural) Soroen, which again might, by a corrupt pronunciation, be easily transmuted to Sorani. Zeno relates that he had found the bay of Sudero near the islands of Ledovo and Ilofe. Now these are the Soderoe, and the Isles of Lewis* and of Ilay. Saneftol appears to me situated near the Isle of Lewis; and to be that cluster of islands which are called Schantfeor, whence the word Saneftol is evidently derived. The town of Bondendon is nothing more than a place in the Isle of Skye, called Pondon, or Pondontown, a name which, by a very slight change in the pronunciation,

* The Isle of Lewis was by the Normans called Ledur, from which appellation probably originated the name of Ledura. Vid. Pennant's Tour in Scotland, and a Voyage to the Hebrides, 1783 Part I. page 326, the 2d or 4th edition. The Soderoe were all the Western Islands that lay to the south of Point Ardmurchan, in Scotland, in 57 deg. N. lat. and those that lay to the north were called the Northern Islands.
is easily transformed to Bondendon. From this conquest of the Western Islands, Zichmi's fleet returned in triumph to Friesland, the capital of the island of that name, in a bay of which, quite to the south-westward, it was situate. Here then we have again an island, or perhaps even an assemblage of islands, under this denomination. They are famous for the vast quantities of fish, which are shipped from them to Flanders, the coast of Bretagne, England, Scotland, Norway, and Denmark. The place here spoken of is then no other than the island of Faire, or Fera, which is also called Feras land, and belongs to the Orkneys, being so encompassed with various islands, that it appears to lie quite in a gulph or bay; and here, too, a great number of herrings are caught yearly. So that this spot appears to be Fairesland, by abbreviation, Friesland.

The descent upon Efland was interrupted by the news of the arrival of the King of Norway. Both fleets suffered by the storm, but that of the Normans more than Zichmi's; and some ships from both fleets, that had been saved from the general wreck, arrived at Grisland, an uninhabited island. This Grisland lies far to the northward, and near Iceland. It should seem consequently that it was the isle of Grimsey, which lies to the north of Iceland. Indeed I should rather take it for the island of Enkyuzen, which is supposed to lie to the eastward of Iceland, and which, from the name it bears, we may conclude to have been seen by some Dutch mariners; but as many navigators, and but very lately M. Kerstjen have very diligently looked out for it without being able to find it, in all probability it is merely an island, formerly thrown up above the surface of the sea by the repeated concussions of the volcano in Iceland, but afterwards by the same sea swallowed up again entire. However, it is likewise possible, that this island Enkyuzen was nothing more than a large floating mountain of ice, and thus could not have been seen again. Upon the whole, therefore, it seems more natural to suppose that

Grisland
Grifland is the Grims-ey of the moderns. For this latter word, according to the old orthography, might very well be written Grifland. Now those words, which in Zeno’s narrative have the word land added to them, are by the Danes and Icelanders terminated in oe, or ey; and consequently Grifland is neither more nor less than Grims-ey. Zichmni was desirous likewise of making an attempt on Iceland; but found that country too well defended, and his fleet, which was shattered by the storm, too weak to give him any hopes of success in that quarter. He now turned his arms against the other islands of Estland, i.e. Shetland, and made a conquest of them. Formerly these islands went by the name of Tarltland, or Hitland, which, in process of time, was changed into Zet-land and Shetland; and hence the Estland of Zeno is easily deduced, particularly, if we at the same time have recourse for the names of these islands taken separately, which names we have already compared with each other, and explained.

Nicolo Zeno undertook, from Breffa, in the Shetland islands, a voyage to Greenland; for his Engraveland, as well as the Engroveland of the English translation, is no other than Greenland, of which he gives a very exact description, as well as of the monastery of St. Thomas. He speaks of the uncultivated savages, who, according to this account, so early as in the year 1380 odd, were on the eastern coast of the island near the monastery of St. Thomas. The trade of the Friars was carried on by means of ships, which went thither from the Orkneys, the Shetland and Faro Islands, as likewise from Drontheim in Norway, from Sweden, and other northern regions. Zeno even describes the small leathern boats in which the Greenlanders tie themselves fast; so that it is evident, that he made strict enquiry into, and saw with his own eyes, every thing which he relates.

After the demise of Nicolo Zeno, Antonio goes to Estoliland, and, on this occasion, informs us by what accident it was discovered. He says, that it was more
more than 1000 miles to the westward of Friesland; that the inhabitants were civilized, had arts and handicraft trades, carried on a trade in furs with Greenland, and brought back from thence brimstone and pitch; that they were in possession of Latin books which they no longer understood, but had a peculiar language, as well as letters and a written character of their own. To the southwards there were countries abounding with gold: here they had walled cities, and built ships; they likewise practised agriculture and brewed beer. All these particular designations are strong indications of a people that had its origin from the northern nations of Europe. Nay; it is evident, that this Eftoliland cannot possibly be any other country than that of Winland, which was discovered in the year 1001, and which we have shewn at page 83, with a tolerable degree of certainty, to be the Newfoundland of the moderns. It is beyond all doubt that several Normans settled in this country; these carried thither with them the arts and handicraft trades then known, and traded to Greenland, from whence they originally came. It is very possible indeed that their language might have been altered by their mixture with the natives; and a fisherman from the Orkneys might be very well supposed to have been ignorant of the Runic. That Latin books were found in the collection belonging to the King, or Chief, is not surprising, as it is well known, and indeed has been observed at page 87 of this History, that Eric, Bishop of Greenland, went in the year 1121 to Winland, in order to convert his countrymen in those parts, who were still heathens. But it is not to be supposed that this Bishop would have been at the pains to make a voyage to Winland above a hundred years after the first discovery of it, if he had not known with certainty, that there were at that time many of the descendants of his countrymen in that region. Now, as this prelate was never known to have returned to Greenland, it is not improbable that he died in Winland; and consequently the Latin books found in this latter
The latter country might have been carried thither by him. The Normans had also introduced into it the art of brewing beer, and agriculture. The people of this country understood navigation too, and went backwards and forwards to Greenland; but at the time when the Normans first settled in Winland, the use of the compass was not known. For the commonly received opinion is, that Flavio Gioia, of Amalfi, in the kingdom of Naples, made the discovery of it in 1302; though others maintain, that Marco Polo, who was in China and the East from 1271 to 1295, brought home with him the use of the compass from China, where it is said to have been known long before. On the other hand, Fauchet, from a passage in Guyot de Provence, a Provencal poet, who flourished about the year 1200, and mentions the compass by the name of la marinette, concludes, that this instrument was then in use among mariners. In short, it is evident, that the Orkney fishermen at this time made use of the compass in their navigations, an instrument at that period not known to the inhabitants of Estotiland.

The land of Drogio lay more to the southward than Estotiland, as did all the other countries through which the fisherman wandered during the space of 13 years, and among which he at last found nations, who lived in a very temperate climate; and had cities and temples, wherein they offered up human beings by way of sacrifice, and devoured their flesh. These people, too, were not totally without information, and were possessed of gold and silver. Nearly thus were the first inhabitants of Florida described, who were in possession of cities and temples as well as of gold and silver, at the time when their country was first re-discovered by the Europeans.

Antonio Zeno now proceeds to relate the history of the last voyage of discovery which he made with Zichmni, in order to explore the country that had been seen, and thus circumstantially described by the fisherman.
fleets goes to Ledovova, or Lewis, one of the western islands, and then to Ilf or, viz. Ilay, or, as it was probably called, Ilisie. When they had failed a little way to the westwards, they were tossed to and fro by a tempest, for the space of eight days, and as soon as the wind became fair, descried land. Here the inhabitants would not suffer them to make a landing, but spoke to them by an interpreter, who was a native of Iceland. The country was called Icara; after this follows a strange story of one Daedalus, King of Scotland, and his son Icarus, who became their King and Legislator. This country, which had been newly peopled, was no other than Ireland, where they had the recollection of the piracies of the Normans deeply impressed on their memories, and therefore would not permit these warriors, who were quite unknown to them, to land. It was perhaps from the county of Kerry that this name of Icara took its origin; and the name of Icarus's father must of course be Daedalus, who, in all probability, was some Scottish Prince, with a name sounding somewhat like this word. From this place they failed six days to the westward, with a fair wind; but in four days a storm from the south-west drove them to the northwards, when they descried land, with a burning mountain, whence issued smoke and fire, and a river which flowed with asphaltus. A half-wild, diminutive race of men, lived here in caverns. In the sequel, Zeno himself tells us, that Zichmni had explored the whole country, and together with it had discovered the rivers on both sides of Engroneland, i.e. Greenland, and built a town there. So that it is beyond all doubt, that the country discovered by Zichmni was Greenland. At the same time it is remarkable, that he met with no Europeans, nor any of their descendants, nor even with the Monks found a few years before by Nicholo Zeno in the cloister of St. Thomas. The inhabitants are, according to the description here given, real Greenlanders, short of stature and half wild, but live in caverns, which, in fact, are at this juncture the winter habitations of the
the natives of Greenland. This seems to intimate, that the natives of this country, or the ancestors of the present race of Greenlanders, between 1380 and 1384, or thereabouts, had extirpated the new comers from Europe, together with the Monks. Farther, it is evident, from this narrative, that the eastern as the western coast of Greenland, not only was known to the Europeans, but they were both laid down in a map by Antonio Zeno.

This same person, in returning to Friesland, saw the island of Neome, which I take to be Stromoe, one of the Faro Isles; a circumstance which seems to point out with still greater certainty the course of his navigation. I take the liberty of observing here, en passant, that Porland likewise belonged to the domains of Zichmni, and that by this name in all probability are meant the Faeroer, or Faero Islands: the great number of sheep which were fed there having furnished these islands both with weapons and a name; for Far, in Danish, signifies a ram. Now, Far-oe, or Far-land, is easily transmuted into Porland.

In consequence of the preceding elucidations, I flatter myself that the unprejudiced part of my readers will not be disposed, from any considerations respecting the geography of it, to harbour the least doubt concerning the truth of this relation, having endeavoured to make it appear, with as much probability as the subject is capable of, that the countries visited and described by the two Zenos, are of the number of those which are already known, that Greenland was visited by them, and that these illustrious adventurers were even not unacquainted with America.

We will now turn to the historical proofs. It is true, among the Princes or Sovereigns of the Orkneys, between the years 1370 and 1394, we find no such name as Zichmni, and consequently no Orca\-dian King or Prince, who about this time vanquished the King of Norway in a pitched battle. The History of the Orkneys at this period will probably serve to throw some light upon this subject.
The ancient Earls of Orkney, the descendants of the Jarl Einar-Torfi, were extinct; in consequence of which the King of Norway, Magnus Smak, about the year 1343, nominated Erngifel Sunafon Bot, a Swedish nobleman, Jarl, or Earl of Orkney, and the treasure of the earldom was seized upon for the Crown. In the year 1357, Malic Conda, or Mallis Sperre, by his guardian, Duncan Anderson, made known to the states of the Orkneys his pretensions to the earldom, as being rightful heir to it in the female line; which pretensions the states laid before the King. Afterwards (in 1369) Henry Sinclair (de Santa Clara) likewise put in his claim as rightful heir in the female line, and in 1370, was nominated to this earldom by King Hakon. Now, as besides this, Alexander of Ard, or Le-ard, claimed the Orkneys as a descendant in the female line, and there were many that, under this pretence, harrassed the islands by repeated acts of piracy, Hakon requested of David, King of Scotland, to put a stop to this growing evil; in consequence of which request, King David forbade, on pain of death, any of his subjects to go to the Orkneys, except with a view to trade. In 1375, Hakon appointed Alexander Le-ard, for a year, to the earldom. These frequent changes seem to shew, that the Kings of Norway, on account of the troubles at that time existing in Sweden and Norway, were not very well able to defend the Orkneys, which, therefore, continued to be exposed to the depredations of the pretenders to the earldom. Want of money, too, obliged the Norwegian monarchs to favour all these claimants, and grant them letters of investment, accordingly as the latter furnished them with money. In consequence of this the degraded and malcontent Earls had continual bickerings with the newly-invested Lords, and even sometimes regularly waged war with them. Now Henry Sinclair appears to have fairly vanquished Le-ard, and taken possession of the Orkneys, and upon this to have made suit to the King to be invested with the earldom, which suit the King, after Sinclair's victory over Le-ard, granted.

XIV.

At the end of the year 1364, the King of France, accompanied by Henry Sinclair, marched southwards to make new overtures for the peace of France, and met with the Emperor in the island of Candia (in the Ionian Islands). They renewed and accommodated the King, who was now absent from France, and whom they had been so long in correspondence with as regards the affairs of the Kingdom of Sicily, and the territories of the King of France, in somewhat the same manner as the Venetian ambassadors then had been. At length, the truth of this fact came to be generally confidered, and North appeared peaceable.
At the same time, however, Henry Sinclair was obliged to pay him 1000 golden nobles, and promise to accommodate matters with Mallis Sperre, and the other claimant, Alexander Le-As, so that they should make no farther pretensions to the Orkneys, but entirely give up their right and title to these islands; and since the year 1379 there are vestiges to be met with in history, that Henry Sinclair was still Earl of the Orkneys, in the year 1406, and likewise in the possession of Hiitaland, (or the Shetland Islands). With these few historical anecdotes we are now able to elucidate many particulars which before seemed involved in obscurity. The name of Sinclair, or Siclaif, is easily taken for Zichmni by an Italian who only hears the word pronounced; and as this Sinclair vanquished Alexander Le-As, who represented the King of Norway in the Orkneys, and as he made himself master of those islands, of which he then, and not till then, applied for the investiture, and obtained it in 1739; it might with no great impropriety be affirmed, that he had beat the King of Norway, viz. in the person of his vassal. The thousand golden nobles, too, doubtless contributed somewhat towards King Hakon's making no great difficulty of the matter. So that after these elucidations there can be no reason left to doubt of the truth of this narrative of the Zenos, which yet, considered with respect to the geography of the North at that period, is of great importance.

XIV. Pietro Quirini, a Venetian nobleman, was a merchant and master of a ship in the island of Candia, which at that time was in the possession of the Venetians. With a view to acquire fame as well as profit, in the year 1431, he undertook a voyage from Candia to Flanders, and towards the end of autumn suffered shipwreck on the coast of Norway, not far from Rey Island. Here he wintered, and the following
lowing summer travelled through Drontheim to Wadsten, in Sweden, and arrived again in 1432 at Venice. He has himself given an account of the voyage, and two of his fellow-travellers, Christophe Fiervante, and Nicola di Michel, did the same. Both these works are to be found in Ramusio’s Collection, published at Venice, in two volumes, A.D. 1583, page 200—211. They have likewise been published in the German language, by way of extract, from Ramusio, by Hieronymus Megiferus, in a work called Septentrio Novantiquus. Printed in 8vo at Leipfic, 1613.

Quirini informs us, that on the 25th of April, 1431, he set sail from Candia, on a westward course, but, meeting with contrary winds, he was obliged to keep near the coast of Africa. On the 2d of June he passed the Straits of Gibraltar, and through the ignorance of his pilot ran upon the shoals of St. Petro, in consequence of which the rudder was thrown off the hinges, and the sea entered the ship at three places. In fact, it was with great difficulty that they could save the vessel from going to the bottom, and run into Cádiz, where they unloaded her, and in 25 days, having put her into perfect repair, took her lading in again. In the mean time, having heard that the Republic of Venice was at war with that of Genoa, he augmented the number of his crew, so that in the whole it amounted to 68 men. On the 14th of July he set sail again, and bore up for the Cape of St. Vincent; but, by reason of a contrary wind, which blew from off the land in a north-east direction, and on that coast is called Agione, they were obliged to traverse for the space of 45 days at a great distance from the land, and indeed near the Canary Islands, in tracks which were very dangerous, and with which they were entirely unacquainted. But at length, just as their stock of provisions began to fail, they had a fair wind from the south-west, and directed their course to the north-east: some of the iron-work, however, gave way, on which the rudder was hung. In the mean time they mended them as well as they could, and on the 25th of August, arrived safe at Lisbon.
Here having carefully repaired the iron-work of their rudder, and taken in a fresh stock of provisions, they set sail again on the 14th of Sept. They were now a second time tossed to and fro by contrary winds; till the 26th of October, when they reached the port of Mures, whence Quirini, with 13 of the crew, went to San Jago di Compostella, in order to perform their devotions. They returned with all possible speed, and setting sail with a fair south-west wind, kept, in hopes that the wind would continue, at the distance of 200 miles from the land, and Cape Finisterre, till the 5th of November, when the wind shifting to the east and south-east, prevented them from entering the British Channel, and carried them beyond the Scilly Islands. The wind now increased in violence, and on the 10th of November, carried the rudder a second time from off its hinges. They flung it indeed by ropes to the quarters of the ship, but it soon got loose again, and was dragged after the ship for the space of three days; when they used their utmost efforts and made it fast again. But their vessel now drove continually farther from the land; and as the crew consumed the victuals and drink without limits or moderation, at length two or three of them were set to guard the provisions, who twice a day distributed to each man his share, Quirini himself not excepted. In this condition, by the advice of the carpenter, they contrived, out of the main-mast and the spare yards, two rudders with triangular boarded ends, in order to prevent the vessel from going unsteady. These new rudders were properly fastened, and proved very serviceable, a circumstance which inspired them all with fresh hopes; but, by the violence of the winds, likewise this their last refuge was torn away from the ship. On the 26th of November, the storm increased to such a degree, that they had no doubt but that that day would be their last. The storm indeed, by degrees, became somewhat less violent; but they were driven out to sea, W. N. W., and
and the sails, which had been perpetually fatigued by the rain and wind, were now torn to shivers; and though they clapt on new ones, yet these did not last long. Now the ship drove without either sails or rudder, and was filled with water by the waves which continually beat over it, insomuch that the crew, debilitated by labour and anxiety, were scarcely able to keep the water under. Having heaved the lead, and found ground at 80 fathoms, they spliced all the four cables together, and rode at anchor for the space of 40 hours. One of the crew, terrified at the dreadful working of the ship in consequence of the tempest and the swell of the sea, cut the cable at the forecastle of the ship, which now drove about as before. On the 4th of December, four large waves breaking over the ill-fated vessel, filled it so full that it was almost ready to sink. The crew, however, summoning up all their resolution and spirits, baled the water out, though it reached up to their waists, and in the end quite emptied the vessel of it. On the 7th the tempest increased to such a degree, that the sea flowed into the vessel on the windward side, and their destruction seemed to them inevitable. But now they were of opinion, that if the mainmast were cut away, it would lighten the ship. They therefore set about this business immediately, and a large wave fortunately carried away the mast, together with the yard, which made the ship work less. The wind, too, and the waves, became somewhat more calm, and they again bailed out the water. But now the mast was gone, the vessel would no longer keep upright, and lying quite on one side, the water ran into it in torrents, when, being exhausted with labour and want of food, and finding that they had not strength left sufficient for clearing the vessel of the water, they resolved at length to save themselves in the boats, of which the

the large quantity of provisions which had been left were insufficient to support them and the crew of the ship, and they resolved to clear the vessel of the water. They therefore set about this business immediately, and a large wave fortunately carried away the mainmast, together with the yard, which made the ship work less. The wind, too, and the waves, became somewhat more calm, and they again bailed out the water. But now the mast was gone, the vessel would no longer keep upright, and lying quite on one side, the water ran into it in torrents, when, being exhausted with labour and want of food, and finding that they had not strength left sufficient for clearing the vessel of the water, they resolved at length to save themselves in the boats, of which

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the larger held 47, and the smaller 21 men. Quirini, who had the choice which boat he would go in, at last went with his servants into the great boat, into which he saw the officers enter. They took with them a stock of provisions, and as soon as the winds and the waves were become somewhat more calm, which was on the 17th of December, they quitted the ship, which, among other costly articles of commerce, was laden with 800 casks of Malmsey wine, and a great quantity of sweet-scented Cyprus wood, ginger, and pepper. On the following night the small-boat, with the 21 men in her, was separated from them by the violence of the storm, and they never heard of her more. Indeed they were themselves obliged, in order to lighten their boat a little, to throw over-board their stock of wine and provisions, together with all their clothes, excepting what they carried on their backs. The weather proving fair for a time, they steered to the eastward, with a view to get, as they supposed, to Iceland; but the wind chopping about, drove them to and fro again. Their liquor beginning to fail, and besides many of them being exhausted in consequence of the preceding scarcity of provisions, as well as of the incessant labour, long watchings, and other hardships they had undergone, a great number of them died: the scarcity of drink in particular was so great, that each man had no more than the fourth part of a cup (and that not a large one) every 24 hours. With salted meat, cheese, and biscuit, they were better provided: but this salt and dry food excited in them a thirst which they were not able to quench. In consequence of this, some of them died suddenly, and without having previously exhibited the least symptoms of any complaint; and in particular it was observed, that those were first carried off who had before this period lived in the most riotous manner, who had drank great quantities of wine, or entirely given themselves up to drunkenness, and had hovered con-

continually
tinually over the fire, without stirring at all but to shift from one side of the fire to the other. These, though they had externally the appearance of being strong and healthy, were yet least of all capable of bearing the hardships they were obliged to undergo, in consequence of which they died two, three, and four in a day. This mortality prevailed among the crew from the 19th of December to the 29th, the corpses being thrown into the sea. On the 19th the last remainder of the wine was served out, and every one prepared for death. Some of them drank seawater, which hastened their deaths, while others resorted to their own urine, and this latter beverage, joined with the precaution of eating as little solid provision as possible, contributed most of all to the preservation of their lives. For the space of five days they continued in this dreadful situation, failing all the time to the north-eastward. On the 4th of January, one of them, who sat at the fore part of the boat, descried, somewhat to the leeward, as it were, the shadow of land, and immediately informed the crew of it in an anxious tone of voice. Their eyes were now all turned to the object, and continued steadfastly fixed upon it, and by break of day they saw, with extreme joy, that it was really land.

The sight of this inspired them with fresh vigour, so that they now took to their oars, in order to arrive the sooner at the shore; but this, on account of its great distance, as well as of the shortness of the day, which was only two hours long, they could not compass. Besides, they could not long make use of their oars, as they were so weak, and as the night soon overtook them, which, long as it was, seemed still longer to them from the impatience natural to men in their condition. The next morning, by day-break, they lost sight of the land however, to the leeward, they discovered another mountainous country very near them. That they might not, on the following night, lose sight of this, they took the bearings of it with the compass, and then immediately...
Discoveredly fell sail for it with a fair wind, and arrived at it about four o'clock in the evening. When they approached near to it they observed that it was surrounded by a great number of shallow places, for they heard very distinctly the sea breaking upon them. They gave themselves up, however, to the guidance of the Almighty; and once their boat being brought upon a shoal, a vast wave came and carried it off again, at the same time setting them entirely out of danger, and upon a rock which now was their great security and preservation. This was the only place where they could land, as the rock was encompassed on every other side by other projecting rocks. They therefore ran their boat on to the land, when all those that were in the fore part of the boat, leaped directly on shore, and finding it entirely covered with snow, they swallowed the snow in immense quantities, filling with it their parched and burning stomachs and bowels. They likewise filled a kettle and water-pitcher for us, that from weakness laid in the boat. I must confess, says Quirini, that I swallowed as much snow as I should find it very difficult to carry on my back. It seemed to me as though all my welfare and happiness depended on my swallowing it. However, this extravagant quantity of snow agreed so ill with five of our men, that they died that same night, though, indeed, we considered the sea-water they had swallowed as the cause of their death.

Having no ropes to fasten the boat with, and thus prevent it from being dashed in pieces, they remained in it the whole night. The next day, at dawn, these 16 poor wretches, the only remains of 46, went ashore and laid themselves down in the snow. Hunger, however, soon obliged them to examine whether there was not some provision still remaining of their stock; but they found nothing more than a few crumbs of biscuit in a bag, mixed with the dung of mice, a very small ham, and an incon siderable quantity of cheese. These they warmed by means of a small fire, which they had made of the seats of the boat, and this, in some measure, appeared
peased their hunger. The day after, having convinced themselves, beyond a doubt, that the rock they were on was uninhabited and quite deserted, they were going to quit it, and accordingly, after filling five small casks with snow-water, got into the boat, when the instant they entered it, the water ran into it in torrents through all the seams, as during the whole of the preceding long night the boat had been dashing against the rock, insomuch that it went to the bottom immediately, and they were all obliged, quite wet through, to go ashore again. They now made of the oars and falls of the boat two small tents, by way of sheltering themselves from the weather, and with the knees and planks of it, which they hewed in pieces, they kindled a fire to warm themselves by. The only food that was now left for them consisted in a few muscles and other sea-shells which they picked up on the shore. Thirteen of the company were in one tent, and three in the other. The smoke of the wet wood occasioned their faces and eyes to swell up to a great degree, that they were afraid of losing their eye-sight; and what still added to their sufferings, was that they were almost devoured by lice and maggots, which they threw by handfuls into the fire. Quirini's secretary had the flesh on his neck eaten bare to the sinews, by these vermin, which, indeed, occasioned his death. There died also three Spaniards besides, who were of a very robust frame of body, but probably lost their lives in consequence of the sea-water they had drunk.

The 13 still remaining alive were so weak that they were

*It is highly probable that this observation is founded on fact, as well as that mentioned a little before, viz. that the hardiest drinkers, who at the same time were the most inactive people, were the first victims of death: for even now we find that in long voyages, such as idle and inactive, and drink a great quantity of strong liquors of any kind, are always the first to be attacked with the scurvy and are carried off suddenly by it. In the mean time I cannot refrain from relating an incident which actually happened, and which was communicated to me in England by parties of unquestionable veracity. A vessel on its voyage from Jamaica

were not able to cast it away the next day.

Eleven of the Spaniards died along the way, that they had been on a small island round about this circumference, there were two of this party drooping and half dead. This boat had long been, and all its contents weak, when they divided it into bundles and consumed it. A great draft of snow, the smoke of which, was necessary to their usefulness. At the end of the day, they found the sea-water to be very salt, and could not

Jamaica town. The crew was overtaken by a storm, and had recovered nothing having occurred to them. Notions and the usual liquor, all drunk in a day, and they were at a loss what to do, but rather preferred starving themselves than go to sea. The ship's surgeon followed his captain's example, and, as their hunger increased, they got no more than the crew itself, but at length, being informed of the situation of the Captain, they killed the remaining of their living cattle, took up their last provisions, and aborded, riding on the deck with such speed for the English coast as to make the crew obliged to reply thus:—

"Yes, sir, all that I know is, that in the year of our Lord, 1675, a vessel had sailed from the coast of

* This is the end of the page, so the rest of the text is not visible.
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH. 297

were not able, for the space of three days, to drag away the corpses from the fire-side, where they lay.

Eleven days after this, Quirini's servant going along the shore to pick up muscles, the only food they had, found on the farthest point of the rock, a small house, built of wood, in which, as well as about it, they saw some cow-dung. From this circumstance they had reason to conclude that there were both men and cattle in the neighbourhood of this spot; an idea that served to revive their drooping spirits, and inspired them with fresh hopes. This house offered them good shelter and house-room, and all, but three or four of them, who, were too weak, went to occupy it, taking with them several bundles of wood from the ruins of their boat. With great difficulty they crawled thither through the deep snow, the distance being about a mile and a half. Two days after this, going along the shore to seek their usual food of muscles and other sea shells, one of the company found a very large fish, cast up by the sea, which appeared to weigh about 200 lb. weight, and to be quite sweet and fresh. This fish

Jamaica to England had suffered so much from the storms by which it was overtaken, that at length it was on the point of sinking. The crew had recourse in all haste to the boat. The great hurry they were in, having occasioned them to take with them but a small quantity of provisions and liquor, they soon began to be afflicted with hunger as well as thirst in a high degree, when the Captain advised them by no means to drink the sea-water, as the effects of it would be extremely noxious; but rather to follow his example, and, thinly clad, dip in the sea. He himself practised this constantly, and not only he, but all those who followed his example, found that, when they came out of the water, both their hunger and thirst were perfectly appeased for a long time. Many of the crew laughed at him and at those that followed his instruction, but at length grew weak, exhausted, and died of hunger and thirst; some of them, urged by despair, threw themselves into the sea; but the Captain, and such as several times a day dipped into the sea, preserved their lives for the space of 10 days, and at the end of that period were taken up by a vessel which was failing that way. It should seem that they absorbed, by the pores of their bodies, as much pure water as was sufficient for their nourishment, all the salt being at the same time left behind. In fact, I was told that the salt was deposited on the exterior surface of their bodies in the form of a thin pellicle, which they were obliged repeatedly to rub off.
was cut into small slices, and carried to their dwelling, where they directly set about boiling and broiling it. But the smell of it was so extremely tempting, that they had not patience to wait till it was thoroughly dressed, and eat it half raw. They continued gorging themselves with this fish, almost without intermission, for the space of four days; but at length the evident decrease of this their stock taught them to be more economical with it in future, so that it lasted them ten days longer. Those three that laid behind in one of the first huts had sent one of their number to look for the rest, and as soon as he was refreshed with some of the fish, he carried a part of it to his companions, and now they all assembled together again in the wooden hovel they had discovered. During the whole time that they lived on the fish the weather was exceedingly tempestuous, so that they certainly would not have been able to look out for mussels.

Having made an end of their fish, they were obliged to return to their first resource of picking up mussels wherever they could find them; and there being about eight miles from them a rock, inhabited by fishermen, it so happened, that a man, with two of his sons, came to this rocky islet, which (as Fiorovante informs us) was called Santi (Sand ey, or Sand oe) to seek after some cattle which had strayed away from them. The sons went straight to the hovel, where these unfortunate wretches were, for they had seen smoke ascend from it, a circumstance which greatly astonished them, and became the subject of their discourse. Their voices were heard, in fact, by the people in the house; but they supposed the noise to be nothing more than the screaming of the sea-fowl, which had devoured the corpses of their deceased companions. Notwithstanding which Christopher Fiorovante went out, when spying two youths, he ran in again in haste, and called to the rest aloud, that two men were come to seek them out. Upon this the whole company ran out immediately to
to meet the lads, who, on their parts, were terrified at the sight of such a number of poor famished wretches. Indeed, the latter had debated with each other, whether they should not detain one or two of these visitors with a view to make themselves more certain of procuring assistance; but Quirini dissuaded them from putting in execution so very unadvisable a plan. They all accompanied the youths to their boat, and intreated the father and sons to take two of their people with them to their habitations, in order the sooner to procure them assistance from thence. For this purpose they chose one Gerard of Lyons, who had been purser of the ship, and one Cola of Otranto, a mariner, as these two men could speak a little French and German.

The boat, with the fishermen and the two strangers, went to the island of Ruffene (Roffe, or Roffloe) on a Friday. On their landing, the inhabitants were greatly astonished at their arrival, but were not able to understand them, though these latter addressed them in different languages, till at last one of the strangers began to speak German a little with one of the company, a German Priest of the order of the Monks Predicant, and informed him who they were, and whence they came. On the 2d of February the festival of the Purification of the Virgin Mary fell on a Sunday, when the Priest admonished all the people in Ruffene to assist the unhappy strangers to the utmost of their power, at the same time representing the difficulties they had undergone, and pointing to the two famished wretches present. Many of the congregation were softened even to tears, and resolved to bring away the rest of these miserable people as soon as possible, which they did the next day. In the mean while, to those that remained behind in Santi, the time of their companions absence appeared an age; and what with hunger and cold together, they were almost dead.
Their joy at the first sight of the six boats that went for them is not to be described. The Dominican Priest enquired which of them was the ship's Captain; and when Quirini made himself known as such, the former presented him with some rye bread to eat, which he looked upon as manna, and some beer to drink. After this the Priest took him by the hand, and desired him to choose out two of his company to go along with him. Quirini accordingly pitched upon Francis Quirini, of Candi, and Christopher Fioravante, a Venetian; when they all four went together in the boat of the principal man in Rustene. The rest were distributed in the other five boats. Nay more, these good Samaritans went likewise to the first dwelling-place of these unfortunate people under the tent, and taking away with them the only survivor of the three men who had stayed behind, from weakness, buried the others. The poor invalid, however, died the next day. The boats arrived at Rustene, and Quirini was quartered with the principal person in the island. The son led him by the hand, on account of his great debility, to his father's dwelling; when the mistress of the house, with her maid, advanced to meet him, and Quirini going to fall at her feet, she would not permit him, but got immediately a bason of milk for him out of the house, by way of comforting him and restoring his strength. During three months and a half that Quirini spent in this house, he experienced the greatest friendship and humanity from the owners; while, on the other hand, he endeavoured by complaisance to acquire the good-will of his huts, and to requite their benevolence. The other partners, too, of his misfortunes, were distributed into the different houses of the place, and taken good care of.
The rocky isle of Roft lies 70 Italian miles to the westward of the southernmost promontory of Norway, which in their language they call the World's Backside (Culo Mundi). It is three miles in circumference. This rock is inhabited by 120 souls, of whom 72, like good Catholic Christians, received the Communion on Easter-day with great devotion. They get their livelihood and maintain their families by fishing, as there grows no corn of any kind in this very remote part of the world. For in all this time, during the three months of June, July, and August, they have but one continued day; as the sun never sets with respect to them. In the opposite months of the winter they have also but one continued night, and they are never without the light of the moon. They catch, during the whole year, an incredible quantity of fish; these, however, are of two different sorts only; one, which they catch in an incredible number in the greater bays, is called flolkfish (Gadus morrhua) and the other is a kind of flat fish, of an astonishing size, for one of them was found to weigh near 200 pounds. The flolkfish is dried, without salt, in the air and sun, and as there is not much fat and moisture in them, they grow as dry as wood. When they are prepared for eating they are beaten with the back part of the hatchet, by which manoeuvre they are divided into filaments like nerves: after this they are dressed with butter and spices to give them a relish. With this commodity the people here carry on a considerable trade beyond sea with Germany. The halibuts are cut into pieces on account of their size, and then salted, in which state they eat very well. With these fish they afterwards, in the month of May, load a ship of about 50 tuns burthen, and send them to Bergen, a place

* Fioravante says, that from the 20th of November to the 20th of February the night was 24 hours long, and that on the contrary, from the 20th of May to the 20th of August they constantly saw either the sun itself or else the light proceeding from it.
VOYAGES AND

in Norway, about 1000 miles distant from them; whither likewise at this time of the year a great number of ships, from 300 to 500 tons burthen, carry all the produce of Germany, England, Scotland, and Prussia, together with every thing necessary in regard to food, drink, and clothing; and these ships they barter for those commodities and necessaries, because their country being entirely barren and unfruitful, they consequently have no use for money. Immediately as the exchange is made, they return home, landing in one place only, whence they carry wood for the whole year for burning, and for other exigencies.

The inhabitants of these rocks are a well-looking people, and of pure morals. They are not in the least afraid of being robbed: Accordingly they never lock up any thing, but leave their doors and every thing open. Their women also are not watched in their smallest degree; for their guests lay in the same room with the husbands and their wives and daughters, who, when they went to bed, stripped quite naked in their presence. The beds of the foreigners, who were saved from the wreck, stood close to those in which slept the grown-up sons and daughters of their landlords. Every other day the father and sons went a fishing by break of day, and were absent for eight hours together, without being under any concern with respect to the honour and chastity of their wives and daughters. In the beginning of the month of May their women usually begin to frequent the baths. Custom and purity of morals have made it a law among them, that they should first strip themselves quite naked at home, and then go to the bath, at the distance of bow-shot from the house. In their right-hand they carry a bundle of herbs to wipe the sweat from off their backs; at the same time laying their left-hand somewhat extended on their middle, as if they thereby wished to cover the parts of shame, though, in fact, they did not seem to take much pains about it. In the bath they were

* The customs of the same time in Egypt strike them the Galla. History, by Le Fèvre, in the Life of Le Fèvre. But in the greatest part of this practice, which is necessary to their religion, in M. de la Mettrie's Essays, with the world. This practice is the continuous and universal custom, and there is no difference between the many nations of men. But the custom is universal in the world, and is carried by the Galla, among the Galla, among the women's hands. A million of women, who go to bathing, to wash away the sweat from their bodies, principally among the women. People of which no care is taken; it being of their custom always to wash and dip in the pond, and

were seen to go by Le Fèvre, not the Galla, because it did not refer to the Galla. Also able to show the death of this tradition, and thanks to the care spared to them. He, now having a heavenly vision, it is

* The customs of the same time in Egypt strike them the Galla. History, by Le Fèvre, in the Life of Le Fèvre. But in the greatest part of this practice, which is necessary to their religion, in M. de la Mettrie's Essays, with the world. This practice is the continuous and universal custom, and there is no difference between the many nations of men. But the custom is universal in the world, and is carried by the Galla, among the Galla, among the women's hands. A million of women, who go to bathing, to wash away the sweat from their bodies, principally among the women. People of which no care is taken; it being of their custom always to wash and dip in the pond, and
were seen promiscuously with the men*. They had not the least notion of fornication or adultery, and did not marry from sensual motives, but merely in order to conform to the divine commands. They also abstained from swearing and curving. At the death of their relations they showed the greatest resignation to the will of God, and even returned thanks to the Almighty in their churches for having spared their friends so long a time, and for having suffered them to live so long with them, and in that he now called them to himself to be partakers of his heavenly bounty. They also showed so little of extravagant lamentations and grief, that it appeared

* The custom of men and women frequenting the baths at one and the same time is very ancient, for it existed among the Romans, and of them the Grecians learned it, according to the testimony of Plutarch, in the Life of Cato the elder, p. 348, edit. Aubriana Franc. 1626 fol. But in the course of time this custom gave rise to such shameful lewd practices, that the Emperors Adrianus and Marcus Antoninus found it necessary to prohibit it by law. Spartian in Vita Adriani, et Ital. Capitula, in Marci Heliodorali, on the contrary, bathed himself alone with the women, and as it was countenanced by the Emperor's example, this practice must again have become universal. Eut. Lamprius, in Heliogabalus and Alexander Severus; for his successor, Alexander, prohibited it. These laws, however, seem to have fallen into oblivion, since even the Christians retained this immoral practice, affording occasion to many synods to com posing decrees, for the prohibition of it. The Council of Laodicea, in the 20th canon, forbids the bathing of men with women. But this decree, though often rigorously inflicted on, was continually transgressed against, and even Priests and Friars bathed in common with the women, till the Council, held at Trullo, again prohibited it by the 77th canon. And the Emperor Justinian, in his 117th Novell, among the lawful causes of divorce mentions likewise that of a married woman's having bathed at the same time with men, without the permission of her husband. Rufus very probably received the custom of bathing, together with the Christian religion, from Constantinople, and from thence the immoral practice above-mentioned, which, however, principally subsists in the country, seems to have been introduced among them. People of distinction, indeed, have always their own baths, which no one uses but themselves. The rubber here mentioned, consisting of herbs or roots, is also used in Rustia. The Rustians, indeed, always un immediately out of their hot baths into some neighbouring pond, and in the winter time roll themselves in the snow.
Voyages and Adventures

just as if the deceased had laid himself down and fallen into a sweet sleep. If the person who died was married, the widow, on the day of burial, prepared a sumptuous banquet for the neighbours; when the herself as well as her guests, appeared in their best clothes; and on this occasion she invited the guests to eat and drink heartily in memory of the deceased, and to his eternal repose and happiness. They went constantly to church, praying there very devoutly on their knees, and kept the fast-days very strictly.

Their houses were made of wood, and were of a round form, with a hole in the middle of the roof for the admission of the light, which hole in winter they covered with a transparent fish-skin, on account of the severity of the cold. Their clothes were made of coarse cloth, manufactured at London and elsewhere. As to furs, they wore them but seldom; but, in order to use themselves the better to the cold, they would lay their new-born infants, the fourth day after their birth, naked, under the sky-light, which they then opened in order to let the snow fall upon them; for it snowed almost continually during the whole winter that Quirini’s people were there, from the 5th of February to the 14th of May. In consequence of this treatment the boys are so inured to the cold, and become so hardy, that they do not mind it in the least.

The Isle of Roff is surrounded by a great number of sea-fowl, which the inhabitants in their language call Muxi*. They are fond of living near man-kinds,

*The Norwegians call this species of sea-mew or gull, Maafe. It is therefore, in all probability, the Larus Candidus, a new species, and quite white, of the gull kind, which, in the Voyage of Capt. Phillip (now Lord Mulgrave) towards the North Pole, London, 1774, p. 187, 188, is called Larus chubnerus; and in John Miller’s Plates, Plate XII. Larus Albic; but in Otho Fabricius’s Fauna Groenlandica, p. 103, and in Miller’s Prodrom. Zool. Dan. p. Vl: it is denominated the Larus Candidus, and seems to be the same bird with that which in Frederic Martin’s Voyage to Spitsbergen, p. 56, Tab. 1. s. it called the Ratts harr; and in Linn’s Description of Lapland, the Wald Maafe. The

Greenlander
kind, and are as tame as the common pigeons. They make an incessant noise, excepting in the summer, when it is one continued day, and then they are silent for about four hours, and this silence serves to point out to the inhabitants the proper time for them to retire to rest. In the early part of the spring arrived also an amazing number of wild-geese, that made their nests upon the island, and that sometimes against the walls of the houses. They likewise were very tame, insomuch that when the mistress of the house went to take some eggs out of their nests, the female would walk slowly from the nest, and stay away till the housewife had taken as many eggs as she wanted for baking. As soon as the good woman was gone, the goose would immediately set herself on the nest again.

In the month of May the inhabitants began to prepare for their voyage to Bergen, and were willing also to take the strangers along with them. Some days before their departure the intelligence of their being at Rojoie reached the wife of the Governor over all these islands; and her husband being at that time absent, she sent her Chaplain to Quirini with a present of 60 stockfish, three large flat loaves of rye bread, and a cake: and at the same time let him know that she had been informed their crofts had not used them well, and desired them to mention in what point they had been wronged, and that they should receive instant satisfaction; it was also recommended to the inhabitants to treat them well, and to take them over to Bergen along with them. They thanked the Lady, and giving their testimony to the innocence of their crofts, spoke of the reception they had met with in the highest terms; and as Quirini had still remaining a string of amber beads, which

Greenlanders, however, give it the name of Pagavarsuk. It is a very bold bird, and is found only a great way to the northward, in Finmark, Norway, Iceland, Greenland, and Spitzbergen. This maue, or sea-gull, is probably the white sea-fowl Mavis described above by Quirini.
he had brought from St. Jago in Gallicia, he took the liberty of sending them to the Lady, and desired her to pray to God with them for their safe return to their own country.

When the time of their departure was come, the people, by the advice of the Dominican Friar, forced them to pay two crowns for each month; that is, seven crowns a-piece; and as they had not cash enough about them, they gave, besides money, six silver cups, six forks, and six spoons, together with some other articles of small value, such as girdles and rings. The greater part of these things fell into the hands of the rascally Priest, who, that nothing might be left to them of this unfortunate voyage, did not scruple to take them, under pretence that it was due to him for having acted as their interpreter. On the day of their departure all the inhabitants of Roft made them presents of f. 12, and, at taking leave, the women and children shed tears, as did also the strangers themselves. The Priest, however, accompanied them, in order to pay a visit to his Archbishop, and give him part of his booty.

At their departure from Roft, the season was so far advanced, that, at the end of the month of May, during their run, they saw the image of the sun 48 hours above the horizon; but, as they continued sailing farther on towards the south, they lost the sun for a short time, though but for one hour, it being all the while broad daylight. They sailed constantly between the rocks, and they perceived here and there, near the projecting points of the land, marks of deep and navigable water. Many of these rocks were inhabited; and they were kindly received by the inhabitants, who gave them meat and drink without accepting any recompense. The sea-fowl, that when awake were always so loud and noisy, they found had built their nests upon all these rocks, and the stillness and silence of these birds was a signal for them also to retire to sleep.

In
In the course of their voyage they met the Bishop of Trondan (Drontheim) who, with two galleys, was making the tour of his diocese, which extended all over these countries and islands, attended by above 200 people. To this Prelate they were now presented, who, when he was informed of their misfortunes, their rank, and family, expressed great compassion for them. He gave them a letter of recommendation for Trondan, his archiepiscopal seat, where St. Olave, one of the Kings of Norway, was buried, which procured them a kind reception; and a horse was given to Quirini. But as the King of Norway happened at that time to be at war with the Germans, their host, who was likewise master of the vessel, refused to sail any farther, and landed at a little inhabited isle near Drontheim; and, after recommending them to the inhabitants, returned directly. The next day, being Ascension-Day, they were conducted to Drontheim, into the church of St. Olave, which was very handsomely ornamented, and where they found the Lord Lieutenant with all the inhabitants. There they heard mass, after which they were conducted before the Lord Lieutenant, who immediately asked Quirini if he spoke Latin? and being informed by him that he did, invited him, together with all his attendants, to his table, whither they were conducted by a Canon. They were afterwards taken, by this same Canon, to good comfortable lodgings, and amply provided with all kinds of necessaries.

Quirini wished for nothing more than to return to his own country; and he therefore desired advice and assistance to enable him to return home by the way of Germany or England. That they might avoid travelling too much by sea, which was not safe on account of the war, they were advised to apply to their countryman, Giovanni Franco, whom the King of Denmark had knighted, and who resided at his castle of Stichimborg (Stegeborg, in East Gothland) in the Kingdom
kingdom of Sweden, 50 days journey from Drontheim. Eight days after their arrival, the Lord Lieutenant gave them two horses and a guide, to take them to Stichimborg; but as Quirini had presented the Lord Lieutenant with his share of the Stockfish, a silver seal, and a silver girdle, he received from the latter a hat, a pair of boots, spurs, and leathern cloak-bags, and a small axe, with the image of St. Olave, and the Lord Lieutenant's coat of arms on it, together with a packet of herrings, some bread, and four guilders Rhenish. They had besides this, a third horse from the Archbishop of Drontheim; and now, being twelve in number, they all set out together on their journey, with their guide and three horses. They travelled on for the space of 53 days, chiefly to the southward (south-east) and frequently met with such miserable inns on the road, that they could not even procure bread at them. In some places they ground the bark of trees, and, with milk and butter, made cakes of it, which they eat instead of bread. Besides this, they had milk, butter, and cheese, given them, and whey for drink. They still proceeded on their journey, and sometimes met with better inns, where they could have meat and beer. One thing, however, they every where found in great abundance; and this was a kind and friendly reception, so that they were extremely welcome wherever they went.

There are but few dwellings in Norway, and they often arrived in the night, at the hour of repose, though it was not dark, but broad day-light. Their guide, who knew the custom of the country, opened the door of the house, in which they found a table, surrounded by benches, covered with leathern cushions, stuffed with feathers, which served instead of mattresses. As nothing was kept locked up, they took some of the viétaus they found ready there, and then went to rest. Sometimes the masters of the house happened to come in, and see them asleep, and were much amazed, till the guide, who heard them, acquainted
acquainted them with all the particulars, upon which their astonishment was mingled with compassion, and they gave the travellers every necessary without taking any recom pense, by which means these 12 people and three horses did not spend, on a journey of 53 days, more than the four guilders they had received at Dronthem.

On the road they met with horrid barren mountains and vallies, and with a great number of animals, like roes (reindeers, Cervus tarandus) besides fowls, as hafel-hens, and heath-cocks, which were as white as snow (probably ptarmigans, tetrao lagopus) and pheasants of the size of a goole (probably the tetrao urogallus). In St. Olave’s church they saw the skin of a white bear, which was 14 feet and a half long. Other birds, such as gerfalcons (Falco Gyrfalceus) goos-hawks (falco aeter Brifs.) and various other sorts of hawks are whiter here than common, on account of the great cold of the country.

Four days before they reached Stichimborg (Stegeborg) they came to a place called Vedstenæ (Wedstenæ) where St. Bridget was born, and had founded a monastery of Nuns, together with Chaplains of the same order. At this place the northern Kings and Princes have built a most magnificent church, covered with copper, in which they counted 62 altars. The Nuns and Chaplains received the strangers very kindly, who, after two days stay there, at length set out in order to wait on the Chevalier John Franco, who did all he could to comfort them in their distress, and relieved them in a manner that did honour to his generosity. A fortnight after, there was given at St. Brigitta’s church in Wadslena, a plenary indulgence, of which the people of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, as well as those of Germany, Holland, and Scotland, came to partake. Some of them came from the distance of 600 miles.

They went to the indulgence at Wadslena with the Chevalier John Franco, in order to see whether they could not procure some intelligence there of any ships bound for Germany or England, there being
always at that time a great concourse of people. The Chevalier was five days on the road, and had more than 100 horses in his train. Here they took leave of their beneficent countryman, who had furnished them plentifully with clothes and money for their journey, and had ordered his son Mathew, a very amiable young man, to accompany them to the distance of eight days' journey to Lodofe (on the Gotha Elf) where they were lodged at his own house, the ship not setting sail directly. He had lent them his own horses all the way from Stichinborg; and, as Quirini was ill of a fever, he mounted him on a horse, which had an easier pace than ever he had met with in one of these animals before. From Lodofe three of his crew went home in a vessel bound for Rostock, and eight of them accompanied him to England, where they came to their friends in London, by way of Ely and Cambridge; and, after a two months' residence there, continued their route through Germany and Bafi, and at length, in the space of 24 days, arrived safe and in good health at Venice.

We see in this most unfortunate voyage of Quirini, in the first place, a concourse of misfortunes, which one would hardly suppose human nature able to support: but great spirit, vigorous efforts, perseverance, and the employ of the most rational means that can be devised, often make things possible, which, in other circumstances, would be absolutely impossible; and thus serve to shew, in an eminent manner, of what great advantage the use of reason and resolution is in difficulties and dangers.

One observation of Quirini, having been so often confirmed since, deserves attention. Those who, when the ship was in great distress, had given all up for lost, and, without moderation, had drunk the fine Malvasia wine, which they had on board, when the want of provisions began to be felt, and the scurvy commenced its ravages, soon died, and that suddenly; while

while the same thing, and, in persons like Madame de Brion, under the action of the same distressing deprivation of the scurvy, the drinking of wine caused the design to be encouraged and not weaned. Hence we see in this most unfortunate voyage of Quirini, in the first place, a concourse of misfortunes, which one would hardly suppose human nature able to support: but great spirit, vigorous efforts, perseverance, and the employ of the most rational means that can be devised, often make things possible, which, in other circumstances, would be absolutely impossible; and thus serve to shew, in an eminent manner, of what great advantage the use of reason and resolution is in difficulties and dangers.

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while
while those who had lived temperately held out longer, and, indeed, for the most part, saved their lives. In like manner those who had approached too near the fire, in order to warm themselves, paid for this rash action with their lives; while, on the other hand, such as had recourse to the unnatural expedient of drinking their own urine, an expedient which is likewise to most people highly disgusting, even when urged to it by the most intolerable thirst, escaped the jaws of death. We may observe farther, that the drinking of sea-water proved very beneficial to these adventurers, and that the great quantity of snow they had swallowed on their landing did not hurt them in the least. The different kinds of shell-fish and the flesh of a dolphin, upon which they fed, undoubtedly served to keep them all alive.

The Description of the state of Norway, and of its commerce, together with the picture of the manners and customs of its inhabitants, are extremely fine fragments of the history of mankind. The three northern kingdoms were at that time governed by King Erich, of Pomerania, and, considering the times, the state of them was not absolutely bad. We see that the cattle made the principal food of the inhabitants, that corn was very scarce, and that, just as it does now in the mountains and in barren years, the bark of trees, mixed with a certain quantity of flower, milk, and butter, served them for food. Money, on the other hand, was scarce; and a little silver plate, and a few trinkets, were very acceptable presents. To Quirini, as a Venetian, the length of the days in summer *, and that of the nights in winter, the

* Though the day-light lasted very long, or rather, though it was but one continued day, when Quirini went from the Isle of Rolfæ to Drongen, his guides did nevertheless, to go to sleep, when the rest and the stillness of the birds gave them the signal for so doing. This circumstance, therefore, explains in a new yet decisive manner the passage in Obier's description of his voyage to Sotting—beat! (Vid. supra p. 6.) where he says, "No one could sail to it in a month, if he lay-to at night," though
the great quantity of water-fowl, that were so little shy, and the singular chastity and the purity of morals of the northern nations, must necessarily have appeared extremely striking. And, lastly, we see the stockfish and herring trade, even at that time, in a flourishing state. In short, it is, in my opinion, one of those voyages, which, from the general utility of their contents, are as instructive as they are important.

General View of the State of Affairs at this Period.

From the 4th and 5th centuries, the barbarous nations of the North had in Spain, Gaul, and England, nay, in Italy itself, raised the provinces they had taken from the Romans, a second time to the dignity of kingdoms. But the form of their Governments, the preceding wars they had sustained, and the devastations attendant on these wars, together with the dreadful cruelty with which the new possessors ravaged these countries on taking possession of them, in the wantonness of their power slaughtering the poor inhabitants by millions; all these circumstances were at the same time productive of great debility in these newly-founded kingdoms. The country, stripped of its labourers, lay uncultivated, was over-grown with bushes, and in process of time was covered with thick, gloomy forests, the habitations of voracious wild beasts, and asylums for robbers. The brooks and rivers, formerly

kept the wind every day;" so that it was the custom to lay
out night with their vessels, even in the case of continual day-light; and this custom subsisted so early as in the time of Otho, and was observed also in Quirini's time, 533 years afterwards. It is evident, therefore, that this seemingly-furtitious expression was not used without design or meaning, but had its origin and foundation in the manners of the country.
kept within due bounds by banks and dykes, now
broke through these limits that had been set them by
the industry of man, and overflowing the meads which
had before been rescued from their ravages, remained
on them so long, 'till these latter were converted into
putrid marshes, replete with noxious vapours. In
fine, the earth, embellished in consequence of a high
degree of population, of cultivation, and of a luxu-
ry, carried perhaps too great a height, funk again
into a wild and dreary desert, almost unprofitable and
useless to man. Cities, once the seats of industry,
arts, and commerce, were pillaged and destroyed by
fire, and the few remaining inhabitants, bewailing in
the sad ruins the loss of their former prosperity, with
dejected minds and depressed spirits, became the vassals
of their infeolent victors. As for law and justice they
were at this time utterly banished out of Europe.
Every man of courage, strength of body, dexterity in
wielding weapons, and in the management of the horse;
who had influence enough to assemble a train of dis-
orderly banditti, became their leader, and gloried in
imposing, far and near, the iron yoke of slavery and
oppression. These petty tyrants (of which there were
many) sat in their castles, and paid casual homage to
a sovereign almost without power or authority, while
each of this lawless train committed such outrages as
he was able upon the rest of the people, whom toil
and tyranny had now nearly exhausted. Poverty, and
its superstitious rites, effectually banished religion and
its sacred influences. For the worship of God in spirit
and in truth, was substituted that of saints; for virtue,
probity, and purity of life, were introduced penances,
corporal punishments, works of supererogation, and the
power of indulgencies. All freedom of thought was
totally suppressed by the influence of legions of Monks,
and the frowns of a haughty and jealous Hierarchy.
Numberless pretended miracles, and endless scholastic
controversies, completed this miserable system of bar-
barism
barism and idolatry. In short, the corruption of manners pervaded all ranks and classes of men, proceeding from the Prince on his throne to the Monk in his cell, and to the Priest attendant on the altar; and thence arising again to the Abbots and Bishops, up to the very head of the Church, who founded and sustained his papal authority, by persecution, treachery, and murder. There was no longer the least spark of knowledge or information to be found in all Christendom. The great vassals could seldom read, and hardly ever write. Taste, the arts, decency, and decorum, were not to be expected in the desolation, the gloomy obscurity, and the depth of barbarity in which the whole of Europe was involved. The poor oppressed slave in the country bewailing his wretched state, led merely an animal or rather a vegetable life. In the few towns that remained, the inhabitants, in like manner, lived deprived of liberty, and exposed to all the oppressions of the great feudal tenants of the crown and their vassals, which the caprice, insolence, and pride of a barbarian could at any time suggest. All the dreadful effects of the wildest and most unbridled passion, nurtured and supported by lasciviousness, drunkenness, avarice, revenge, and superstition, are to be found portrayed in the few rude annals and memoirs produced in these unfortunate ages. The Philosopher—the Philanthropist—is struck with horror, in contemplating the depth of misery and humiliation to which, from the want of information, and in consequence of moral as well as political corruption, mankind is capable of sinking. But, in contemplating this picture, he will naturally be led, on the other hand, to consider the means which an all-wise Providence has, with more than paternal kindness, made use of to bring men back to that happiness in social life, for which they were originally destitute. In fact, it is these inordinate desires, these infatiable passions, this wild enthusiasm, and this fanatical superstition, by which the Author of our existence...
In the east, at Constantinople, the altercation of the clergy, and the ambition of those who grasped after the Imperial dignity, had introduced the same gross ignorance and immorality into every rank and condition of life; and in the other parts of Asia, the Arabian Caliphs, or successors of Mahomet, in consequence of their voluptuousness, their inactivity, and of their impolitic reception of a number of Generals of the Turkish race into their kingdoms, and at their courts, had dwindled away into insignificant Mahometan Priests. Syria and Palestine had long been subject to Arabian Princes, who, in the state of refinement to which they had arrived at that period, behaved to the Christians of those provinces with great moderation; and from motives of policy and love of lucre, the pilgrims from the west, whom superstition and idle conceits had brought in crowds into those parts, to visit the holy sepulchre, were received very favourably. But the Selidchukian Turks, as well from superstition as from a misfortune of these pilgrimages, which, indeed, were too frequently repeated, and with too numerous trains, began to oppress the Christians and use the pilgrims very ill. These grievances, which were continually encreasing, appeared to Hildebrand, Bishop of Rome, important enough to induce him to fummons all Christendom to make war against the oppressors of Christianity. But the disputes in which Gregory VII. by his pride and ambition, had involved himself in Europe, prevented him from heading him-
felf the army thus raised. Soon after, it happened that an enthusiastic Priest, who is known to posterity by the name of Peter the Hermit, was eye-witness to the injuries and oppressions under which the Christians in the east, as well as the pilgrims, groaned. His own heated imagination, the persuasions of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and the approbation of Pope Urban, incited him to travel through all the countries of Europe, with tears in his eyes, stirring up the superstitious people to wreak their vengeance on the enemies, as they were termed, of Christianity. Every individual now, even to the very children, was filled with holy rage, and people ran in flocks to take part in this meritorious expedition. Thousands of them perished miserably; and, having undergone many hardships, the Christians at last got possession of a wild, waste country, without either cultivation or inhabitants, in which, however, lay Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and other places of sacred fame; and Constantinople itself, together with Cyprus and Greece, fell into the hands of the European Christians. These great peregrinations, however, of Christians, frantic with superstitious zeal, who frequently marked the whole course of their expedition by the most atrocious crimes, and the most infamous actions, and were, for the greater part, the very fume of the earth; these peregrinations were the cause of a revolution throughout all Europe, which, in fact, was attended with too great consequences to pass unnoticed by an inquisitive mind.

The landed nobility, and the Princes their Sovereigns, wanted money to equip them as well as to maintain them on these long expeditions; in consequence of which they sold the privileges which they had hitherto made so bad use of, over their poor subjects. To thousands of people they gave liberty in exchange for money; and bestowed on innumerable cities great privileges; and among others the power of chusing their own magistrates from among themselves, that of governing themselves by their own laws, and according to their own free election, that
that of levying their taxes among themselves, at their own discretion, and the privilege of defending themselves. Every burgher now might bequeath the fortune he had acquired to whomsoever he would, after his death; he might marry without first asking leave for that purpose of his liege Lord; he might appoint whomsoever he pleased to be guardians to his children; and, after having commenced a legal process, might accommodate matters with his adversary, without paying the fees in his Liege's court for an adjudication which had not been made; and merchants and artizans were relieved from the intolerable oppression of gifts and other extortions, with which they had before been harrassed. Previous to this period the great seoffees only appeared in the assemblies of the nation, as representing the state; but now this privilege was bestowed on many towns and cities, in order to make a counterpoise to the too-preponderating powers of the great feudatory tenants and nobles; and, indeed, it was soon observed that those innovations were attended with the most desirable consequences with respect to the general good of mankind.

The citizen, who was now assured that the fruits of his industry would be reaped by himself and his children, was thereby excited to work with redoubled adour, as well as to the invention of new arts and trades. The merchant was seen to brave dangers with fresh courage, and, inspired by the hope of gain, to trust his life and property to the mercy of the winds and waves: and every one, of what profession soever he was, turned all his thoughts to the procuring of an honest livelihood by industry, talents, and perseverance. Finally, for the greater security of the subject, the perpetual frays and skirmishes of the great vassals with each other were put an end to, and the civil peace was everywhere established. It was therefore found necessary to apply to judges for the distribution of justice. For this purpose new laws were introduced for cases that had never before been determined; and recourse
recourse was had to the long-forgetten Roman code of laws, in order to learn from it the principles of equity and justice, which had been so long neglected: from the ecclesiastical law were borrowed in part the regulations and forms of law suits, besides many rules and customs, as the clergy were in the exclusive possession of the little knowledge and learning that was left in the world at that period. The shameful practice of judiciary duels, which were commonly though blasphemously called the Judgment of God, was abolished, and the practice was introduced of making appeals to the higher Courts.

Europe now began, by little and little, to enjoy the blessed fruits of these young shoots of liberty which had been so lately planted. From the east, the pristine nursery of the arts and sciences, a second time were brought, by means of the very crusaders themselves, new lights for the information of the human understanding, new arts and manufactures for the employment of the towns and cities, and new plants and animals for the improvement of rural economy. In Italy, the Genoese, together with the Venetians and the people of Pisa, by lending their ships to the crusaders, as well as by their share of the booty, had greatly enriched themselves, and consequently had not only a fair occasion considerably to augment the number of their vessels, but likewise to learn the places whence they could import silk, cotton, spices, and all the precious commodities of India, easier than by the way of Constantinople; and in a short time they, with the rest of the free states of Italy, were in the sole possession of the whole trade not only of the Mediterranean, but also of the Black Sea. Even the German towns that lay scattered up and down all along the coasts of the Baltic and the German Ocean, began to unite in a confederacy, for the purpose of promoting and extending their trade, a confederacy, which they distinguished by the title of the Hanse, a word of like import in the old German language. The Greeks too, and the Arabians, afforded the Europeans many
many opportunities of acquiring new science and fresh information; and though this ingrafted wisdom was principally employed by the Christians on religion and speculative philosophy, yet from this period learning began to be a regular occupation among the people of the West. Public schools were founded, and the learned had rank and precedence bestowed on them, besides enjoying other advantages; so that by degrees the dawn of science diffused itself everywhere, by which means the rude and unpolished western world was prepared for a long time beforehand for the Reformation, for the state in which learning subsists at present, for the still encreasing spirit of Toleration, and for the free spirit of enquiry by which these our times are distinguished.

In Palestine and Spain the rude warriors among the Christians had frequently occasion to experience the magnanimity, courage, and gallantry of the Saracen Knights. All these qualities imparted something so peculiarly great and splendid to the characters of the Knights above-mentioned, that the Christians considered it as an honour not only to imitate them in every article, but even to surpass them, and particularly in their attachment to religion, in their defence of oppressed innocence, in their respect for truth, and in the gentleness of their manners. The foundations of real honour, the greater humanity with which war is now carried on, and the politeness and reciprocal generosity subsisting even between foes, of which we have frequently in these times the happy experience amidst the horrors necessarily attendant on war, are the pure and genuine fruits of the knight-errantry of that period.

All this, taken collectively, without doubt contributed to liberate the human mind from those fetters of superstition, ignorance, and slothful indolence, by which it had hitherto been shackled. Individuals might now venture to acquire knowledge and information, without dreading either fire or sword, as the punishment of their audacity. A thirst after knowledge
ledge was diffused over all Europe, and the public discovered a particular avidity for accounts and relations concerning foreign and remote countries, and long, extensive voyages and travels into distant parts. The establishment of the more quiet possession of private property, encouraged the merchant to still greater undertakings, exciting him, from a desire of gain, to navigate unknown seas, and to brave every danger. On the other hand, the enthusiastic desire of diffusing the doctrines of Christianity, and of subduing whole nations and countries to Christ and the Roman Pontificate, still continued to be a great motive for undertaking new travels into distant regions. The spirit of Kights-errantry, too, and the desire of achieving heroic actions in the wars, such as might assure everlasting glory, and renown to the performers of them, contributed their share towards inducing many persons to range up and down the most remote countries. The increasing trade of the Italians, together with the great progress they made in the arts, as well as the great profits made by the northern merchants who were united in the Hanfa, or Hanfeatic league, excited from time to time several enterprising minds to undertake voyages, which, considering the ignorance which still prevailed in respect to foreign nations and countries, were then much more dangerous than they are at present. The important discovery of the magnetic needle for the purposes of navigation gave new advantages to this art, and made a great addition to the knowledge possessed by those times in relation to different people and countries: and whereas before this, people had scarcely ventured to go out of sight of the shore, they now boldly sailed across the greatest seas. Now, if we even put the date of this invention so early as the year 1200, yet then we find the compass so commonly known about this period, that the fishermen in the Orkneys made use of the compass so early as 180 years afterwards, viz. about the year 1380.
The immense riches which the Venetians had acquired by the monopoly of the Eastern and Indian trade, the skill and experience they had attained in navigation, as well as the information they had obtained relative to the distant nations and climates, prepared the world for those great and important discoveries, and the revolutions consequent thereon, which have given to Europe and the western world a quite different form to what they had before.

By the taking of Constantinople, in which the Turks at length succeeded under Mahomet the 11th, the Greeks were dispersed into different parts of the world. Some of these fled to Italy, whither they carried their learning, arts, and handicraft professions. This incident served in some measure to add to the knowledge of the people among whom they sojourned, to refine their taste, and to give greater perfection to their manufactures, and consequently likewise to their navigation. To the people of the West, who, by means of their conquests as well as their commerce, were continually extending themselves over the globe, the vast and increasing power of the Turks served, by way of barrier, which lay in their way invincible obstacles to their penetrating any farther to the eastward. Consequently they were now obliged to turn the course of their navigation, trade, and discoveries in the west towards the northern and southern regions, where they did not meet with any such obstacles; an undertaking which at last was likewise crowned with the greatest success.
I. Of Andanicum, or Steel.

PAGE 135: According to the account given here by Marco Polo, of the province of Chinchintas, there is in this district a mountain which produces steel ore and Andanicum. At the time that I transcribed this passage, I was not able to give any intelligence concerning the meaning of the word. But Ramusio, in the 2d Part of his Collection of Voyages, has prefixed a Dichiarazione d' alcuni luoghi ne liibri de Marco Polo, in which (page 14) he affirms that the word Andanicum signifies the best steel; and farther, that when any of the Orientals had a spear or fabre of Andanicum, he valued it as highly as though it had been the most precious jewel.

* The origin of the word Andanicum has caused me a great deal of trouble; for as Ramusio says, that he had learned the meaning of this word of Messer Michele Mambre, the Turkish Interpreter to the Republic of Venice, and as likewise Chinchintas is not at a great distance from the ancient Turkestan, I thought myself justified in looking into the Turkish language for its origin; but finding in this tongue only the word Dßchench, which means war, I concluded that a nation as warlike as the Turks have been for many years past, might have called the best kind of steel, which they used for their spears and sabres, Dßchenchski, i.e. the warrior, agreeably to the figurative mode of expression not unusual with the Eastern Nations: conceiving at the same time, that an Italian might have pronounced this word Danice, or AlDanice, or, by elision of the l, Ad-Danice, which comes pretty near to Andanicum, or Andanice. Still, however, I had my doubts with respect to this etymology. Therefore I had recourse to the Persian language, and found there, together with two more words which signify steel, the word DÝfhank, or DÝdhank, which apparently makes the nearest approaches of any to the word ad-danice and al-danice, and thus may have given rise to that of andanice.

Our ingenious Professor, Dr. Knapp, supposes, that this Andanicum might have been also called Andalucium, and this derived from the Arabic اذیه to unshew the sword, or asm of which many substantives are formed, which signify sharp, point, polishe, &c. observing, at the same time, that the words اذیه or اذیه acuminate, acuminate, polishe, bear a great resemblance to each other. I am not capable of deciding this point, and therefore leave it to be determined by others, who, having more skill in this department of science, are better instructed to judge of the matter.

II. Of
II. Of Rhubarb, and the Place called Suckuk.

At page 135, Marco Polo informs us, that, upon the mountains in the country of Suchur, grows the best Rhubarb, in great quantities, from whence the merchants carry it all over the world. Accordingly Ramusio enquired of one Hadzhi Mehemet, a Persian merchant from Tabas in Ghilan, concerning the Rawend, or Rewend Tschin, i.e. Rhubarb, and where it grows, as well as concerning the whole commerce of this commodity; this merchant having some months before brought a great quantity of Rhubarb to Venice.

Hadzhi Mehemet (called here Chaggi Memet) had been himself to Suckur and Campion, in the country of the Great Khan; and, indeed, excepting Ambassadors to the Khan, no merchants are suffered to penetrate farther into Kathai than to Suckur and Campion. Both these towns are built of brick and freestone. The Great Khan sends his Viceroy thither to govern them. They are merely inhabited by Idolaters, and there are no Mahometans to be met with till one comes to Camul. The name of the Great Khan at the time when Hadzhi Mehemet was in Kathai, was Daimir Can*.

*Daimir Khan would seem to be the same as Timur Khan, the immediate successor to Kublai Khan; but the former bore the sovereign sway in China and Kathay from the year 1394 to 1397; and, as Ramusio wrote about the year 1553, this Khan could not be meant here; and indeed had a Mogul Emperor at that time filled the Throne, the Persians and Bokharan merchants would not have been hindered from penetrating farther into Kathay; for this restriction commenced only with the reign of the new race of the family of Myn, which had expelled the Moguls out of China. Probably at that time Tschi-tseng, or Kiat Sieng was Emperor, who reigned full 45 years, from the year 1521 to 1566, and under whose auspices the Jesuits established themselves in China. But why Hadzhi Mehemet calls him Daimir Khan, I confess I cannot in the least comprehend.
The town of *Succuir*, in the province of *Tangia*, is large and populous, and is situated on a plain, through which run a great number of small rivulets. It has abundance of provisions of every kind, and a great quantity of silk is raised there on the leaves of the black mulberry-tree. It produces no wine, but the inhabitants brew a kind of drink from honey, in imitation of beer. On account of the cold of the climate no fruits grow there except pears, apples, apricots, peaches, melons, and water-melons.

The Rhubarb plant grows all over this province, but no where better than on some neighbouring rocky mountains (*affes Montagne,* on which there are a great many springs, and forests consisting of different kinds of high trees. The foil, however, is of a red (roffo) colour, and almost always boggy, on account of the great quantity of rain that falls, and of a vast number of brooks by which the country is intersected. The leaves of this plant are commonly two spans in length, are narrower at bottom, and wider at top. The margin of the leaf is surrounded by a woolly matter. The stalks on which the leaves grow are green, and about a span and four inches long; the leaves themselves at first are green, but in time become yellow, and spread vastly on the surface of the earth. In the middle grows a stem, which bears flowers round about, of the shape of a clove gilliflower, (*viole mellifère*) and are of a milk white and light-blue colour. The scent of them is strong and nauseous, so that these flowers are both unpleasant to the smell and to the sight. The root is one, two, and sometimes three spans long; the colour of the bark is a chestnut-brown. It is as thick as the lower part of a man's leg; some, indeed, are as thick as a man's loins. Out of the great root proceeds a considerable number of very small radicles, which spread greatly in the earth. These are taken
taken away, when the great root is to be cut in pieces, which is yellow internally, with many beautiful red veins full of a clammy yellow juice that stains the fingers and hands of a yellow colour. Were the root hung up immediately, all the juice would run out of it, and the root itself would become light and unserviceable. The pieces, therefore, are first laid upon long tables, and turned three or four times a day, in order that the juice may incorporate with, and, as it were, coagulate in, the substance of the root. Four, five, or six days after this, holes are made through them, and they are hung up on strings, exposed to the air and the wind, care being taken at the same time, that the sunbeams should not come to them; and in this manner the roots become dry, and arrive at their full perfection in the space of two months. The roots are dug up in winter, before they put forth their leaves, because at this time the juice and the whole virtue of the plant is confined to the root. The spring, however, does not commence in the provinces of Campion and Succuir before the end of May. Those roots which are taken up in summer, when they have put forth their leaves, continue to be light, spongy, full of holes, and without substance; neither have they the yellow colour of those that have been dug in the winter, but, notwithstanding that they are red, they are not equally good with those which were taken out of the ground before the spring. Those who dig the roots on the mountains, carry them, either on carts or upon horses backs, down into the plain, and to Succuir; when they sell them at the rate of 16 small weights of silver (Saggio, each being of the value of 20 Venetian solidi) for a cart-load.

To make up one small horse-load of perfectly dry Rhubarb, it will take seven loads of green roots, newly dug out of the ground. The Rhubarb, when green, is so very bitter, that one cannot venture...
even to taste it. If the roots are not cleaned and cut immediately within the space of five or six days after they have been taken out of the ground, they grow soft and rotten. In Kathay the root is in no estimation, and in some places they use it for fuel, or else in the diseases of horses; and indeed no more of them are dug up than what are bespoke. But there is another small root far more esteemed, which grows on the Rhubarb mountains of Succuir: this root is called Mambroni Tschin, and is very dear withal. They use to grind this root on a stone with rose-water, and anoint the eyes with it, by which means they find astonishing relief. All over Kathay, they make use also of the leaves of another plant, called Tschai Tschin (Chinese tea) which grows chiefly in the province called Katfchienfu. The dried leaves of this plant are boiled in water, and of this decoction they take fasting a cup or two as hot as possible; when it is looked upon to be very serviceable in headaches, fevers, complaints of the stomach, rheumatism, and several other diseases; but particularly in the gout.

With regard to the road which leads from Succuir and Kampion to Constantinople, Hadschi Mehemet relates, that going thither with the caravan, he had taken a road quite different from that by which he returned; for just as he was ready to set out with the caravan, on his way homewards, the Tartars with the green caps (who thence are called Jeschil-Basch) had resolved to send an ambassador with a numerous retinue to Constantinople to the Grand Turk, through the desart part of Tartary to the northward of the Caspian sea, for the purpose of concluding a treaty of alliance with the Turks against the Sophi, their mutual enemy. Foreseeing now many advantages

* The Usbecks are called Jeschilbasch (i.e. Greenheads) on account of the green caps which they wear in their turbans, in like manner as the Persians, on account of the red bonnets in their turbans, are called Kishibasch (or Redheads).
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH. 247

therein, even setting aside that of the road, he had undertaken the journey with them as far as Kaffa (in Crimea); but if he had come back with the caravans, he must have passed through the following places. At the same time he remarked, that the length of the road was measured by days journeys, consisting of eight farfenge (parangans) each, and each of these again were computed to be equal to three Venetian miles, (of which latter 58 or 59 make a degree.)

Kampion (Kampion, Kampion, or Kantfchehu, in the province of Schenfl, on the river Etzine-Moren) is a large city, surrounded with a thick double wall, filled up with earth, and situated in a fertile, well-cultivated plain. The houses are of brick, two or three stories high, and elegantly painted. The temples are magnificent, being built with free-stone, and ornamented with idols of a gigantic size, gilded all over, and some smaller ones, having six or seven heads and ten hands, each hand holding a serpent, a bird, a flower, or other similar devices. The inhabitants are numerous, are extremely skilful in stone-masonry, and have very large blocks of stones brought them from the quarries, on wagons with 40 wheels, drawn by five or six hundred horses or mules each. Their long garments are made of black cotton, and in winter are lined with wolf's or sheep's furs. But the people of rank make use of fable and marten furs for this purpose. Their hats, which are black, are pointed at the top like sugar-loaves. White is with them the colour for mourning. They are not tall. They make use of presses for printing their books. From this city of Kampion to Gauta (Ganta, Kenta) it is six days journey, and but five from Gauta to Succuir.* (ac-

* This Succuir, which has also been mentioned before at page 170, in Marco Polo's account of his travels, at that time I took for the city of Sukh, or Sukh, on the river Sukh, which discharges itself into the river Pegu, to the northward of Tibet, and to the southward of Keshan; but by this relation of Hadschi Mehemet, I am now convinced, that we must look for this town farther to the northward, on the river Etzine-Moren, perhaps on the lake Such, Suchk, or Suchk, into which the above river runs. In these parts there are high mountains, and several pieces of water, and the whole situation is very convenient for rhubarb mountains, such as those described by Hadschi Mehemet.)

...
VOYAGES AND

According to Marco Polo, Succur. From Succur you go in 15 days to Kamul (alias Khamul, Kamil, Hamil, Hami, Khami, Camexu). Here the habitations of the Mahometans begin, and those of the Idolaters terminate. From Kamul to Turfan (Turfan) it is 13 days journey. From Turfan they went through three towns, the first of which, named Chialis (Goez calls it Chalis, it is also called Ciais) is 10 days journey from thence; the second is called Chuchi (according Goez, Kuscha) at the distance of 10 days more; and, lastly, Afsu (Afsu, the white river) 20 days journey farther on. From Afsu to Cefcar (Chafcar, Caffar, Kafchar, Haficar) it is 20 days journey through a horrid defart, but till then they had passed through inhabited regions. From Cefcar it is 25 days journey to Samarkand; from Samarkand to Bochara (Bokkara) in Coraffam (Khorasan) five; and from Bochara to Eri (Heri, Herat) 20 days journey. From Eri to Veremi (Varoni to the south-east of Kasbin, in Irakadchemi) one may travel in 15 days; from thence to Kasbin (Kalbin) it is six; from Kasbin to Sultania (Sultania) four; and, finally, from Sultania to Tauris (Tevris, Tebriz) which is a large town, it is six days journey.

From this circumstantial relation of Hadchi Mebemt we learn, that the genuine Rhubarb plant is not the Rheum palmatum, as it is even now frequently supposed to be; and we are induced, on the contrary, to credit the information given us by M. Pallas, relative to this subject. We also find, that to cultivate Rhubarb in Europe to advantage, we must look for a soil in a mountainous country, watered by a number of rivulets; it should have a fratum of stone under it, and perhaps contain Iron. A soil of this kind may, in all probability, be easily found in the lofty mountains of Mansfield, Halberstadt, and of Sileia; as likewise in Upper Sileia. Lastly, we also learn from the preceding account, of how great a consequence it is to the goodness of Rhubarb, that the roots be dug up exactly at the proper time.
proper time, and that the proper methods of cleaning and drying it be pursued. Perhaps the information here given may serve to promote the culture of Rhubarb in Europe, and likewise Germany, and particularly in the Prussian territories. Finally, these relations serve to establish, with greater precision than before the situation, of the places lying between the Caspian Sea and the Chinese wall.

III. Of the Gothic Language.

In page 97 and 179 the reader will find, in the narratives of Ruyrbroek and Josephat Barbaro, an account of some Goths in the Crimea, who spoke a language resembling the German. This has been confirmed by Busseck and Father Mohndorf; and the former even gives us a very considerable list of Gothic words. In the year 1779, the learned Professor Semmler, in a festival Programma, explained and illustrated a festival celebrity of the Court of Byzantium, called TO ΓΟΤΟΙΚΟΝ. In the twelve days between Christmas and the festival of the Epiphany, a number of people, dressed in a strange, uncouth manner, representing Goths, advanced in two different parties, and walked in procession in the Emperor's presence, and finally sang a song in the language of their own country (αυτόν μιαν) accompanied by the Pandure. Upon this, Constantine Porphyrogeneta, in his Book de Ceremoniis aulae Byzantinae, p. 223, cites some foreign sounding words, which, in all probability, constituted part of the aυτόν μιαν. At page 224 and 225, there is added a Διηγήμα τοῦ ἐν τῷ Γερμανία ἄδικανον (or a Dictionary of the words sung in the Gothic); together with another explanation of these words. These are doubtless by a more modern hand, and give the explication of Gothic words from the Latin, the Greek, and even the Hebrew; therefore we cannot rely greatly on these explications. Dr. Semmler, in the Programma mentioned above, gives it
it as his opinion, that all these words, without any distinction, are Latin. As much as I respect the uncommonly extensive and withal solid erudition of this great literary Genius, yet I cannot be persuaded, by the arguments he adduces, to look on the whole of this composition as Latin, especially as Constantine expressly intitiles it *vulgaris modis*, a domestic (i.e. a Gothic) long. Kodinus says, that in his time, at the Court of Byzantium, the Warringers at Christmas had paid their duty to the Emperor, and wished him health and happiness in their own, i.e. in the English, tongue (λατιν.). Another party, viz. consisting of Wardariotians, likewise paid their compliments in their, viz. in the Persian language (μηλαρ). Consequently it appears that we may conclude from hence, that it was considered as an addition to the magnificence of the Court festivals for people of foreign nations to wish the Emperor joy in their own languages. Hence I suspect, that the words, cited by Constantine, are Gothic; and as these words are sung by two chorusses, it came into my head that possibly the Gothic words might occur in this relique of antiquity, translated into another language. Moreover, it appeared to me, that agreeably to what Professor Semmler has already shewn us, there is actually a great number of Latin words in it; and the rather, as I found that, previously to this conjecture of mine, the second interpreter of the words had placed them on opposite sides, as though they had been actually sung by two chorusses: I therefore thought it might be worth while to examine into this fragment of the Gothic tongue, and, as far as it was possible to be done, to explain it. As we have so few reliques of this language, they are all extremely valuable. It appears, moreover, that at the Imperial Court of Constaninople the Gothic Life-Guards made a practice of going through this ceremony, as long as they actually belonged to the Emperor's Guards; but afterwards the Goths, on the one hand, becoming scarce and difficult to be procured, and on the other, having lost likewise their reputation for valour, the Imperial Body Guard was chosen from
the Franks and Waringians, Saracens, Persians, Farganians, Chazarians, and other nations, as the late Professor Reike has already shewn in his Notes upon Constantine Porphyrogeneta. That in copying such a number of words from one or more foreign languages, some mistakes must necessarily have been committed, few of my readers, who have at all attended to this subject, will be disposed to doubt. We will therefore first place all the words one after another, and then let about arranging and explaining them in the manner in which it appears probable that they were sung by the two choruses.

In the same order in which the words stand here, they are placed in the explanations above-mentioned, some small aberrations excepted.

Iuusus, is in my opinion Gothic, and translated into Latin in the next word boras. Gods, or Goda, in the Gothic language, is the German word Güt, and the English Good. In certain dialects of this tongue the o is pronounced as au in German *(or ou in English) and therefore sounds like Gauds. This could not be written otherwise by a Greek, than Gauzas with a z; and consequently it is properly translated by bonas or bona.*

Bon, is also written cin. The week, in the Anglo-Saxon, is called wocc, or wic, which comes from the Gothic word wik, a series or or-
IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (MT-3)
der of things which return in constant rotation: \( \beta \) is, therefore is \( \text{wike} \), or week. The Latin corresponding with this, has only \( \text{dia} \), or probably \( \text{die} \); and, in my opinion, \( \text{Z} \) should be prefixed to this latter word; so that \( \text{wike} \) is translated by \( \text{septem dies} \).

\[ \text{wike} \] should be read thus, \( \text{wige} \) or \( \text{tay} \), and signifies \( \text{special good days} \), \( \text{die} \) \( \text{con dia} \). Eletti boni dies.

\[ \text{wike} \] In the Gothic language, as well as in the English and modern German, the syllable \( \text{un} \), prefixed to a word, imparts to it a signification contrary to that which it otherwise bears: e. g. \( \text{unable, unfeeling} \) in our own language, and in the Gothic we have \( \text{unagein, without fear; unbairans, unfruitful; unbarnabds, child-
}

\[ \text{les; unbrukja, ufeles; ungalubhjands, unbelieving, &c. and, in the present cafe, unka-

\[ \text{vidas, unetige, without trouble or sorrow, happily, in good time. \text{Soma upe, bona hora.} \text{N. B. The aera put here after \text{etige} is not to be found in the first interpreter, and is probably redundant.} \text{etige} \] should perhaps be \( \text{Goda banetane, Goda banstans, or banstins, good crops, or barns; bona horrea, bona upe} \) instead of \( \text{bona ampe} \).

\[ \text{etige} \] The Latin words immediately following this, viz. \( \text{et salutos} \), which Professor Semm-

\[ \text{ler very properly reads, \text{vide Salvatos, must be used here for the purpose of acertaining the Gothic; and though it requires a considerable change in the letters, we cannot read otherwise in the Gothic than \text{et}, \text{see, vide; as the Greeks could not express the Gothic q. or qu, otherwise than by their q, and after \text{t}, \text{laovites, or laovites; which together make \text{tov, laovites, behold the saved, \text{etis velcentus.}} \text{etis velcentus.}} \]

The end of my digression, cited, as the Gothic and English are at the same times.

If we suppose this advance of the \( \text{e} \) would be but few respecting the end of the English, in the Gothic, it were much more
I explain this first by the subsequent Latin, which here, indeed, is Deus serva, but should doubtless have been written Deus serva, God save, or preserve. Now this in the Gothic might be, Fana lauf, Fana laufi; as the copyist probably not well knowing what to make of the ancient digamma, took it for an N; and the A in lauf is easily mistaken for a Δ. But Fana laufi signifies Lord or God preserve.

In the expression immediately following, Professor Semmler thinks he defines the word Domino, or rather as it appears to me, Dominum; and the phrase xa xa is probably the Gothic quivaiz Fana; which means the Lord alive. Dominum vivum (sa, Deus serva).

The Latin following this should be γκα ιλας, jube hilares; consequently the Gothic might possibly be written βιρ γκα γκαλος, wilja jubilons, bidding them be merry; or, as the Italians would say, giubilare.

This specimen, I hope, will serve to convince many of my readers that the strange, uncouth words above cited, are to be considered as a collection of such Gothic and Latin acclamations as were at that time in use at the Byzantinian Court.

If we had time sufficient, and were any considerable advantage to be expected from it, I am apt to believe it would be possible likewise to restore and explain the few remaining words. In the mean time this fragment of the Gothic language shews clearly enough, that even in the tenth century, the Gothic words of this festival were not entirely consigned to oblivion, though at the same time the Goths in the Crimea were no longer much known. These people, however, have continued
Voyages and

ued to exist even to these our days; a circumstance which naturally excites in us an ardent wish that, under the protection and auspices of Catherine II. the learned may be enabled to search in the Crimea for the remnants of this celebrated nation and language.

OF THE

GENEAL

THO
THE state of improvement in which Europe was with respect to knowledge and general information, the extension of commerce, the liberty bestowed on bondmen and slaves, the progress of industry in the towns and cities, the almost-independency of their internal government; the riches, power, and consequence which these towns in Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands, had acquired chiefly by commerce and navigation; the improvements made in the administration of justice, and the consequent decrease of the right claimed and exercised by every individual of avenging his own wrongs; the gradually encreasing power of the Kings and Princes, and their endeavours to annihilate the influence of the higher order of vassals, and of the Nobility, in matters of Government; the establishment of standing armies in France and Italy, and the necessity arising from thence to augment the revenues of the state by all possible means; all these circumstances had produced a great alteration in all the forms of Government in Europe. The thoughts of all the European Princes were entirely bent on their own aggrandizement, and that either by new conquests or by the augmentation of their power in their own states. Portugal had so early as in 1250 driven the Arabian Princes out of their native countries; and, in order to prevent the Mauritian Arabs from entering...
tering into any confederacy with those that still re-

mained in Spain, and thus causing fresh disturbances,
the Portuguese went over to the coast of Mauritanias,
where now Fez and Morocco are, and there endeavoured
to do as much injury as possible to the enemies
(as they were called) of the Christian religion; and
having conquered Ceuta in the year 1415, fortified
several harbours situated in the vicinity of it on the
shores of the great Western Ocean. A.D. 1418,
John Gonzalez Zarco, and Tristan Vaz, after having
weathered a violent storm, discovered an island which,
on account of the asylum it so happily afforded them,
they called Porto Santo. It was impossible to be in
Porto Santo without seeing Madeira, in case the wea-
ter was fair; and, failing to the island which had the
appearance of a cloud, they called it, after the saint of
the day on which it was discovered, St. Lawrence, and
shortly after, on account of the great number of forests
that were upon it, Madeira. To these forests they set
fire in 1420, and cultivated sugar with great success
on the spot. The Infant of Portugal, Don Henry
thirsting after still greater discoveries, and at the same
time very well versed in geographical knowledge, as
far as it extended in those times, sent out Gonfalo
Velho Cabral for the purpose of making new discoveries
to the westward. The first discovery he made in this
voyage, which he undertook in 1431, was that of a
few barren rocks, which from the continual motion of
the sea by which they were surrounded, he took oc-
casion to call las Formigas (the Ants) and soon after
he descried the island of St. Maria, which in the year
1432, having had a grant of it from the Infant Don
Henry, he peopled and stockt with cattle.

At this period it was that Antonio Gonzalez was sent
out with two caravels, a kind of small ship, to the
coast of Africa, on new discoveries. Hitherto it had
been the practice to seize upon the tawny Moorish
Mahometans that were caught wandering up and
dering and to

Christians prisoner in each other, and thus were of
this time, went on country and encreafeed
Cape Albucy (Ilba de Lanzarote) on the coast of
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marriage

Macedo,
dering up and down in that quarter of the globe, and to sell them for slaves, as being enemies of the Christian faith; but in the year 1442 some of these prisoners were redeemed by their relations, who gave in exchange for them, not only other negroes who were of a quite black complexion, and had woolly hair, but also a certain quantity of gold dust. From this time forward, the desire of discovering the gold country, and that from whence the negroes came, encreased daily. In 1443, Nunno Tristan discovered Cape Arguin, or Akaget, and the Island of Cranes (Ilha de Garzas). The next year was seen the island of St. Miguel (or St. Michael) one of the Azores. Lanzarote took a great great number of prisoners on the coast of Africa, and Cadamosto made the discovery of the river Gambia. A. D. 1445, another of the Azores, or (Hawk-Islands) was discovered, which, from the circumstance of its being the third island discovered, was called Terceira. In the same year Denys Fernandes discovered a promontory covered with fresh verdure, thence called by him Cape Verde, and also the Cape Verde Islands, which lay over against it. Between that period and the year 1449, the rest of the Azores, St. George, Graciofa, Fayal, and Pico, had also been discovered; for these four islands being partly seen from Terceira in fair weather, it was impossible for them to have remained much longer undiscovered. After the death of the Infant Don Henry, the island of Fayal, which was named so, not after the beech-trees which grew on it, but after a new species of myrica (myrica Faya) was made a present of by Isabella, Duchess of Burgundy, to Jobst Van Hurter, by the Portuguese called Jos: de Utra, and Hurta, a native of Nuremberg; King Alphonso V. having before made a present of this island to the above-mentioned Duchess, who was his sister. Hurter, who had become connected, by marriage, with the illustrious Portuguese family de Macedo, went, in 1466, with a colony of more than
than 2000 Flemings of both sexes, to his property, the isle of Fayal. The Duchess, though at a time when the nation was afflicted both with a burdensome war, and a great dearth, had provided the Flemish emigrants with all necessaries for two years, and the colony very soon increased there. In the year 1472 some attempts were made likewise to people the Capo Verde islands; and the year before the islands of San Tomaso, Ilha do Principe, and Anho-bon, had been discovered, together with the coast of Guinea, and particularly the Gold Coast. Guinea, on Martin Behaim’s globes, was also denominated Genea; and, according to Leo Africanus*, it was called by the Arabs Gheneoa, and by the negroes, Genni. The situation of this golden country was kept secret by the Portuguese with as much care as that of the tin-country had formerly been by the Carthaginians; notwithstanding which, the French, contrary to all probability, pretend to have been so early as in 1346, or at least in 1364, from Dieppe, along the western coast of Africa, quite to Della Mina, on the coast of Guinea. The great profits accruing to Portugal from the bees-wax, ivory, ostrich feathers, negro slaves, and particularly from the gold of this country, determined King John II. to send, in 1481, twelve ships to this coast, under the command of Don Diego d’Azembuya, and to build a fort there for the protection of commerce, which fort was called St. George della Mina. A.D. 1483, Diego Can, or Jacob de Cano, and Martin Behaim, from Nuremberg, set sail with two caravels for the purpose of making new discoveries. (This Martin Behaim married afterwards at Fayal, about the year 1486, Johanna de Macedo, daughter of the Chevalier Tobi von Hurter, and in 1479 had a son by her named Martin). First, they found the country of Benin, where there grows a kind of spice, which was pretended to be pepper, and which was transported in great quantities to the observant Portuguese. (among the instances of this is the very important Grayno de Seno.) In 1484, the Portuguese coast of Guinea was first reached southward, and they got to the westernmost part of this coast, on the river de todo, or as it is generally called, the Gal, which is the most great and greatestly celebrated of the islands to India, and is well known. Their acquisitions in this country were in any part of the world and opinion, the German, the Canarian, and the Dutch. After some discourses with the natives, also they made known to Antonio de Camp, one of the ship’s officers, afterwards Jean Baudry de la Guerre, squire to Mayo, the Portuguese nobility, a gentleman of India, the Canary Islands curious for their diversities, insensibly prizing them more highly than in every other place, and which did not much resemble the lands they had seen at a vast distance, and still more far from foreign lands.
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.

This spice, however, it must be observed, was no other than the grains of Paradise (amomum grana Paradisi). They are also called Graines de maniguette, or malaguette. After this, in 1484, they lighted on the coast of Congo. The Portuguese continued exploring the whole of this coast with great diligence and attention. Bartholomew Diaz, with three ships, failed farther to the southward than any of his predecessors, and at length got so far that, in 1486, he described the southernmost promontory of Africa, which, on account of the violent storms that prevailed there, he called Cabo de todos los Tornientos; but which the King of Portugal, who was now in hopes of soon making a much greater discovery, viz. of finding a new route to India, called Cabo de bona Esperanza. The renown and advantages which the Portuguese had acquired by the above-mentioned voyages induced many persons, well versed in mathematics and navigation, to endeavour to participate in these discoveries. Germans, in particular, Netherlanders, and Italians, were intent on acquiring by this means skill, fame, and opulence. A Jacob van Brugge, and a Wilhelm von Dagora, which latter assumed the name of Silvester, both Netherlanders, peopled some of the Azores islands. Jobst von Hurter, and Martin Behaim, both natives of Nuremberg, were Lords of Fayal and Pico. Antonio de Nolle, an Italian, discovered St. Jago, one of the Cape Verde islands, of which he also afterwards was Governor; and, in like manner, Jean Baptiste, a Frenchman, became proprietor of Mayo, another of these islands. Bethencourt, a French gentleman, was the first who took possession of the Canary Isles; and foreigners of all nations, conspicuous for their rank in life, knowledge, and enterprising spirit, mixed with the Portuguese adventurers in every undertaking. Now, although the Portuguese did not permit other nations to take possession of the lands they had discovered by their unwearied zeal, at a vast expense, and by undergoing so many dangers, yet they were in no ways averse to allow such foreigners as chose to enter into their service, and to
incorporate with them by marrying into Portuguese families, to share with them the profits of their extensive discoveries.

All the ships which the immortal Don Henry sent on these voyages were in part provided with good pilots, who understood Geography, Astronomy, and Navigation, to the full extent of that degree of perfection to which these sciences had been brought at that time. He had also taken care to have all the young nobility in his service instructed at Teraubel, near Sagres, in Algarve, in geography, navigation, and in the art of laying down charts and maps, by a very skilful mathematician of Mallorca, for whom he had sent for this purpose. In consequence of this, all the discoveries were laid down on maps; and accordingly we find, that when Pedro de Covilham, and Alonso de Payva, set out for the purpose of making new discoveries, A. D. 1487, they took with them a map of the globe which had been drawn by Galfadilla, Bishop of Viseu, an extraordinarily skilful mathematician. John II. King of Portugal, ordered his two body-physicians, Roderic and Joseph, together with Martin Behaim, who were all three excellent mathematicians for those times, to invent something by which the course of a ship, and the particular place she is in at sea, might be determined with greater certainty than before. In compliance with this charge they made improvements in the astrolabe, which till that time had been used only with a view to astronomy, so that it could be likewise used for the purpose of navigation. It is also a well-known fact, that when Martin Behaim went to Nuremberg in 1492, in order to visit his relations, he made a globe, upon which he laid down all the regions and countries known at that period: from this globe we learn, amongst other things, that he was of opinion that, in sailing farther to the westward, one might at length come to Cathay, or North China, and to Cipangu, or Japan; hence, too, we find drawn upon this globe the Greater and
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH. 261

and Lesser Java, and the islands of Kandy and Angama, described by Marco Polo. Now, agreeably to this opinion, which was farther confirmed by the circumstance of exotic fruits having been often cast on shore at the Azores by the currents and western winds, even a boat with the corpses of people of a strange and unknown country having been once brought thither by them, it seemed more than barely probable that there must be an inhabited country to the westward, which, however, was all along sup- posed to be India. A Genoese, Christopher Colom by name, who to a considerable share of mathematical and cosmographical knowledge, joined great skill in navigation, had been a long time in Portugal, and had married Philippina Minh. Perestrelle, the daughter of Bartholomeo Perestrelle, who had been one of the first that contributed to settle Porto Santo and Madei- ra. It was impossible for him to have been ignorant of the important discoveries which the Portu- guese had made with such envied success. He must also necessarily have been acquainted with the prevailing notion of those times, viz. that in sailing to the westward a ship must inevitably at length arrive at the Indies. He therefore requested King John II. of Portugal, to let him have some ships to carry him to the island of Cipang (or Japan) of which there was some account in the writings of Marco Polo. The King referred him to Diego Ortiz, Bishop of Ceuta, and to his two Physicians Rodric and Joseph, all of whom looked upon the opinion commonly entertained concerning the situation of Marco Polo’s Island of Cipang, to be visionary, and consequently, seeing but little plausibility in Colom’s plan, absolutely rejected his petition. Colom, who was a man of a determined disposition, and not easy to be shaken in his resolves by such refusals as these, quitting Portugal, where they did not chuse to accept his proposals, went himself, in 1484, to Spain, and sent his brother Bartholomeo to England, in order to make the same proposals to King Henry VII. During the space of seven years Christopher Colom
Colom solicited the Court of Spain for assistance in the execution of his great plan, and met with nothing but tedious delays. His brother had in the mean time been plundered by pirates, and was detained in prison. In 1488 he made King Henry a present of a map of the world, drawn up by himself. Henry VII. a Prince of unbounded avarice, and by no means fit for great enterprises, suffered Bartholomeo to depart the kingdom without doing any thing for him, when this latter immediately went to Charles VIII. at Paris, who gave him the first intelligence of his brother Christopher's important discovery.

In the mean time, Christopher Colom, wearied out with fruitless attendance and deluded expectations, was just on the point of leaving Spain. He said, however to make one more trial, and not receiving expeditiously enough the wished-for answer, set sail in order to go to his brother in England. In consequence of the conquest lately made of Grenada, and of the earnest solicitations of two of her courtiers, men of enlarged views and unprejudiced minds, Queen Isabella was at length determined to grant a supply of the scanty sum of 40,000 guilders for the service of this expedition. A boat was now sent after Colom; accordingly he went ashore again, and an agreement was concluded with him in due form. Colom set sail from Palos, in Spain, on the 3d of August, A. D. 1492, and the next spring, on the 15th of March, returned to Palos, with important news of some islands having been discovered by him. Gold, cotton, and pimento pepper, together with a great number of parrots of variegated plumage, and some rare and uncommon animals; as also several inhabitants of the island Haiti (or St. Domingo) which he brought with him, exhibited incontrovertible proofs of his discovery. The attention of all Europe was now turned to this great event. There were many who were likewise desirous of sharing in the honours of having discovered new countries; among these was Amerigo Vespucci, who had seen the main land of the new-found countries, if not before, at least soon after Christopher

Christopher
Christopher Colon, and, by some singular effect of chance, the whole of this extensive quarter of the globe has been called, after him, America. Finally, about the same time, viz. in the year 1496, Vasco Gama, failing round the Cape de todos los Tormentos (or rather de bona Esperanza) arrived safe in the East Indies. Now there arose an emulation between the Castilians and the Portuguese, of extending their discoveries continually farther and farther, and of rendering them still more profitable and important.

A. D. 1500, Pedro Alvareiz Cabral failed for the Indies, and descried by chance a large coast which he called the Land of the Holy Cross, and which at present, after the name of a certain wood which dyes red (a name previously to this period known to the Arabians) * is called Brazil.

For a long time after this it was not known that the extensive continent newly discovered was any other than the Indies. It was in process of time, however, found out that a coast, extending as this did, many hundreds of miles to the northward and to the southward, could not possibly be that of the Indies; and Vasco Nuñez de Balboa having at length, viz. A. D. 1513, descried the ocean again beyond the isthmus of Panama, there was no farther doubt about the matter. Portugal in the mean time derived immense treasures from the Indies, and Spain seemed to have enriched herself no less. All Europe must necessarily have contemplated this accession of wealth and power with astonishment and dissatisfaction. Spain, the Netherlands, a great part of Italy, and in Germany the Austrian hereditary dominions, were now all united in the person of the Emperor Charles V. and the treasures of the West-Indies encouraged and enabled him to usurp in Germany still more power than he had had before over the Princes of that empire. Francis I. of France, who ventured to measure forces with him, was defeated and taken prisoner near Pavia. The armies he made use of for the execution of his ambitious designs, were chiefly composed of

* Abulfeda Tab. XVI. exhibens Insulas maris Orientalis. Lamert of matrix ligni Brasilii & canae Indice.
Spaniards, a nation which by so many bold exploits, and by being in constant action, was endued with an uncommon degree of valour, and inured to hardships and fatigue. These military operations which took place in Italy, in the Netherlands, and in almost every part of Germany, served but the sooner to diffuse the treasures of both the Indies over all those countries; and both war and wealth not only introduced a great mixture of the manners, together with the refinements in luxury of foreign nations, but likewise gave rise to similar attempts in all the Princes of Europe to oppose the increasing power and oppressions of the Pope and of the Emperor, by the improvement of their finances; by standing armies, and by the undaunted spirit which these circumstances were calculated to inspire. The different nations of Europe began now to visit each other more than ever; and their respective Sovereigns courted the friendship even of Princes at a distance, with a view to acquire additional strength by means of treaties, and to be the better enabled to execute the plans they had formed either of aggrandizement or defence. Men of talents and genius now began to feel their own powers; the sacred fire of freedom was now lighted up in every generous breast, and displayed itself as well in thought as in action; in short, Europe was quite transformed. The two Indies, the sources of such material alterations in the constitution of Europe, became the objects of the wishes of all the European Princes, as well as of every private man who, to a competent degree of skill in navigation, cosmography, and astronomy, joining an undaunted and resolute spirit, fancied himself equal to the execution of great enterprizes. It could not therefore well be otherwise, but that in every commercial and maritime nation people should be found who offered themselves to go to the Indies by some new route.

Since the discovery of the navigation to the two Indies, almost all maritime nations have made attempts either to go to the Indies by new traks,
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.  

tracks, or else merely with a general view to discover new countries. The limits we have prescribed to ourselves in this work, confine us solely to the discoveries made in the North; notwithstanding which, we found it necessary to connect the thread of our narration by the above introduction; and shall only observe, in addition to what we have just stated, that the attempts made to arrive at the Indies by a new and shorter route, have given rise to many voyages in the North. But many of these voyages of discovery have also originated in other causes, which we shall take occasion gradually to unfold one after the other.

It will be necessary, however, for the sake of order, in treating of these discoveries, to arrange them under the heads of the different nations which have participated in them; we shall therefore here give a brief account of the Discoveries made by the English, Dutch, French, Danes, Russians, Spaniards, and Portuguese; and conclude the whole with some general physical, zoological, botanical, mineralogical, and anthropological Observations, and with a few words concerning the probability there is of getting through the Northern Seas into the great Pacific Ocean.

Major rerum mihi nascitur ord.——VIRGIL.

CHAP. I.

Of the Discoveries made by the English in the North.

ENGLAND, in the reign of Henry VII. after the loss of all the countries which the Kings of England had possessest in France, and the long civil war that subsisted between the Houses of York and Lancaster, was still in a very weak state. The timorous,
rous, mistrustful, and economical disposition of Henry, contributed in a special manner to the preservation of tranquillity at home and peace abroad. In consequence of this, commerce and manufactures increased greatly, and London contained merchants from all parts of Europe. The Lombards and the Venetians in particular were remarkably numerous, so that even a street in London was named after the former of these people. The Easterlings from the Hanse-towns likewise did a great deal of business there. The discovery of the West-Indies by Christopher Colom in 1492, made a great rumour, and first created a wish for a voyage, by which similar discoveries might be made.

I. At that time there lived in London a Venetian, by name John Cabot, or Cabot, who had three sons with him, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sanchez. Sebastian was but young, but had nevertheless made great progress in the Belles Lettres, and especially in the doctrine of the sphere, that is to say, in every science subservient to the mathematical knowledge of the earth and to navigation. Sebastian, hearing of the success of Colom, was inspired with a desire of likewise acquiring renown by similar enterprises; and King Henry VII. in 1495, or 1496, impowered the father and his three sons to sail, under the royal flag, with five ships to the Eastern, Western, and Northern Seas, and there find out such countries and islands belonging to the Heathen, as had not before been discovered by any Christian power. In the 13th year of this King’s reign, John Cabot obtained permission to sail with fix ships, of 200 tons burthen and under, on new discoveries. He did not fail, however, till the beginning of May, 1497, and then, by his own account, had but two ships fitted out and stocked with provisions at the King’s expense; but the merchants of Bristol sent with him three or four small vessels laden with coarse cloth, caps, and other trifling wares. He failed for some time without seeing any land at all. His crew was beginning to murmur, when at length, for fear of a mutiny, he steered more to the south-west, and, after some time longer failing,
On the 24th of June, descried some land, to which, alluding to this circumstance, he gave the name of *Prima Vista*, and which the English, making use of a word of similar import, called *Newfoundland*. Other authors remark, that he met with many large mountains of ice, that he found the days lengthened, and the countries he visited free from frost. Some say he went to 67 deg. 30 min. N. lat.; others reckon his most northerly track to have been to 58 deg. N. lat. He himself informs us, that he reached only to 56 deg. N. lat. and that the coast in that part tended to the east. This seems hardly probable, for the coast of Labrador trends neither at 56 deg. nor at 58 to the east, and at 67 deg. is the coast of Greenland. I should therefore suppose that Sebastian Cabot had the first sight of *Newfoundland*, off Cape Bona Vista. Peter Martyr's account says, that Cabot called the newly-discovered land also *Baccalao*, from the circumstance of his having found there an immense quantity of large fishes, which the inhabitants called *Baccalao*. This word *Baccalao* is by the inhabitants pronounced with the Spanish double "Bacalao", whence the Germans and Dutch have taken their term of *Kabeljau*, bearing the same significations. This inclines me to suppose, that *Prima Vista*, the first land discovered by Cabot, was the headland in Newfoundland, which is still called *Cape Bonavista*, and this conjecture is still farther confirmed by the situation of the island of *Baccalao*, which lies not far from thence. The inhabitants that Cabot met with here were dressed in the skins of animals; he likewise saw several flags and white bears, which used to catch the Baccalao fishes in the sea. He also found at this place black hawks, with partridges and eagles of the same colour; and remarks, that the inhabitants there had a great quantity of copper.

Having refreshed himself and his crew here, he failed to the south-westward, till he was nearly in the same latitude as the Straits of Gibraltar, and in the same longitude as the island of Cuba. According to this remark of Peter Martyr, Sebastian Cabot must have been about as far as Chesapeake Bay in Virginia.
ginia. He was now obliged, through want of provisions, to set out on his return, when he took along with him three inhabitants of Baccalao, or Newfoundland. But great preparations being made at that time for a war with Scotland, it did not appear at all probable to him that any use would be made of his discovery; he therefore went into the service of Spain, where he was made Pilote Mayor, and explored the coast of Brazil, and the river Plata; after which he undertook some other voyages in the service of Spain. In a writ of King Edward VI. issued out in 1549, one Sebastian Cabot was also promoted to be Grand Pilot of England, with a salary of £166l. 13s. 4d. per annum. But if it be the same person, he must at that time have been very old.

II. We do not find, that since this, during the reign of Henry VII. and in that of Henry VIII. any great enterprises and voyages to the North were undertaken. The avaricious disposition of the former prevented him from any new undertakings after the first expedition of Sebastian Cabot, who, in fact, although he had discovered a great extent of land, reaching from the 56th to the 36th degree of northern latitude, had brought home no treasures in gold and silver, which alone were coveted in those days; neither was the turbulent, voluptuous, proud, and cruel disposition of Henry VIII. any great encouragement to men of abilities and enterprise to undertake voyages of discovery, and thereby expose themselves to the King's fickle and tyrannical temper in case of miscarriage, as such expeditions depend merely on wind and weather, and may easily turn out unfortunately. After his decease, came, in 1548, a Sebastian Cabot, who was not only appointed Grand Pilot of England, but was allowed besides, a salary for life of £166l. 13s. 4d. in consideration of the good and acceptable service done and to be done by him. This expression seems to indicate, that this Sebastian Cabot was the same person as so long ago as in 1497.
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.

had, with his father, John Cabot, made the discovery of North-America, Newfoundland, and Terra di Laborador. By his own account he was very young at that time: let us therefore suppose him to have been 22 years old in 1497; consequently he was born A.D. 1475; and of course in 1548 was 73 years of age. Now, if Sebastian Cabot, or Gavota, had been a young man, and different from the first discoverer (as Pere Bergeron supposes in his Traité des Navigations, chap. x.) he would have gone himself upon the voyage we are about to mention: but even his rank as Governor of the Society of Merchants associated for the purpose of making discoveries of unknown lands, dominions, islands, and other places, shews that he must have been at this time a man of great experience, and in a very respectable situation. It is therefore probable, that either from discontent, or some other cause, this Sebastian Cabot had quitted the Court of the Emperor Charles V. in Spain, and returned to England. In the representations he made on this subject, he endeavoured to prove, that it was possible to find a way by the north-east to Kathay and India, in case any one undertook the voyage.

A Company of Merchants formed an association, at the head of which he was placed. This Society, in the year 1553, sent out three ships under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby, Knt. for the purpose of making discoveries. In the month of June they got as far as Halgoland, the birth-place of Obther: going farther on, they arrived at Roff, where Quirini had wintered, and proceeding farther still, at Lafat and Seynam (Senju). Directly after this, the Edward Benaventura, commanded by Capt. Richard Chancellor, was separated from the Admiral’s ship by a storm. The Admiral soon after descried land, but could not land on it, on account of the ice and the shallowness of the water. He supposed it to be
170 leages distant from Seynam, in the direction of east by north, and in 72 degrees north lat. Consequently it must have lain to the east of Kola. Perhaps this land was the coast of Nova Zembla, or the island of Kolgow. Sailing now again to the west, he came as length to a river and harbour, where he determined to winter. But, not having a sufficient quantity of wood for fuel, and being perhaps attacked by the scurvy, they all perished; though it appeared by the papers they left behind them, that they were still alive in the month of January 1554. The account says, that the river or harbour, in which Sir Hugh Willoughby anchored, was called Arzina. A river of this name is found in Russian Lapland, between Kola and the cape which the Russians call Sjætoi-Nofs. For, that Willoughby saw Spitzbergen, is not at all probable; though wood affords that he did; the most southern part of Spitzbergen being at least in 77 deg. N. lat. and consequently four or five degrees more to the North than Willoughby's Land.

As soon as Willoughby had got sight of this land, the Bona Confidentia, Capt. Durforth, was separated in another storm, and returned to England. The Edward Bonaventure, under the command of Richard Chancellor, arrived at the harbour of St. Nicholas, at the mouth of the Dwina, and Chancellor went to Moscow to the Czar Ivan Wassilewitsch. The Grand Dukes had till then been obliged to suffer very much under the yoke of the Tartars. But now they had entirely shaken it off, and Russia was no longer divided and parcelled out, as it had been before, amongst a number of petty Princes, but had now one sole Sovereign, the Grand Duke, who consequently was a Prince of considerable power. This country bordering upon no other Christian countries but Poland, Livonia, and Sweden, and, on the contrary, having for neighbours to the south, the Turks, Tartars, Persians, and other savage nations, the merchants of the Hanse-towns took great advantages over the trade of Asia. Therefore Willoughby, according to the kindnesse and liberality of the Czar, offered to undertake the cargo, and go again with a new ship to England, the want of shipping deadning. III. The relation to that voyage is eager to be known. Willoughby, likewise Sjætoi-Nofs, was as far as Spitzbergen, to the south as 77 deg. N. lat. But on the contrary, the merchants of the Hanse-towns took great advantages over the trade of Asia.
over them in matters of commerce. It could not therefore but have been very agreeable to Ivan Wafflelewitfch to see the English arrive in his dominions. Accordingly he made them the most ample offers, granted them great privileges, and treated them with much kindness and friendship. Richard Chancellor fold his cargo, and, taking in other commodities in lieu of those he had disposed of, returned in the year 1554, with a letter from the Czar Ivan Wafflelewitfch, to England, where at that time King Edward VI. being dead, Queen Mary, his sister, sat on the throne.

III. The profits resulting from this first navigation to Russia, made the trading company still more eager to turn this fortunate event and the friendly disposition of the Grand Duke Ivan Wafflelewitfch, to the best advantage: Queen Mary and her consort, Philip, King of Spain, were therefore pleased to grant to the Company of Merchants Adventurers for Discoveries in the North, North-east, and North-west, a charter with many privileges, under their Governor Sebaftian Cabot. Their Majesties wrote likewise a letter to the Grand Duke Ivan Wafflelewitfch, and empowered Richard Chancellor, George Kil-lingworth, and Richard Gray, to treat with the Grand Duke about the commercial privileges and immunities which he might be pleased to grant to this newly-chartered trading Company. The ships which set sail with these Plenipotentiaries, and with a fresh cargo of merchandize, were the Edward Bonaventure before-mentioned, and the Philip and Mary. They were very kindly received by Ivan Wafflelewitfch, and having obtained from him a grant, with very extensive privileges, disposed very profitably of their cargo at Kolmogori, Wologda, Moscow, and Great Newgored. Thus the English Company was at once richly rewarded for their enterprize of finding out a short way to the Indies. They continued, however, to give commission to their mariners, to make diligent researches after the way to India and to Kathay.

In
In the year 1556, the same two ships, under the command of Richard Chancellor, returned from the Dwina and the Bay of St. Nicholas, to England. In the meantime intelligence had been received concerning the two ships lost on the first voyage, and the Bona Esperanza, as well as the Bona Confidencia, set out also on their return home with rich cargoes. The Grand Duke, Ivan Waffelevitch, had dispatched by these ships an Ambassador, with his retinue, to England. But of all these ships only one got back to England; all the others were lost. Richard Chancellor perished, and the Ambassador Ořep (Joseph) Nepea, with the greatest difficulty saved his life on the coast of Scotland, where, however, he sustained a very considerable loss in clothes, articles of merchandise, and presents. As soon as this became known in England, the Ambassador was sent for to London, where he was received with great magnificence; the Company made him several rich presents, and sent him back to Russia in 1557, in their own ships. On his return, he was very politely received by the King and Queen, and their Majesties gave him some presents to take over with him to the Grand Duke. Thus ships continued to go every year to Russia, where they carried on a very extensive and profitable trade, which Dantzick and the other Hanse-towns endeavoured to obstruct as much as possible.

IV. A. D. 1556, the Company sent out a pinnace under command of Stephen Burrough, or Burrow, who had been, with Richard Chancellor, in the capacity of Master, in his first voyage in the year 1553. This vessel, merely destined for discoveries, was named the Searchthrift. At their departure the Governor of the Company, Sebastian Cabota, paid them a visit, and is called, in the relation published of the voyages, the good old Gentleman. This seems to be a very evident proof that this Sebastian Cabota is the same with him who had discovered Newfoundland, and who, if at that time he was 22 years old, at this latter period must have been 84. Burrough went to the coast of Norway, saw Lofot and the North Cape, which latter he had named thus on his first voyage.
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH. 273

first voyage in the year 1553, and at length came to Cola. From thence he went, in company with some small Russian vessels, or lodjes, as far as Kany-Nofs, or Kanda-Nofs. Immediately after one is past the cape of this island, one finds the east, north-east, and north winds prevail more and more. After this he arrived at 30 leagues E. N. E. from thence, at the harbour of Morfchiowez (Morzowets) in 68 deg. 20 min. N. lat. From thence he sailed 25 miles to the eastward, and at the distance of eight leagues in the N. by W. found the island of Kolgoives (Kolgow oftrow). After this he came to Swetinotz (Swjatol Nosf); from whence he soon arrived in the dangerous mouth of the Petshora. The whole land here consisted of low sandy hills. At length he reached Nova Zembla (Newland) and the islands of Waigats *. But Burrough, finding it impossible to advance any farther on account of the north-easterly winds, and the great quantity of ice, and moreover the nights beginning already on the 22d of August to be very dark, determined to return, and to spend the winter in Colnogori; though the Russians paid much to him in favour of the mouth of the river Ob, and concerning the great quantities of morfes, (or sea-horses), to be met with there. In Nova Zembla they saw not a

* Waigats, according to the opinion of some learned men, takes its name from the Dutch waaien, i.e. to blow, to be windy, and gat, i.e. a hole or strait, and is called waigat, because in these straits the wind blows with great violence. But as these straits were already called Waigats by Burrough, before the Dutch had seen them; and moreover, as the English had already heard the names of Nova Zembla and Waigats, from one Lyfak, a native of Russia, this name must be rather of Russian than of Dutch origin. Barentz found afterwards on Nova Zembla some carved images on a head-land near the strait, in consequence of which he called it Afgerdenboek, the Cape of Idle. Now, in the Slafovanian tongue, Waigat means to carve, to make an image. Waigati-Nofs would therefore be the Carved or Image Cape; and this seems to me to be the true origin of the word Waigats, which properly should be called Waigats-Nofs, the Image Straits.
human being, but caught a great number of birds, and saw some white foxes and white bears. On the main land we met the Samojedes, a heathen nation, who, living in the neighbourhood of the river Petichora, were even at that early period subject to Russia, and were tolerably peaceable and friendly; but those of this nation, who lived on the river Ob, were of a hostile, cruel, and ferocious disposition. Having wintered in Russia, he returned to England in the year 1557, and was afterwards made Comptroller of the King's navy.

V. The attempt to discover a north-east passage to India having miscarried, people began again to entertain the hopes of succeeding by a north-west passage. Accordingly, Queen Elizabeth sent Martin Frobisher out with three small ships in 1567. On the 11th of July he saw land in 61 deg. N. lat., which land he supposed to be the Friesland of Zeno; and here he found a great quantity of ice. On the 28th of the same month he saw land again, which he took for the coast of Labrador. On the 1st of August land again appeared, and a large island of ice, which the next day fell to pieces with a dreadful noise. On the 11th he was in a strait, though perhaps it was merely a sound. After he had made them some presents, the inhabitants came on board the ship, and the next day one of them went on board in the ship's boat, and was taken ashore again; but the five sailors who were with him, went to the natives contrary to orders, and neither they, nor the boat, were ever seen again. Upon this, they seized on a native and took him along with them; but he died soon after his arrival in England. Amongst other things which they carried home with them was a black, shining, and very heavy stone, which was gold marcasite, \( \text{(Pyrites aureus)} \) as it contained a considerable quantity of gold.

VI. The gold found in this stone encouraged the members of the Society to send the next year (1577) three other ships. Martin Frobisher was again Commander in chief.
mander in Chief. When he had got to the distance of six days sail from the Orkneys, he met with a great quantity of drift-wood, which was continually driven forwards with a current setting from the S. W. to the N. E. After 26 days failing in a west and north-west direction, he went from the Orkneys to the country which was by them taken for Friesland. Soon after, he came to Frobisher's Streight, where, even so late as the 4th of July, all was still covered with snow and ice. Nevertheless he could not persuade himself that the cold was so intense as to freeze the sea-water, and so much the less, as the difference between the tides of ebb and flood was above ten fathoms; indeed, Frobisher found ice at the distance of upwards of 1000 miles from any land whatever, and this ice consisted of fresh, and not of salt water. At the same time it is inconceivable how this ice should break off from the entire mass, the air being so sharp here, and the rays of the sun falling so obliquely, as never to be elevated, even when it is at the highest, more than 23 degrees 30 min. above the horizon. It must therefore have been either very rapid streams and torrents of fresh water, or else a high flood, which can have had force sufficient to detach these enormous masses of ice, and carry them into the sea. Frobisher, not daring to approach nearer with his ships on account of the ice, went on shore with boats, and having examined every thing, and also seized on a native of the country, he returned again on board, and brought word, that in the bowels of the bare and barren mountains, probably great riches were hidden. He landed on several other spots, and at every place attempted to lay hold on some of the natives; but they sometimes defending themselves bravely with their bows and arrows, some of which were armed with iron points, but most of them with sharp stones or bones, the English fired, too, on their part, and wounded some of them, who then, in order to avoid
being taken, leaped into the sea and drowned themselves, an action which appeared very extraordinary to the English, who intended to cure their wounds, and carry them over to England. The Greenlanders used every art possible to be practised in order to entice the English to land, insomuch that one of them feigned himself lame, and got another to carry him; however, they could not lay hold on the English: these latter, on the contrary, frightened the Greenlanders away by firing off their blunderbusses, when the pretended cripple ran away with the rest very swiftly, and without limping in the least. The English examined their huts (made of the skins of reindeer and the hides of other animals) and found some of the clothes of the five Englishmen who had been missing the year before. They found also some other miserable habitations of the natives, made of stones heaped up together. After this follows a description of their boats for one man, as also of those for the women, their darts, clothes, and furniture. Of two women whom they found there, they took one along with them, together with her wounded child; the other was left on the spot, on account of her extreme ugliness. The sailors, moreover, suspected this woman to have a cloven foot; but her buckskin being taken off her legs, her feet were found to be exactly like those of other human beings. They then took some more of the glittering stones along with them, and set sail again for England. During the voyage the Greenland captives, both man and woman, behaved with great decorum, and exhibited a degree of chastity and modesty which was not expected from them. The Admiral's ship was separated from the two smaller ones in a storm, both of which, however, got safe, the one into Bristol, and the other into Scotland, as did the Admiral's ship in Milford Haven.

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The remark of the author of Frobisher's voyage, on the current which carried the great quantity of drift-wood they met with, in a direction from south-west to north-east, has since been frequently confirmed. For it is by this current that so many West-Indian woods and fruits are cast on shore in Ireland, Scotland, the Faro Islands, the Western Islands, the Orkneys, the Shetland Islands, Iceland, and Norway*: and it is probable that the black and red beans or peas, which were afterwards, in the third voyage, found in the huts of the Greenlanders, and which it is to be presumed, came from the *abrus precatorius*, but were supposed to be fruits from Guinea, had been brought by the same current. In the same manner the Icelanders are furnished with wood for firing, and receive other great advantages, by means of this current; and other seafaring people have, in Nova Zembla and Spitzbergen, as also in Greenland, and even on the northern and eastern coasts of Siberia, every where found great quantities of this drift-wood, which was of great use to them in building their dwellings, as also for fire-wood.

That this part of Greenland discovered by Frobisher, which is situated more to the southward than any part of Iceland, or than Drontheim, in Norway, is nevertheless far colder and more surrounded with ice than these latter places, seems chiefly to proceed from the following circumstance, viz. that the country of Greenland stretches very far to the northwards, and is full of inlets, running deep into the country, and founds, where, in hard winters, masses of ice of an astonishing size are generated by the mountains of snow which are blown down from off the high rocks, and in the spring, in consequence of the thaws, of heavy rains, and of the sea-water dashing upon them, are converted into ice. These mountains of ice are torn off by the tides and torrents of rain-water, and at length carried out to sea. But frequently they are

so numerous, that in the straits between Iceland and Greenland they are pressed together by storms, and without previously melting, freeze into one mass so as to form large fields of ice; particularly if they happen to be formed on sand-banks or shallows, and cannot go any farther; for they extend to such an astonishing depth in the water, that hardly one fifteenth part of them is above the surface of it, and sometimes many thousand feet of such a mass are under water. Now, as by these enormous mountains and fields of ice, large tracts of the ocean are entirely covered with ice, and consequently no vapours from the sea, which are usually mild and damp, can reach the land in Greenland, or at least but in very small quantities, the cold must be thereby prodigiously augmented, when in addition to this, the north winds, already of themselves sufficiently cold, blow over these immense fields of ice, and in their course are continually cooled more and more, till at last they are rendered so cold as to be absolutely unapproachable.

Here again we meet with an instance of that cruelty which has ever marked the discoveries of the Europeans. It was concluded to make captures of these poor people at all events, and pretended that it was designed for their good. It is not surprising that the innocent inhabitants could not form any favourable conception of the benevolent views of their conquerors, who brought devastation into their country, and destruction upon their families, or that they should repel their unprovoked attacks; but the Europeans generously imagined that to cure them of the wounds they had inflicted, after having deprived them of their liberty, and perhaps their limbs, was an ample reward. Despair, however, at last inspired these injured people with resolution, and taught them to prefer death to the more lasting affliction of captivity, and to the lingering pains of their wounds. By this event again some families were deprived of those who protected and maintained them, and were exposed to the danger of starving in this rough and miserable country. Now, supposing that doing this was the object of the Christian voyagers, they were not in pursuit of any great advantage, nor did they receive the benefit of those professions of compassion which they put forward, to any purpose, but that of preserving the lives of the natives. The skill of the natives of Chriflifl, in particular, that of the Greenlanders, was to bring all the houses and demonstrations, as a resource in case of want; and the wealth which was all provided for by the wealth which the Europeans were thought to be possessed of by the natives; purchased them at last, and depopulated their country. The modern Europeans, who are the Hollanders, who, if chastity and temperance be the exclusive property of the Christians, who have more purity and piety than others, and who are more indulgent than others, take an inordinate pride in it, are but a people, who, as far as the ability of the wise and virtuous; if they are capable of doing good, is concerned, are capable of doing good. Charity and piety.

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posing the Europeans had the laudable intention of doing them service, and of instructing them in the Christian religion, yet surely these violent proceedings were not the most likely methods of effecting their purpose, nor could the religion of Christ have any great attractions for a people groaning under the oppression of its teachers; and who could not but perceive their violation of its most fundamental precept, that of philanthropy. But besides what the professors of Christianity were far more intent upon was, to procure intelligence whereabouts in that country gold was to be found, which at that time was coveted by all the Europeans, a circumstance, which proves to a demonstration that their zeal for the conversion of souls was all pretence, and that avarice and a thirst after wealth were the real motives of all the voyages which were then undertaken, whilst the cruelty and rapacity by which they were distinguished, have stamped them with indelible disgrace, and only served to depopulate still more regions already too thinly peopled. The modesty and decorum, too, of the two Greenlanders, were the subjects of much astonishment, as if chastity and virtue were the sole property and exclusive privilege of the Europeans and nominal Christians; whereas they are too often found in greater purity amongst unenlightened nations; and finally, what are we to think of Christians that could mistake an ill-favoured old woman for the devil incarnate, and were not to be convinced to the contrary till they found that she had not a cloven foot? Men who are still under the influence of superstition, like this, are but ill qualified to become leaders of the blind; men who can treat with so much inhumanity a people, whom, in spite of prejudice, they are compelled to acknowledge are possessed of great and solid virtues; surely such men are totally unfit to propagate a gospel which only breathes the gentle spirit of Charity and Peace.
VOYAGES AND

All the descriptions given of the dress, the implements, the manners, and the language of these Greenlanders, evince that the modern Greenlanders have hardly at all deviated from their ancestors in any one of these particulars.

That at so early a period arrows with iron points, and iron knives, were found amongst these Greenlanders, shews, in my opinion, that they are very careful to hoard up the iron which have been brought to that part of the world by shipwreck and other accidental occurrences. It seems also probable to me, that they may have preferred from generation to generation part of the iron which their ancestors had acquired at the destruction of the Norwegian colony. It is true, that upwards of 900 years had elapsed since this memorable event: yet this piece of economy is by no means unlikely; for in 1773, I bought in the island of New Amsterdam, a small nail that had been left there in 1643, and consequently 130 years before, by Abel Jansen Tasmann.

VII. Queen Elizabeth was extremely well satisfied with the discoveries of Martin Frobisher; and the report he made, as well as the probability of reaching Cathai (China) having been examined into, the profits also likely to accrue from the gold ore which he had brought home, having been duly weighed and considered, it was resolved, that in the new-discovered country, on which her Majesty bestowed the name of Meta Incognita (the unknown Goal) a fort should be built, and that for the defence of it, 100 men, together with three ships under the command of the Captains Fenton, Beft, and Filpot, should be left there. The 100 men were to consist of 40 seamen, 30 pioneers, and 30 soldiers; amongst which were also bakers, gold-refiners, carpenters, and other such necessary persons. Fifteen small vessels were fitted out for this enterprize, and the command of them was given to Admiral Martin Frobisher.

They set sail from Harwich on the 31st of May, A. D. 1578. When they were past Ireland, they again met with a strong current setting from S. W. to N. E., and came within six leagues of the coast of Friesland. The winds were contrary, so that in some hours the ships were driven to land, and could only be saved by the purchase of some furniture, which was very imperfectly fitted up for the service. The island was searched, but no little iron rings, sagges, or other evidences of an ancient trade were found. The only artifices that could be seen were tools of dogs, two bells, and a small hammer. In such slight manner, as my fancy could form of Salamanca, a small vessel was built, names given her, and the lads were dismissed with the most affuring promise of making another voyage to Cathai. The frack, the ship, the officers, the men, all fell off; and many days after this, Martin Frobisher, the Admiral, having received a large ship with water, provisions, and all that was necessary to freeze, was soon on his way. He sailed a good ten fathoms above the sea, for in 1579, he had been in this part of the world. He sailed westerly, and in 1580, discovered the large fleet of Astrolabe and Boreale, which was the first that was ever seen. The bare island of Frobisher was reached, and the fleet entered the bay of the same name, and was now to find the road to Cathai.
to N. E. On the 20th of June, they discovered West Friesland, which they now called West England. Having landed there, and taken possession of it, they spied some huts or tents, from the form, construction, and furniture of which they concluded them to be perfectly similar to those they had found in Meta incognita. The inhabitants took to their heels; the huts were searched, and amongst other things a small box with little iron nails was found, as also some pickled herrings, and some well-cut deal boards; whence it was concluded that these people must either carry on some trade with other civilized nations, or else be very good artists themselves. Near these huts they also saw some dogs, two of which they took along with them, and in lieu of them left several presents, consisting of small bells, looking-glasses, and other toys. They saw whales in such shoals as it is usual to see porpoises. The ship Salamander, being under full sail with a fair wind, struck so hard against a whale, that the shock made the ship stand still. The whale made a terrible hideous noise, rose with his body and tail above the water, and immediately after plunged again into his element. Two days after this they found a large dead whale floating on the sea, which they supposed to be that which had been struck by the Salamander. They could not get into Frobisher's Straits on account of the ice, which the Admiral took to be a collection of ice formed from fresh water, it being in his opinion impossible for the sea to freeze, particularly as here the tides ebb and flow above ten fathoms; moreover he found ice at the distance of 100 miles from the land, which ice being melted, yielded fresh water without any salt in it. Probably the ice had been carried thither that year by the easterly and westerly winds, which were frequent there, and the large flakes of ice were continually changing their position, so that the ships often came into great danger. The bark Dennis, indeed was sunk by a shock she received from one of these large flakes of ice; but, having fired off a gun in time, all the crew was saved; the ship itself, however, was lost, with part of the timber
timber intended for the habitation of those who were to winter there. A storm from the south-east put the fleet into the most imminent danger; for they were so frequently beset and blocked up by the large flakes of ice, that they found it a very difficult matter to guard against the repeated shocks and pressure of it; till at length a west north-west wind dispersed all this ice, and freed them from the most imminent danger. As they approached again towards the land, the appearance of it was so much changed by the snow and thick fogs, that they could not in the least distinguish whereabouts they were. A very strong current in a direction from north-east to south-west, carried the ships entirely out of their course. Robisher was of opinion that the cause of this current was that the sea flowing constantly from the Bay of Mexico towards Iceland and Norway, and finding a resistance on those coasts, as also from a current coming round the North Cape from the Siberian Sea to meet it, is repelled with redoubled force to the northern coast of Greenland, and so takes its course along the coast from north-east to south-west.

The Admiral now sent the ship Gabriel into an inlet, and found that she could go through it into Robisher's Straits, and round the Queen's Foreland, which was an island, again into those Straits, which he had before mistaken for Robisher's Straits. He now explored the numerous islands in its vicinity, and withstood the murmurings of his crew with magnanimity and fortitude; and, after struggling a second time against the dangers of the ice in a fresh storm, arrived safe in the Countess of Warwick's Sound. Going on shore, he searched for minerals, and found that in the valleys of those parts the air is sometimes astonishingly hot, yet, the least wind blowing from over the ice will suddenly change all this heat into the most piercing cold. Three ships had been missing, which for a long while had kept out at sea in great danger, but at last came into a harbour, where the crew repaired the ships, and, by fitting the pieces together which they had with them ready for the purpose, built a pinnace, in which they went in quest of
of the Admiral, whom they accordingly found. Now likewise assays were made of the ore found by Captain Bost, as also of that discovered by the Admiral, and all the ships were loaded with considerable quantities of both. At this time it was resolved not to leave any body here for this year, considering that the season was already so far advanced, and great part of the timber for the dwelling as well as the provisions for the 100 men, had been lost. It had been determined that they should set out on their voyage homewards on the last day of August; but a violent storm obliged them to set sail immediately. In the course of the whole voyage they lost but 40 men in all the fleet. The inhabitants were extremely shy. It was supposed that these people traded with other nations, as iron in bars was found amongst them, also iron heads for darts, needles with four-square points, and copper buttons for ornaments on the forehead, things they were by no means capable of making themselves. They used to kindle their fires by rubbing two sticks together. They drew their furniture over the ice with dogs; their kettles were made, with great art and ingenuity of stone (viz. lapis ollaris). In Bear-Sound they had built a house of lime and stone, as also an oven; and had left in the house toys of different kinds, and dolls for the natives. When the Buife Bridgewater returned, she found a land to the south-east of Friesland, in 57 deg. 30 min. N. lat. along the coasts of which, that were covered with woods, and in some places with grass, they failed for three days.

From the whole tenor of this voyage of Frobisher we learn his opinion concerning the origin of the ice, which is found in such abundance in the northern seas. First, we see, that though Sir John Pringle, in his discourse addresed to Captain Cook, bestowed such high encomiums on him for having made use of the ice swimming in the sea, for the purpose of providing
the ships under his command with fresh water; yet nothing is more certain now, than that he was not the first who knew that the ice found in the sea being melted would produce fresh drinkable water; for Frobisher had ascertained this so early as the year 1578, and consequently 194 years before Cook made the experiment. In fact, he had Hackluyt on board his ship, in whose collection of voyages there is this very voyage of Frobisher's, and he used to read this book by way of amusement. Nay, in Hackluyt's work, immediately after this voyage of Frobisher, follows that of John Davis, performed in the year 1585, in which it is expressly mentioned that he had loaded a whole boat with ice, which yielded good fresh water. So true is it on one hand, that by the ignorance of men many things have been cried up as new and important discoveries, which nevertheless had been known and brought into use long before; and on the other hand, that provided we can but find some man of consequence to found our praises, we may be certain of being extolled, even for such things as deserve no praise at all. Cook is a great man, who has merit sufficient of his own without the addition of this circumstance; it would therefore be unjust to magnify him at the expense of other men of merit, who lived at an earlier period.

It is true that the mountains of ice consist of fresh water frozen; but from this it does not follow, that all the ice in the sea has been generated from rain and snow. Mr. Nairne showed, in 1776, that when Fahrenheit's thermometer is at 27° degrees, the fresh particles of the sea water will freeze, and leave nothing but strong brine behind. Barentz saw the sea at Nova Zembla suddenly frozen over, to the thickness of several inches; it is therefore nothing new for sea-water to freeze, and for this ice, nevertheless when melted, to produce fresh potable water. Without doubt, it is possible
possible that some ice mountains may be produced in the spring from the snow and torrents of fresh rainwater: but it does not follow from hence, that all the ice found in these seas have the same origin. More on this subject may be read in my Observations made during a Voyage round the World.

It is remarkable, that the shock of a ship under full sail should be so powerful as to kill so large an animal as a whale at one stroke. I remember in our voyage round the world, that one day several whales appearing about our vessel, while some of these unwieldy animals amused themselves with diving under the water on one side of her, and coming up again on the other, the ship in her course grazed against the back of one of them, which, in pursuing their gambols, had probably not gone deep enough; for when it came up on the other side, the whole sea was immediately dyed red with its blood: though at the same time we had but a very moderate breeze; and the direction taken by the whale went right across the motion of the ship. Now had we been sailing before the wind with a stiff gale, and at the same time the whale had met us in a direct line, its death would have been unavoidable.

I have also mentioned in my Observations, that the sea between the Tropics by reason of its being constantly propelled by the easterly winds, in the Atlantic towards the continent of America, and in the Pacific Ocean towards China, New Holland, and the Molucca Islands, flows north and south along the coast of the American continent, and comes in the temperate Zone from south-west to north-east, in the northern hemisphere; and from north-west to south-east, in the southern hemisphere. Consequently we find, that in the northern hemisphere a current sets in from the Bay of Mexico north-eastwards towards Ireland and Norway; and from the coast of Brazil, in the southern hemisphere, another current drives the waters of the ocean past the Cape of Good Hope into the Indian Sea. But, on the other hand, this current runs northwards against
against Norway, and is repelled again from east to west on the western coast of Greenland in the northern Frigid Zone. In the southern hemisphere the current going from the Cape, breaks against New Holland, and then in the Frigid Zone goes again to the westward, which is the reason, that beyond Terra del Fuego, near Cape Horn, and in the Strights of Le Maire, we observed a strong current coming from the east, which we also took notice of even near Staten Land and Newyears Islands. In the South Sea, too, there are similar currents, viz. between the Tropics from east to west, in the temperate Zones from west to east, and in the frigid Zones again, from east to west. These currents in the sea partly occasion also similar currents in the air; which is the reason that in the temperate Zones the western winds predominate in like manner as in the frigid Zones. The east winds occur more frequently than any other winds; so that Frobisher's remark is perfectly consistent with truth. For the frequent mention of an ore being found in Greenland, there must certainly have been some foundation. But what degree of skill the assayers possessed which our navigators took out with them, it is not possible to determine, much less whether real gold ore was ever found in this country. It is possible, however, that there are iron as well as copper ores in Greenland, which perhaps contain considerable quantities of silver and gold. Crantz, in his History of Greenland, Book I. chap. 4. § 26, seems in some respect to confirm this supposition. Indeed the northern regions cannot be said to be entirely destitute of gold and silver, as the mines in Aedelfiors and Kingsberg are known to every one, and as the Russians have found in Bear Island pieces of native silver, of a considerable size, and branched out into the most beautiful ramifications.

That the Greenlanders still make kettles for their own use of the lapis ollaris, is also ascertained by the above-mentioned Crantz, in the place before referred to, § 25.
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.

It is very improbable that the Greenlanders should have carried on a trade with any civilized nation, and received from them iron bars, and copper buttons, for the ornaments of their foreheads. The iron and copper found amongst them had doubtless been hoarded up by them ever since the destruction of the Norwegian colony, or else they had been furnished with these metals by the ships wrecked near this coast, or, at the utmost, they may have got some native copper from the American savages dwelling in Hudson's Bay, either by barter, stratagem, or force; for even at present pieces of unwrought copper are found amongst these savages, which they have beaten with great difficulty into the form of bracelets. In other respects, the manners of these Greenlanders are perfectly conformable to those of the present natives.

If the Buffe Bridgewater really, and bona fide, found a land overgrown with woods and grases in 57 deg. 30 min. N. lat. it must have sunk afterwards into the sea, as it has never been seen again in the voyages repeatedly made since to Hudson's Bay, Greenland, and Labrador; or else these navigators must have been pretty much mistaken in their reckoning, and must have taken Iceland for quite a new country, and formed the woods in their own imagination.

VIII. Frobisher having effected nothing in three voyages made to the north-west, for the purpose of discovering a passage to Kathay and India, the Company of Russia Merchants were desirous of trying once more, whether it was possible to find out a way to these empires by the north-east; as the wealth which the Portuguese daily acquired by their voyages to India was very considerable, in consequnce of which a new passage to Kathay (or China) and India, became the object of the wishes of all the maritime nations of Europe. They therefore dispatched two ships in the year 1580, by way of making a trial, under the command of Arthur Pet and Charles Jackman. Accordingly they sailed from Harwich on the 20th of May, and after some time reached the North Cape
Cape and Wardhouse; but the east, north-east, and south-east winds prevailed for a long time, and hindered them from pursuing their voyage; at length, having worked through great quantities of ice, and been often deceived by false appearances of land, on the 18th of July they arrived off Waigatz. They then failed through the Straits, and soon met with a large quantity of solid ice; so that, after several fruitless attempts to get through it, they were obliged to return. It is remarkable, that in the sea extending between Nova Zembla and the continent, wherever they founded, they soon came to ground; that is to say, they had from 4 to 33, 68, 70, and 95 fathoms. Not far from Ko-lo-yev, or Ko-le-wou, they ran upon a sand-bank. They found the land Hugri (or Jugria on the banks of the Petchoora) and the Bay of Mazowetz. At length they made the North Cape, and on the 26th of November arrived safely at Ratcliff. The other ship, the William commanded by Charles Jackman, having been separated from them in a very thick fog, was obliged to winter in a harbour in Norway; from whence she set sail in the month of February, in company with a Danish ship bound for Iceland; since which time there was never any farther intelligence to be obtained concerning her.

This attempt at a north-east passage, which, like the former ones, proved abortive, chiefly serves to corroborate two physical remarks mentioned above. The first is, that in these high northern latitudes we meet with frequent easterly, north-easterly, and south-easterly winds. The second regards the great shallowness of the water of the northern or Icy-Sea, which has been noticed not only then, but also since, by more modern navigators. We find also in this voyage the usual complaints with respect to the enormous quantities of ice and the terribly dangerous fogs with which they were annoyed, and which every where occur, as well in the northern as in the southern hemisphere, in the cold regions near the Poles, and both of which greatly contribute to hinder any progress from being made in these dreadful seas.
IX. Though none of the former voyages to the North had turned out to any advantage, yet there were always others who endeavoured to make new discoveries, partly in hopes of actually finding countries abounding in gold, silver, and spices, and partly from a notion that in the pursuit of their discoveries, they might hit upon a new way to India. Queen Elizabeth, therefore, in 1578, made a grant to Sir Humphry Gilbert, of all the lands which he should discover and take possession of; in consequence of which, he made preparations for his voyage. However, I cannot deny but that there are still some obscure accounts extant of voyages of discovery undertaken long before this. We find that so early as 1502, Hugh Elliot and Thomas Afhurt, merchants of Bristol, obtained letters patent from Henry VII. for the establishment of colonies in the countries newly discovered by Cabot. But whether they ever made use of this permission, and set on foot any voyages thither, we find no traces to inform us, either in the writers who were their contemporaries, or in those that immediately succeeded them. But likewise, in the reign of King Henry VIII. A. D. 1527, two ships, the one of which was called Dominus virtutis, were by the advice of Robert Thorne, of Bristol, sent to make discoveries to the north-westward. The one of these vessels was lost in a dangerous gulf, between the northern parts of Newfoundland, and the country afterwards called, by Queen Elizabeth, Meta Incognita. The second ship, after the loss of the first, shaped its course towards Cape Breton, and the coast of Arambez. In their way thither these navigators often went on shore, and explored these unknown regions, and arrived again safe in England in the beginning of October. But the preceding very imperfect account is all that is known of this expedition. However, from hence it appears, that Cape Breton, which is here at so early a period called by this name, must have been named thus by Sebastian Cabot, when, in company with his father, he discovered Newfoundland, or Baccalauet, and afterwards sailed along the coast of America as far as Chesapeak Bay. With regard
gards to the coast of Arambec, I am free to confess that as yet the situation of this coast is entirely unknown to me; though I rather suppose it to be the coast of what is now called Nova Scotia, or perhaps of even a more southerly region.

After this voyage we find it also mentioned, that a person of the name of Hore set sail in 1536, from London, with two ships, the Trinity and the Minion, about the latter end of April. They arrived at Cape Briton, and from thence went to the north-eastward, till they came to Penguin Island, an island situated on the southern coast of Newfoundland, and which was named thus after a kind of sea-fowl, which the Spaniards and Portuguese called Penguins, on account of their being so very fat, and which used to build their nests and to live in astonishing quantities on this little rock. After this they went to Newfoundland. Here they saw some of the inhabitants, who came to look at their ship; but, being pursued, fled to an island, where a piece of roasted bear’s flesh was found on a wooden spit. They also afterwards frequently used to shoot white and black bears themselves, and found the flesh of them very palatable. But at length their stock of provisions decreased, so that they were necessitated to eat some fish which an oyster had carried to her nest for the purpose of feeding her young; and besides that, were obliged to feed upon herbs and roots of all kinds: nay more, when the scarcity of food increased, it was observed, that some of the sailors were missing one after another, who were at length discovered to have been killed and eaten in the woods by their own comrades. The Captain reproached his people very severely for this piece of cruelty; at length, however, they were again reduced to such extremities as to be ready to cast lots whose turn it should be to be devoured next; when the following day a French ship arrived there, of which they made themselves masters, and left theirs to the French, after having distributed to them a sufficient quantity of provisions. They arrived safe in England, where, soon after, a complaint was preferred against them by the French, for the forcible seizure made

made of the ships, and the dire sufferings of his own men. As it would be unjust to punish him for it.

It is very little known on all the coast of this island, or rather, indeed, as the accounts of 1504, the year in which the Spaniards were first used to call it, and having a great number of inhabitants, therefore have been plentifully Englished by the other, indeed, in what they are able to live, common it is conceived, and famine frequently caused in inactive persons: and as related to a number of callous men, it is necessary that all of them should care for roots out of the woods to prepare a piece of flesh; and of broiled and of boiled, threats are made in this fashion.
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH. 294

made of their vessel; but the King being informed of the dire necessity which had compelled them to commit this act of violence, indemnified the French out of his own purse, and did not punish this act of piracy as it would otherwise have richly deserved to have been punished.

It is pretty evident that these adventurers knew very little of the immense store of fish to be found on all the banks round about the island of Newfoundland, or else they would have made a better use of it for their maintenance. For there are many accounts extant which mention that, since the year 1504, the French from Normandy and Bretagne, and the Spaniards from Biscay, as also the Portuguese, used to carry on the cod fishery on these banks, with a great number of ships. This fishery must therefore have been carried on at least 32 years without the Englishmen having the least knowledge of it; neither, indeed, did they seem to have any conception in what manner people in distress must endeavour to live, even without bread or other provisions in common use amongst the Europeans. It is in fact inconceivable how any men, at a time when want and famine stared them as it were in the face, could be so inactive and insensible as those people have been described to us. Humanity startles at the high degree of callousness and the forgetfulness of every duty exhibited by these people, when we read that one of them came behind another who was digging up some roots out of the earth, and killed him, with a view to prepare himself a meal from his fellow-creature's flesh; and that a third, smelling the delicious odour of broiled meat, went up to the murderer, and, by threats and menaces, extorted from him a share in this shocking meal *

* This fact is here misrepresented. The man who quarrelled with the murderer did not know on what kind of flesh the latter was feeding; and when he was informed of it, went, it seems, and divulged the matter to the rest of his companions. Vide Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 130.
It appears also, by an act of Parliament, passed in the reign of King Edward VI. A.D. 1584, that for the better promotion of the fishery in Iceland and Newfoundland, the exaction of money, fish, or other rewards, under any pretext whatsoever, from the English fishermen and mariners going on this service, was prohibited. This serves at least to prove, that the English, even at that time, were accustomed to fish on the banks of Newfoundland; as also, that many other nations at the same time used to carry on a lucrative fishery, which it was intended to wrest out of their hands by these means.

The Captain of a vessel from Bristol, by name Antony Parkhurst, in 1578, gave the learned Richard Hakluyt a very authentic and good account of the great cod-fishery which was then annually carried on in the vicinity of Newfoundland; by which it appears, that at that time about 50 English ships were employed on this fishery. For the same purpose there used also to come about 100 Spanish ships, and about 20 or 30 from Biscay, which latter went thither with a view to the whale-fishery only. All the Spanish ships taken together, made about 5 or 600 tons burthen. Moreover, there came about 50 Portuguese ships to fish for cod, and their ships might carry about 3000 tons. Finally, there came also from France, and that chiefly from Brittany, 150 ships, carrying all together about 7000 tons. Parkhurst gave likewise a very picturesque description of the immense quantity of fish which arrived yearly off Newfoundland; as also of the remaining products of the country, such as game, birds, and fowls, furs, salt, copper, and iron; and other profitable articles of commerce.

In the same year 1578, Sir Humphry Gilbert obtained from Queen Elizabeth a munificent grant for the peopling and occupation of all such heathen countries as were not at that time peopled and occupied by any other Christian power. In consequence of this, many of his friends and acquaintance joined him; so that it was hoped this preparation would increase...
to such a fleet as would be able even to encounter a royal squadron; but just as they were ready for failing, many of them declined their former engagements; notwithstanding which Sir Humphrey, with a few friends and ships, ventured on this expedition. They had hardly set sail, when a violent storm damaged the fleet very much, and occasioned the loss of one of their largest ships. Now, though the adventurous Knight suffered a great loss thereby, having engaged in this affair a considerable part of his fortune, by which means his estate was deeply involved; he nevertheless endeavoured by every means in his power to put his plan in execution, and gave away tracts of land on the mouth of the river Canada, to other people, on condition of their peopling and flocking them. But finding that they did not intend to fulfil these conditions, he resolved at last to undertake this voyage once more himself, as there were but two years remaining before the entire expiration of the royal grant. He made therefore every possible effort, and was moreover assisted by some friends with money as well as advice, and at length set sail with five ships and about 160 men from Caufon (Caufand) Bay, near Plymouth, on the 11th of June, 1583.

They met with storms and abundance of fogs, chiefly on the great fishing-bank that lies before Newfoundland. On the 11th of July they saw land; but finding nothing before them but bare rocks, they shaped their course more to the southward, and arrived at length at Penguin Island*, where they took in a good flock of fowls. After this, they repaired to the Island of Baccalaes, and to the Bay of Conception, where they met again with the Swallow, one of the ships they had lost in the fog. Then they ran into the bay of St. John, where they found a great number of ships, English as well as foreigners, which were

* This Penguin Island must not be confounded with that Penguin Island which was seen by Hore; for that is on the southern coast of Newfoundland, while this is on the eastern, and is now called Fogo.
there on account of the cod-fishery. Sir Humphry Gilbert now took possession of the island, and of all other lands that lay 200 leagues from it in all directions; and received rich presents from all the Captains of the ships that lay off that island, particularly from the Portuguese, who were very numerous there. By one of these he was informed that, about 30 years before, several hogs, as well as horned cattle, had been landed on the island of Sable (Sable Island). After having taken possession, the Admiral made enquiry concerning the nature of the country, and he and his people began to explore it themselves. This country was found to be in summer very hot, but extremely cold in winter; yet not so cold as to be insupportable. The sea surrounding Newfoundland abounded so much in fish, that there were but few instances of anything equal to it elsewhere. In the bays and rivers there were salmon and trout, and in every part of the sea bonitos, turbot and large lobsters; also a kind of large herrings, equal to those of Norway. There was a great number of whales; wood grew with the greatest luxuriance over the whole country, which therefore was capable of furnishing masts, planks, timber for shipping, tar, fish, and potash, in great abundance. There was also game of all kinds, so that they could easily get hides and all sorts of furs. Moreover the soil was very fertile, so that by cultivation they might obtain great quantities of hemp, flax, and corn, and manufacture the former of these into ropes, cables, linen, and other commodities. Add to this, that all kinds of fowl were found here in great plenty. They likewise discovered iron ore, lead, and copper. Nay, Master Daniel, a native of Saxony, an honest and religious man, and a very expert miner and assayer, brought Sir Humphry Gilbert a kind of ore, saying, that if he was in search of silver, this certainly was what he wanted, and that he would take his life that there was some silver in this ore. As there was a great number of foreign ships then in the harbour, Sir Humphry did not
not chose to have this affair much talked of, and ordered the ore to be carried immediately on board. While he was on shore, many of the people going to a neighbouring bay, seized upon a ship, and having put the crew ashore, sailed away with it; some of his people ran away and hid themselves in the woods; others fell sick of the dysentery or flux, and many died of that distemper; the fleet, therefore, was divided: one ship remained with the sick, and some were sent home. But he, for his part, was desirous of pursuing his discoveries, and of taking possession of some other countries which lay to the southward, and therefore set sail in order to find the land of Cape Briton, as also the island of Sablon, where there was said to be a great quantity of cattle. Sailing to and fro in these parts, with contrary winds, the great Admiral ship struck on a sand-bank, in a thick fog, and was wrecked; some few people, however, saved themselves in a small boat, but all the rest were lost.

This misfortune, together with the circumstance of the season of the year being advanced, determined the Commander in Chief for the present to return to England. Accordingly they shaped their course thither. Near England they were overtaken by another storm; when a small vessel, on board of which the Admiral then happened to be, went to the bottom with him.

With respect to this unfortunate voyage, I shall only make my remarks on some particulars. First, it appears, that very soon after the discovery of Newfoundland, the fishery on the banks or shallows to the east and south of this country was carried on by the Portuguese, Biscayans, French, and other nations, who usurped this fishery on the coast of a country which the Crown of England had discovered at its own expense. As long as Spain, Portugal, and France, were strong and powerful at sea, the English did not venture to dispute with them the title to this fishery; but as soon as Spain was engaged in a war with England, the latter, in 1585, sent a squadron into these seas, under the command of Sir Francis Drake,
Drake, who seized all the Portuguese ships, and carried them, as good and lawful prizes, to England; and in process of time, as the power of England increased at sea, she endeavoured to exclude entirely from this fishery, of so great importance to the Roman Catholic powers, both Portugal and Spain, who were declining very fast. In the year 1756, England took all the French fishing vessels that visited those seas, whereby France lost upwards of 25,000 seamen, and during the whole remainder of the war, was incapable of manning her fleet properly. By the peace of Paris nothing was left the French but the island of St. Pierre, and the two Miquelons, together with a paltry title to the fishery, cramped by a thousand restrictions. They have, however, stipulated rather more freedom for themselves, and made better conditions, in the late peace of 1783. The Americans, who, from the beginning, have always taken a share in this fishery, have also been confirmed by the same peace in this prerogative, now that they have acquired independence. In the second place, it is very clear, in the instance mentioned here, of the Portuguese having stocked the island of Sable with tame domestic animals; that this nation, as well as the Spaniards, directly after the first discovery of America, and of the new route to India, used to stock all the islands and continents with tame, domestic animals, which they turned loose there, and which in some places have increased greatly: e.g., the immense number of wild horses and oxen found in Chili and Patagonia, proceed from those which the Spaniards had at first turned loose in those countries. At Ascension Island there are still in being some wild goats which the Portuguese had left there; and in like manner there are yet some wild goats remaining at St. Helena. In the Island of Juan Fernandez, too, there was in the former part of this century a great number of wild goats; but they are very much diminished, and perhaps are even entirely extirpated, since the Spaniards have turned some dogs loose there, which have nearly devoured all these animals. There were likewise great numbers.
numbers of wild oxen, hogs, and fowls on the isle of Tinian; but the dogs left on the island have in like manner thinned their numbers greatly, and have rendered them very shy. On the Manillas, or Luzon, and on some other of the Philippine Islands there are still considerable herds of wild horses and oxen, proceeding from those which the Spaniards had left there. In fact, the first discoverers of the new world were men of humanity, and were desirous of providing for such unfortunate people as might happen to be cast away on those coasts. On the other hand, the false policy of modern times is tyrannical and callous, exporting dogs to those places, which the first discoverers of them had stocked with useful and domestic animals. Are these, then, the happy consequences of the so-much-boasted, enlightened state of the present age, and of the refinement of manners peculiar to these our times? Father of mercies! when will philanthropy, now almost banished from the universe, again take up its abode in the breasts of men, of Christians, and of the rulers of the earth!

This taking possession of Newfoundland, effected A.D. 1585, on the part of the Crown of England, is the foundation of the rights this nation has to the fishery carried on by her subjects in those seas, which would be still more profitable for the English if Newfoundland was better peopled. But the revolt of the thirteen North-American Colonies, the great decrease of population in Great-Britain, in consequence of the frequent wars she has been engaged in, and many other considerations, make the English extremely averse in every respect to promote the population and cultivation of those very fine islands. There are in Newfoundland, as well as at Cape Breton, such rich coal mines, that if the Crown would but grant leave to work them, their produce would be sufficient to supply all Europe and America abundantly with this commodity; and some are even so commodiously situated, that the coals might be thrown directly from the coal-works themselves into the ships, as they lie
lie close to the shore. This piece of intelligence I had from my late friend, the great circumnavigator, Capt. Cook, who for several years successively, had explored the shores of this island, taken their bearings and respective distances, and laid them down on charts.

X. Some merchants, and gentlemen of landed property, as also some noblemen belonging to the Court, in 1585 formed an association for the purpose of sending out two ships on discoveries, under the command of John Davis, a very experienced navigator. They set sail from Dartmouth on the 7th of June, and, on the 13th of the same month, left Falmouth. First they sailed to the westward, and then to the north-west. They met with a great number of whales and dolphins, one of which latter they killed with a spear, took it on board, and eat it, when the flesh seemed to them as well tasted as mutton. On the 19th of July they heard a great noise in the sea during a thick fog. The current set to the northward; with a line of 300 fathoms they found no ground; and they discovered that the noise they had heard proceeded from the waves dashing against the ice. They loaded their boat quite full with this ice, which, when melted, produced good palatable water. The next day, viz. the 20th of July, they saw land, which consisted entirely of summits of mountains in the form of sugar-loaves, quite covered with snow, some of them indeed reaching above the clouds. They named this horrid land the Land of Desolation.

The whole of this land was so surrounded with ice, that they could not come near it. They imagined they saw forests upon it, and in the sea found some drift-wood, out of which they took up one entire tree, with the roots upon it, which was 60 feet long, and 14 spans in circumference. On the 25th they shaped their course to the north-west in hopes to find the wildest for passage. After four days sailing, they again saw land on the 29th of July, in 64 deg. 15 min. N. lat.
lat. in which land they found many convenient harbours and deep founds, one of which they named Gilbert's Sound. They went on shore, and saw some of the inhabitants, cloathed in skin skins, with whom they soon became friends, and obtained almost any thing for which they shewed but the smallest inclination; for the natives gave away their clothes, boats, and arms, and in lieu of them, accepted any thing that was offered them. The English expressing their wishes for more furs, the inhabitants promis'd to return the next day. They did not, however, venture to come near the English, till both parties had repeatedly pointed to the sun, and then struck their breasts. Here they found again Mycony glass (Mica membra-nacea Linn.) as all the same kind of ore as had been found by Sir Martin Frobisher. Next morning the wind being favourable, Davis would not wait for the return of the inhabitants, but purfued his courfe to the north-westward. On the 6th of August he again saw land, in 66 deg. 40 min. N. lat. The road was named Totness Road; the found which encompassed a high mountain glittering like gold, Exeter Sound; the mountain itself, Mount Raleigh; the northern promontory, Dyer's Cape, and the southern, Cape Walfingham, after the then Secretary of State, Sir Francis Walfingham. Here they met with four white bears, three of which they killed, and the next day they dispatch'd another enormously large one, the paws of which measured 14 inches in breadth. On the 8th of August, Davis failed south south-west along the coast. On the 11th, he saw the most southern point of this land, which he called the Cape of God's Mercy, and having failed round it, he found a large ftrait, which in some places was 20 leagues broad. The weather was mild, and the sea bore the colour and appearance of the ocean. Davis was now in great hopes of finding at laft the passage. He failed up the ftraits 60 leagues, and in the middle of them found many islands, and an open passage on both fides. In making this research, he divided his ships, so that one of them was to explore the north
Vol 1 pg 300

VOYAGES AND

passage, and the other the south. But the south-east winds, bad weather, and thick fogs setting in, they were thereby prevented from advancing any farther. They went on shore, and found traces of people dwelling there, and likewise saw dogs with pricked ears and thick buffy tails, one of which animals had a collar about its neck. Two fledges, the one of which was made of fir, spruce, and oaken boards; the other of whalebone, were also found there, together with some carved images, and the model of a boat. In this sea, they met with a great many islands, with large founds passing between them: they rowed farther on between the islands, and saw several whales, which they had not seen at the mouth of the Straits to the eastward. They proceeded by the assistance of the tide which went along with them from the east to the west, and the rise and fall of which was fix or seven fathoms (i.e. from 36 to 42 feet). Here, at 300 fathoms, they could find no ground. But the most remarkable circumstance was, that going along with the tide to the south-west, they were met all at once by a strong counter tide, without being able to imagine the cause. The depth of the sea at the mouth of the Straits was about 90 fathoms; but the farther they advanced in it, the more the depth increased, and here there was no ground at 330 fathoms. But the wind being against them, they resolved to turn back. On the 10th of September they saw the Land of Desolation, where they resolved to go ashore; but, a violent storm arising, they could not put their design in execution. Upon this, they hastened homewards, and on the 30th of September arrived again safely at Dartmouth.

Thus it appears that Davis was the first who in later times saw the western coast of Greenland, on which Cape Desolation lies. He afterwards discovered land farther to the westward, on the island which he afterwards himself called Cumberland's Island. On this island also is Mount Raleigh, Totness-Road, Exeter Sound, Dyer's Cape, and Cape Walsingham. The sea between Cumberland's Island and the western coast of Greenland was afterwards named Davis's Straits; and as in the sequel all the land quite to Button's Islands, on the coast of Labrador, was discovered by Davis, Davis's Straits

Straits were discovered by Davis. When he saw the fable mouth of the island, and the wind against them, they resolved to turn back. On the 10th of September, they saw the Land of Desolation, where they resolved to go ashore; but, a violent storm arising, they could not put their design in execution. Upon this, they hastened homewards, and on the 30th of September arrived again safely at Dartmouth.

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Straits were also extended as far as this spot. He likewise saw the Cape of God's Mercy, and the straits which he also afterwards called Cumberland Straits. These then are Davis's discoveries on his first voyage, which show him to have been an honest, and, at the same time, enterprising man. He ordered his people by no means to injure the natives on Cumberland Island, and by his friendly conduct and presents, he gained the goodwill of these harmless creatures, who have the same origin with the Greenlanders and the Labrador Eskimaux. So true it is, that gentle and humane treatment will in the end gain the affections of every one, and serves to cement mankind together by the social ties of philanthropy and friendship; an affection which receives additional confirmation from the kind and even affectionate behaviour of the Moravian brethren in our times towards the Greenlanders and the Eskimaux in Okak and Nain, on the coast of Labrador; in consequence of which they live with those people on the most friendly terms, while the other Europeans, who reside in Hudson's Bay, and the fishermen about Newfoundland, are accustomed by circumvention and fraud, as well as by acts of repeated violence, to raise quarrels and debates on every the least occasion with this miserable handful of human beings, by which means they sow in the rude and uncultivated minds of these innocent people the seeds of hatred, malice, and mistrust, which they perpetually nourish by their continual oppressions.

The tide which met Davis in the south-western arm of Cumberland Straits, between the cluster of islands there, and which was contrary to that by which he went, must undoubtedly have appeared very strange to him, and perhaps he might take it as a proof that this tide came from some other ocean, perhaps from the western one: but if we only cast an eye on the map of the North Pole, we shall easily conceive, that the same tide which had forced itself through Davis's Straits into Cumberland Straits, may also have come through those of Hudson, round the island of Good Fortune, as far as to the end of Cumberland Straits,
near the group of islands where the two tides must of course have met, and the one have retarded the other. We see, then, how cautious we ought to be in forming and adopting conclusions of this kind, and more especially when, upon the strength of them, we are about to enter upon an expensive undertaking. It is the same thing with regard to the increasing depth of the sea, the transparence of the sea-water, and to the abundance of whales which were found at the end of Cumberland Straits; they cease to be proofs of the existence of a passage here, as soon as we are acquainted with the real situation of the neighbouring countries, which was not discovered till some time afterwards. Davis saw here Muscovy glass, and such ores as Frobisher had brought home from the coast. I am myself in possession of some Mica and Muscovy glass from Greenland; and thence it becomes probable that the soil of almost all the mountains in east and west Greenland, and on the islands beyond Davis's Straits, are of the same nature and contain the same kind of stones.

XI. On the 7th. of May, 1586, Captain John Davis set out from Dartmouth, with four ships, on his second voyage. Two of these ships went into the Straits between Greenland and Iceland, to seek for a passage there. Nearly where Statenboek is now, Davis saw land, but the ice hindered him from proceeding farther. He was therefore obliged to sail to 57 deg. N. lat. in order to avoid the ice. Having weathered many storms, he came in 64 deg. N. lat. to a land lying to the eastward of him, entered into a harbour, then known by the name of Gilbert's Sound; but which is at present called, in the Danish language, God Haab (or Good Hope). Here they found many inhabitants, with whom they entered into a friendly intercourse, and who, in return for some trifling presents, rendered their visitors many friendly services, but nevertheless could not resist the temptation of stealing from the Europeans, even before their
their faces, all the iron and iron utensils they could get at. And though Davis always endeavoured as much as possible to put the best construction on every thing, yet they carried the boldness of their thefts rather too far. The English attempted to frighten them with their fire-arms, which had some effect, but they soon returned and made their peace again; which they, however, broke afresh by throwing large stones, of half a pound weight, into the ships, by one of which the boatswain of one of the ships was felled to the ground. At length Davis yielded to the pressing entreaties of his crew, and they seized the ringleader of these assailants, and soon after, getting a fair wind, the ships set sail on the 11th of July. The great quantity of ice they now met with, and the intense cold which froze all the rigging of the ships, disheartened the crew and made them sickly; insomuch, that though Davis was already far advanced to the northward, yet the danger of the voyage, and the murmurings of his crew, determined him to steer to the east south-east, when, on the 1st of August, he discovered land in 66 deg. 33 min. N. lat. and 70 deg. W. long. from London. Here he took some provisions out of the larger ship, and endeavoured to encrease the burthen of his, by taking in additional ballast. He purchased from the inhabitants some seal-skins, quitted the large ship and sailed with the smaller one to the west, and again in 66 deg. 19 min. N. lat. found land, which was at the distance of 70 leagues from that which they had left last. On the 15th he departed from this land to the southward, and on the 18th saw land in the N. W. On the same day saw land again in the S. W. by S. On the 17th of August he was in 64 deg. 20 min. N. lat. Here he met with a strong current, setting to the westward. He explored the land, and found that it consisted almost entirely of islands. Till the 28th of August he shaped his course constantly to the southward, from the 67th to the 57th deg. N. lat. coasting all the while. Here they saw astonishing quantities of mews and other sea-fowl.
They also caught with a very indifferent apparatus, upwards of 100 large cods. At length on the 28th of August they arrived in 56 deg. N. lat. in a harbour two leagues in breadth, and sailed up above 10 leagues into it. The shores on both sides of it were covered with fine forests. Here they lay at anchor till the 1st of Sept. and in the mean time had two heavy storms. The forests were composed of fir, pine, alder, yew, osier, and birch. Here, too, they saw a black bear; and of the fowl kind they saw pheasants (Tetrao Phasianellus, or long-tailed grouse) Barbary hens (meaning the Tetrao Canadensis, or spotted grouse) Partridges (viz. the Tetrao totatus, or shoulder knot grouse) Wild-geese, ducks, blackbirds, jays, (meaning the Corvus Canadensis, or cinereous grus) Thrushes (viz. the Turdus migratorius, or red-breasted thrush) and many other small birds. Of the pheasants and partridges they killed a considerable number, and likewise caught a great quantity of cod. Having set sail on the 1st of September, they ranged along the coast till the 3d; when a calm afforded them leisure again for fishing. On this coast, which was in 54 deg. 30 min. N. lat. they caught a great many excellent cod; and some very experienced fihers on board the ship assured the Captain, that they had never seen larger shoals of these fish. They went on till the 4th, when they came to an anchor, being quite surrounded with woody islands. At about eight leagues from this spot, they had seen a strong current passing between two lands, and taking its direction to the westward, which gave them hopes of finding a passage there, and particularly, as towards the south there lay a great number of islands. At this place they had left a quantity of fish on an island, and sent five young sailors to bring it ashore; but the inhabitants, who lay secretly lurking in the woods, shot at them on a sudden with their arrows, so that two of them died, two were dangerously wounded, and but one escaped, which he did by swimming, though his arm too was pierced with an arrow. The people on board, it is true, flit their cables, and bore up to the shore; but the mischief was already done. They had a double number of savages, which, after this, they had nearly taken by a wind about setting new fires, and at least half in the bays of Iceland.

The time between Easter and the 7th of May orders to go, if not prevented, as they saw. They desired here Iceland, in 64 deg. 30 min. and had oxen, and wood. Their houses were of wood, over which Their too large of wood, they went left Iceland, on the 3d of June, but ice, and went in the night to Greenland. Iceland was here prevented by a which lay along the coast of Desolation, and the the ice hindered 3d of August place of rem
already done; however, they sent two discharges of a double musket amongst these cruel and treacherous savages, and thereby forced them to fly. Immediately after this, too, they met with a violent storm, which had nearly driven them on shore, though they had partly taken in their yards and booms. At length, wind abating, they found their anchor again, and, having new moored their ship, weathered out another storm, and at length set sail on the 11th of September, and, in the beginning of October, landed safely in England.

The two ships which were to seek for a passage between East Greenland and Iceland, left the Captain on the 7th of June in about 60 degrees N. lat. and had orders to seek for a passage as far as 80 deg. N. lat. if not prevented by the land. So early as on the 9th they saw large fields of ice, till the 11th, when they descried land, which on the 12th they found to be Iceland, in 66 deg. The inhabitants here had stockfish, ling, and skates (Rana Batis) in abundance, also horses, oxen, and sheep, and hay to feed their cattle with. Their houses were built of stone; and covered with wood, over which was laid another covering of turf. Their tools and utensils were like those in England, of wood, brass, copper, &c. On the 16th of June they left Iceland, and sailed straight on to the north-west. On the 3d of July they were between two firm fields of ice, and nevertheless sailed on between them, till late in the night; when they tacked about and made for Greenland. On the 7th they saw Greenland. The land was high and of a blue colour; but they were prevented from landing by the firm and solid ice which lay before it: they therefore continued ranging along the coast. On the 17th they saw the Land of Defotation, so called by Davis the year before. But the ice hindered them from landing there. On the 3d of August they anchored in Gilbert's Sound, their place of rendezvous; but Davis had set sail from thence on.
on the 11th of July. They traded peaceably with the Greenlanders till the 30th of August, when a quarrel happened about a boat that had been bought of the latter, and which they would not deliver up. Several men were killed on both sides, and others wounded. On the 31st of August they set sail, and came into the Names, as high as Ratcliff, on the 6th of October.

This voyage of Capt. John Davis is in every respect of the highest importance. The great fault of it is, that in consequence of his not having named the countries he saw, it is very unintelligible. Thus much, however, we are able to collect from it; that he a second time put into Gilbert's Sound, which had been discovered the year before, and was situated on the west side of Greenland. After this, Davis went again, in foggy weather, into Cumberland Straits, as far as the group of islands there, and it was entirely owing to the murmurings of his crew that he at length ran into a harbour on the south side of Cumberland Straits, or in the island of Gold Fortune, in 66 deg. 30 min. N. lat. and 70 deg. W. long. from London. He again met with land, situated on the north side of Cumberland Straits, or in Cumberland Island. Then he tacked about to the south, and saw land continually to the westward. On the 19th of August he was in 64 deg. 20 min. N. lat. somewhere about the Bay of Good Fortune. In 57 deg. he saw land again, and consequently he was already on the coast of Labrador. On the 28th of August he put into a deep inlet in lat. 56. The former of these is nearly where the islands are situated which lie directly before the colony of the Moravian brethren, called Nain. The latter is probably the inlet that lies to the west of Nantucket. In like manner the place situated in 54 deg. 30 min. N. L. near the large inlet, where they found the great sea running to the west, is the inlet of Eye-wucktke. From whence they soon hastened eastward for England. The voyage of the other ships is full as indeterminate.

However
However the first part of Iceland they met with should seem to have been somewhere about Barðastrandafjöll, in the Westfjörða Fjordung, perhaps in Patrickfjord Harbour. To the north-west of this place is that part of East Greenland, through which probably the strait goes, which comes from Christian's Haab, and which is at present entirely blocked up with ice, whence it is that there is annually so much ice likewise at this spot, as to prevent the ships from advancing any farther. This was also now the case with the bold and enterprising English, and they were obliged to range along the coast to the south-west, till they came at length round by Cape Farewell to the Land of Desolation and Gilbert's Sound. Consequently they hardly went as far as 67 deg. though they were to have gone to 80.

The inhabitants of the different countries where Davis touched were treated by him with great tenderness; and yet those of Greenland at length gave flagrant proofs of their perfidy, and were guilty of continual infractions of the peace; but it should seem as if Davis's people had not always told him by what means the Greenlanders had been provoked to these violations of the peace; their attacking the English with flings and stones seems to indicate a great animosity on the part of these people, and consequently their having received some previous offence. But on the coast of Labrador the inhabitants appear to have had less humanity, and to have been more unpolished in their manners than those of Greenland; though indeed it is not improbable but that these people may have been, previous to this period, ill-treated, and excited to vengeance by the Europeans that used to fish on the coast of Newfoundland, and towards the north. Iron, being so solid and indestructible a metal, had at all times such a strong attraction for these poor wretches, that they could not possibly resist the great temptation it lay them under of stealing. The Europeans, too, were always so remiss in their care of this article, as to make it very easy for them to commit this theft, and thus provoke the vengeance of these latter.

The
The description of Labrador, here presented to us, seems also to agree perfectly with that given of this coast by Lieutenant Curtis, in the Philosophical Transactions: forests, birds, and game in abundance, together with an astonishing quantity of fish.

XII. Finally, we come to the third and most important of Davis's voyages of discovery, which was made in the year 1587. There were three ships fitted out, one of which only was defined to the purpose of making discoveries, the two others being intended for fishing. Leaving Dartmouth on the 1st of May, they failed straight on to the coast of West Greenland, and landed on the 16th of June on one of the islands in 64 deg. N. lat. Here Davis parted with the two other ships, ordering them to follow the fishtery to 55 or 54 deg. N. lat. and to wait for him till the end of August. He shaped his own course N. W. and sometimes N. by W. and even N. by E. Being come to 67 deg. 40. min. N. lat. i. e. opposite to Disko Road, he saw a great number of whales, and of those fowls which the sailors call Cootinus. Here some inhabitants came in their small boats, and bartered their darts armed with pointed bones, for a knife. The next day upwards of 30 boats came 10 leagues distance from the land, and brought young salmons, sea-birds, and caplin (Gadus minutus Linnaei) which they exchanged for needles, bracelets, nails, knives, small bells, looking-glasses, and other trifles; but they brought only 20 seal-skins. On the 30th of June they were in 72 deg. 12 min. N. lat. and as the sun during the whole time, and even at midnight, remained above the horizon, the variation of the needle was found to be 28 degrees west, the image of the sun being 5 degrees above the horizon. The whole of this coast was called London Coast. The sea had for the whole time been open to the west and north, and the land on the starboard side had all along been to the east. But, the wind shifting to the north, they could not fail any farther to that point of the compass; however, Davis called this point of land Hope Sanderfon, after
after Mr. William Sanderson, who contributed the largest share in fitting out the ship for the discovery, and then shaped his course to the west. After sailing 40 leagues, he found a very large field of ice. Here he would willingly have sailed again to the northward along the ice; but the north wind would not permit it. He tried once more to force his way through it, having perceived a small opening, but was soon obliged to return after having spent two days between the ice. The weather being fair and calm, they coasted along the ice to the southward. Finding that the sun had great power, Davis thought it would be better to wait a few days, and then, when the ice should be wafted away by the wind, the sea, and the sun, to make another effort to the westward; he therefore stood over to the eastern coast. But his people were too timorous to anchor here, and he stood out to sea again to the westward. The poor inhabitants, notwithstanding that the waves ran high, followed them out to sea, and bartered for some trifles. Davis having tarried some time longer in this sea, near the ice, surrounded with fogs, at length discovered Mount Raleigh, in Cumberland Island. On the 20th of July he arrived at the entrance of Cumberland Straits. By the 23d he had sailed 60 leagues up these straits, and anchored among a great number of islands, situated in a cluster at the end of the bay, and which he called after the Earl of Cumberland. Whilst they were at anchor here, a whale palled them, and went westward in among the isles. The variation of the needle here was 30 degrees west. When they returned to sea by the same way by which they came, they were overtaken by a calm, and it was excessive hot. Bruton, the master of the ship, going on shore with some of the sailors for the purpose of hunting, saw several graves, and also found train-oil spilled on the ground. The dogs of the natives which they saw were so fat that they were scarcely able to run. Davis having left Cumberland Straits, and being again in the open sea, discovered, between 62 and 63 deg. N. lat., an opening which, after my Lord Lumley, he called Lumley's Inlet. Here he found strong and boisterous currents,
VOYAGES AND

currents, like cataracts, which also hurried away the ship very swiftly along with them. On the 31st of July he saw a headland, which he named Warwick's Foreland. The direction of the current was to the westward, and the water formed a whirlpool, with a loud roaring noise. On the 1st of August he saw in 61 deg. 10 min. N. lat. a promontory on the south-west side of the inlet, which he called Chidley's Cape. Having nothing but fogs and calms for several days, they came at length to an id. id, which Davis, after Lord Darcy, named Darcey's Head. On the top of it they found some animals of the flag kind; but having landed to shoot them, and having chased them two or three times round the island, the deer swam over to another island at three leagues distance. One of them was very fat, as large as a cow, and had very broad feet, as large as those of an ox. While they were looking about for the ships, which Davis had ordered to stay here, and to wait for him till the end of August, their vessel struck upon a rock and sprung a leak; which, however, they were afterwards so fortunate as to stop, even during a storm. On the 15th of August he came to 52 deg. 12 min. N. lat, where he saw a great number of whales; but not being able to find any trace of the two ships, they having finished their fishery in 16 days, and sailed home, he resolved to shape his course for England. On the 16th of August therefore he quitted this coast, and on the 15th of September arrived at Dartmouth.

Davis seems to have possessed a considerable share of humanity, industry, and resolution. He went farther to the north than any of his predecessors; and if the ice had not prevented him, he would certainly then have made the discovery which was afterwards happily effected in 1616, by Baffin.

The northern regions, notwithstanding all the fogs that are to be met with there, seem in general to enjoy a clearer sky than the southern countries situated under the

310
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.

the same parallel of latitude. Neither at 66 deg. 30
min. S. lat. (where, however, we were three times)
nor even when we had got as far as 71 deg. 12 min.
S. latitude, did we ever see the sun above the horizon;
and when it did shine out in the day time, still so
many fogs were collected towards evening, that we
could never see the image of it, though it continued
to be broad day-light, and that even at midnight.

During all the three warm seasons which we spent
in the southern hemisphere, at a great distance from
the Equator, though not so far southward as Davis
was to the north, we met, it is true, with mild days,
yet never saw the thermometer rise more than a few
degrees above the freezing point; it appears, therefore,
very remarkable, that Davis should mention more than
once the weather being extremely hot in 72 and 66
deg. N. lat. The cause of this great heat can there-
fore only be attributed to the great quantity of land
by which they were surrounded. The want of land
in the southern hemisphere is, on the contrary, the
cause of the more intense cold there, as I have proved
in a more ample manner in my Observations *.

The animals of the stag kind, found on the coast
of Labrador, may have been either the American stag
or the reindeer, or else the elk, or what is called the
moose deer. I am rather inclined to think that it
was this latter which Davis saw here.

XIII. The English at length found it advisable to
send a squadron, consisting of four large ships, to the
East-Indies. The execution of this great enterprize
was entrusted to Capt. George Raymond, and after his
death to Capt. James Lancaster. The squadron set sail
in the year 1591, and Lancaster returned in 1593.
Having encountered a heavy storm near the Cape,
and being in danger of sinking with his ship, his own
crew endeavoured to persuade him to go on board one

* Observations made during a Voyage round the World.
of the other vessels; but he with great magnanimity refused it, and resolved at all events to keep his post. However he took this opportunity of writing by the other ships to England. In his letter he allured the Company, that he would still try every means to save his ship and cargo; and in the mean time could inform them, that the passage to the Indies was in the north-west of America, in 12 deg. 30 min. N. lat.

This declaration from a man of such extensive knowledge in navigation, and who had so fair an opportunity of collecting many different relations and accounts from the Portuguese in the Indies, could not fail of having great weight in England. To the information collected, there may also be added that given by some Portuguese, taken prisoners by the English, viz.: that a ship of their nation had some time before sailed upwards along the coast of China to the northward, and had found an open sea to 55 deg. N. lat. The two Companies of Russia and Turkey merchants resolved, therefore, to have this passage fought for at their joint expense; and accordingly they fitted out two ships, the command of which was entrusted to Captain George Weymouth or Waymouth.

Weymouth set sail from England in the Discovery, on the 2d of May. He went round Scotland to the northward, by the Orkneys. On the 18th of June he saw ice, and the southernmost part of Greenland. Soon after, viz. on the 28th, he went to the westward, and in 62 deg. N. lat. discovered Warwick’s Foreland, which he found to be nothing more than an island. He next came to Lumley’s Inlet, where there was a strong current to the westward, in 61 deg. N. lat. at the distance of 12 leagues from the coast of the American continent. On the 1st of June the air was cold, with fogs and snow. On the 2d he descried a large mass of ice; he hoisted out his boat, and took on board two loads of ice, which made very good fresh water. He met with many currents.
currents along the coast of America, which appeared to him not like a continent, but as if it consisted of nothing but islands. On the 3d and 8th he saw the land of America, which was high, and covered with snow, in 60 deg. 53 min. N. lat. On the 17th the weather was very gloomy, foggy, and cold, so that all his rigging and sails were covered with ice. The next day it was still very cold, insomuch that his rigging still continued to be frozen, and he could not get forward in the least with his ship. His crew had conspired to mutiny against him, and intended to return straight to England. But, being informed of this plot in time, he prevented its being put into execution. On the 22d, being already in 68 deg. 55 min. N. lat. (or rather 63 deg. 53 min.) he sent for the most refractory among them, and punished them severely; he also had the boats hoisted out in order to take up some ice, to make into fresh water. This large island of ice burst under two or three times, with a noise like that of thunder, by which means nearly one of the boats, that had already got in half its lading, was very much damaged. On the 25th he saw the entrance of an inlet, in 61 deg. 40 min. N. lat. On the 30th the west and north-west winds blew very hard, and the season being already far advanced, many of the crew were sick in both ships. He determined therefore to return, though he had already sailed near 100 leagues up the inlet, which was 40 leagues broad. The variation of the needle was 35 degrees to the west. By the 5th of July he had got quite clear of the bay. He then sailed along the coast of America, involved in almost continual fogs, and between numerous islands of ice. In 55 deg. 30 min. N. lat. he saw an island. He continued ranging along this coast till the 14th, in foul weather, and between many islands. In 56 deg. he entered an inlet, and, by many probable reasons, was induced to hope for a passage. In 55 deg. 30 min. and in 55 deg. 50 min. N. lat. he found the variation of the needle to be 17 deg. 15 min. and 18 deg. 12 min. to the westwards. The coast was clear of ice. If any ice ever comes here, it comes from the north. He observed
observed that a whirlwind carried the sea-water to an extraordinary height in the air. He had failed 30 leagues up an inlet, in 56 deg. N. lat. a circumstance which undoubtedly must have proved his destruction, if the wind but for one day only had blown from the north, south, or east. On the 4th of August he descried the Scilly Islands, and the next day arrived at Dartmouth.

The account given by Lancaster, as he returned to England, and thus was able to prove the truth and authenticity of it by entering into minute details, and answering particular objections, must have had great weight with the Russia and Turkey Companies; for it induced them to give orders for a new expedition for the purpose of making the discovery. The East-Indies, the very profitable trade to those parts, and the immense wealth arising from this trade, were the objects of the desires of all the maritime powers of Europe. The Portuguese and the Spaniards, at that time united under the same master, were in possession of all the defensible places where any refreshments were to be had on the voyage. Without places of this kind for the supplying of vessels with provisions and water on so long and tedious a passage, it was then, and indeed is partly still, impossible to undertake a voyage to the East-Indies which took up at least six months in going, and as long a time in returning. All nations were therefore busy in seeking a new route to India, in the course of which they might establish for their own use similar store-houses and places of refreshment. This determined the English; and afterwards also the Dutch, to seek for such a route, as well in the north-east as likewise in the north-west. Now as it appears by Lancaster’s account, that the Portuguese had advanced with their ships as far as to 55 deg. N. lat. to the northwards of China, and had found a free and open sea without any land at all; as also that, according to some probable arguments, the passage to the Indies must be sought for somewhere in 62 deg. 30 min. N. lat. to the north-west of America, it would seem that the Portuguese ships went either into the vicinity of the Amur, and the river Uda, or the Eski, (the continent of Asia is of course they had found, the Nipon (whence they sailed in 1542) in a certain locality; and Lancaster, indeed, existence it is merely on the account.

The title of the island called Hudson’s Bay, unanimous and unassailable, have been placed at 60 deg. N. lat., from 60 deg. to 61 deg. where Labrador, and yet have more entrance to the 60 min. N. lat., and few min. which is it is now, and yet has the title of the tide, where Hudson’s and Davis’s Straits were.

This voyage having been thus converted into a discovery, it is already in the matter, which is so unknown; as a great man would remark, that the man would have
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH. 315

nity of the island of Sagalin Angahata, of the river Amur, and so on as far as the neighbourhood of the river Uda, where at present is the Russian settlement Udskoi, (supposing they failed along the coast of the continent to the northward of China); or else, in case they failed by the islands of Lekiu, Japan, or Nipon (which had been discovered by the Portuguese in 1542) Matsmai, and the Kuriles, they must necessarily have reached Kamtschatka, in 55 deg. N. lat. and Lancaster must have founded his account of the existence of a passage in 62 deg. 30 min. N. lat. merely on a conjecture taken from the voyages of Davis.

The tide which flows into the capacious opening called Hudson's Bay, causes in it, according to the unanimous testimony of the different navigators who have been there, at 66 deg. in Cumberland-Straits, from 60 to 62 deg. in Hudson's Straits, and at 59 deg. where probably another strait divides the land of Labrador, a strong current; and perhaps there are more entrances into the same strait, at 56 deg. 15 min. N. lat. at 55 deg. 11 min. and at 54 deg. 40 min. which have not as yet been explored enough, and yet have a strong current. It is probable that the tide, which presses by so many different ways into Hudson's and Baffin's Bay, may run out again through Davis's Straits *.

This voyage affords again two instances of ice having been taken up out of the sea in boats, and converted into fresh water fit for drinking. This therefore is already the third confirmation we have of this matter, which consequently can no longer be said to be unknown; much less is it in our days to be extolled as a great and new invention, since by so doing, a man would only discover his ignorance in nautical history.

* This is partly ascertained by what Weymouth himself had already remarked. Speaking of the Coast of Labrador, he says, it is free from ice, but if any ice comes, it comes from the North. Consequently it must be brought through Davis's Strait.
When the mild weather begins to operate upon islands of ice, upon the enormous mafes of ice called mountains, they will sometimes fall to pieces. The breaking up of such a huge mass of ice is always accompanied with a very loud noise, similar to that of thunder. Two or three times in our voyage round the world we were very near one of these bursting mountains of ice, and consequently heard the noise made by it. But as the center of gravity in these pieces of ice is quite different from that of the entire mass, it frequently happens, that they roll over in the water several times before they come into the situation requisite to preserve their balance. One of these pieces rolling over in this manner, came so near our ship, that had it been 10 or 12 feet nearer, it would have hit her; in which case she would undoubtedly have been dashed to pieces, or at least very materially damaged. I must confess that this tremendous scene is still present to my imagination in all its horror, and will, I believe, never be erased from my memory. For surely a more dreadful situation cannot be conceived than to range about, imprisoned, as it were, in a solitary ship, between dreary mafes of ice, on an immense ocean, many hundred miles distant from any land, and remote from all human assistance; and in this state, constantly surrounded by gloomy fogs, to be under continual apprehensions of running foul of one of these glacial mountains, whilst under a press of sail, in consequence of which the ship must be inevitably dashed to pieces; or else, in case this enormous mass should burst, to behold its fragments (which however are larger than Peter's mountain in the Saal district) rolling about in the sea with unwieldy turbulence, approach the vessel with a tremendous noise, and perhaps suddenly plunge both it and the unfortunate crew to the bottom of the vast abyss.

With a fair wind, clear weather, and an open sea, it is tolerable sailing in these icy seas; but when once fogs, and cold freezing vapours attach themselves every where to the sails and rigging, sometimes forming lumps of ice 8 or 12 ounces in weight, which are detached.
detached by the least puff of wind, and fall on the heads of the sailors; when the stays and tackling become so stiff and brittle by the frost, as to break on the application of the smallest force; then the navigation in these parts becomes extremely disagreeable and dangerous. These were the circumstances which extorted complaints even from the intrepid Weymouth, and obstructed his progress in unknown seas covered with ice.

In those cold climates, too, Weymouth saw a water-spout, a phenomenon which Davis also had remarked before. This observation seems to be a confirmation of the remark which I formerly made in the observations on my voyage round the world, viz. that water-spouts are chiefly seen in narrow seas, where there is land at no great distance from each side of it.

XIV. The King of Denmark had been induced, by the fame of the discoveries made in the north by other powers, to give orders likewise for a voyage to be undertaken. The English being already at that time looked upon as the most experienced and by far the most skilful mariners in Europe, he had appointed in the year 1605 the English Captains John Knight and James Hall, to command the ships sent out upon this expedition. But in 1606, Knight was appointed in his own native country to conduct a similar voyage of discovery, by the Russia and East-India Companies. He set sail from Gravesend, and reached the Orkneys on the 26th of the same month, where he was obliged, by contrary winds, to lie for a fortnight. On the 12th of May he put to sea again. On the 16th he was in 58 deg. 19 min. N. lat. The variation of the compass was 8 deg. On the 21st he found himself in 57 deg. 50 min. N. lat. The weather was foggy, and there was a strong current that set to the northward. On the 22d he saw a great quantity of gulls, and rock-weed. On the 23d he observed an owl. On the 28th he was in 57 deg. 57 min. lat. and the variation of the needle was 14 deg. 30 min. to the west. There were black streaks in the sea-water, and also currents, some of which set to
to the north, others to the west. On the 29th he found the latitude to be 58 degrees, and the current now set to the southward. He saw a considerable number of white fowls, that made a chirping noise like sparrows. He also observed many dead cows (or rather crows) floating on the water. On the 13th of June he saw land, which appeared to him like islands, in 57 deg. 25 min. but there was a great quantity of ice driving to the southward. In fact, he proceeded as far into the ice as it was possible to do; but, in a storm which arose soon after, the ship suffered so much from the ice with which she was encompassed, that she had nearly been crushed to pieces. On the 19th he saw land again at 15 leagues distance, in 56 deg. 48 min. N. lat. where the needle varied 25 degrees to the west. The tide came from the northward. On the 24th a very high north wind snapped the rope in two by which the ship had been made fast to the land; and by the great quantity of large masses of ice that was collected here, the rudder was torn away. Capt. Knight therefore found himself obliged to enter an inlet, and run his ship a-ground, in hopes of saving at least their clothes, provisions, and furniture; but before he could be brought ashore she was half full of water. He then had the water pumped out, that they might be able at least to stop the leak. They began also to set up the floof, and to take their boat over the ice into the water, in order to seek for a more convenient spot for repairing the ship. They could not, however, meet with any such spot, as every thing was still covered with ice; nevertheless they found that there was wood growing on the land.—Thus far had Knight proceeded in the relation.—On the 26th he himself, with his pilot's mate, and three sailors, all well armed, went in the boat over to a large island, to seek for a convenient harbour, to repair the ship in. He left two men in the boat, and went himself with three others, one of whom was his brother, to the upper part of the island. The two men that had
had been left in the boat, waited, but all in vain, from ten in the morning till eleven at night. One of them sounded the trumpet two or three times, and the other as often fired off his piece; but, hearing nothing of the Captain and his companions, they returned to the ship. The whole crew was seized with the utmost consternation, and they passed the night in anxiety and grief. The next day 7 men, well armed, went with an intent to search for their Captain and his companions, but they could not get to the island with their boat on account of the ice. They then cleared the ship, as they also did on the 28th, and at the same time kept the pump going briskly, with a view to find out the leak and stop it. The natives, however, came over the rocks to their boat and floop, when the centinel gave the alarm, and, though very numerous, the savages were fortunately repulsed. The crew now carried the stores again on board, made haste to finish the floop, and at length, with their leaky ship and the floop, which was neither caulked nor payed, went away from that spot, rowing the ship along between the ice, though she had no rudder. Afterwards, out of two pickaxes they made two pintles to hang their rudder on. They kept the pump continually going, and taking their main bonnet, and, bafting it with oakum, applied it on the outide of the ship under the keel, where the great leak was, which effectually prevented the water from rushing in as fast as it did at first; nevertheless they were obliged still to keep the pump going, and in this manner proceeded to Newfoundland, where they at length ran into a bay near Fogo on the 23d of July, repaired their ship, and rested themselves. From thence they set sail on the 22d of August, and landed on the 24th of September at Dartmouth.

This voyage took such an unfortunate turn, that though much was expected from Knight's professional abilities, as well as from his accuracy in making observations; yet all was frustrated by the unhappy death of this
this deserving man. It was probable, the former crueldies of the Europeans to the Eskimaux, together with the great greediness of the latter after iron, that occasioned the death of the good Captain Knight, and animated the savages to attack the rest likewise. There is nothing else in this voyage worth remarking, but that the same current which had been seen before by so many, but which went to the northward, was also observed by Knight. The owl which he saw probably came from the Faro isles, as his course went pretty near them, though, on account of the fogs, he was not able to discern them.

XV. James Hall had already been out three years successively, viz. from 1605 to 1607, in the Danish service, on voyages of discovery in the northern parts; and in this last voyage, in consequence of the crew mutinying against him, was obliged to go to Iceland, without having seen any thing more than the coast of Greenland. This may perhaps have deterred him from going any more to the north in the Danish service. We find but very little related of this voyage, except that he set sail from Kingston upon Hull, with two ships, the one of which was called the Patience, and the other the Heart's Ease. The first thing mentioned is the observation he made, on the 19th of July, on the longitude of a place which he calls Cocking Sound, but which is in 65 deg. 20 min. N. lat. and is otherwise called Baals Revier, and, according to his reckoning, is 60 deg. 30 min. west long. from London. The next remark made is, that Hall was killed by a Greenlander with a spear on the 22d of July. Before this event happened, they never had any dispute with the natives, neither had they any afterwards; only these latter had been observed now and then to point at Hall, and mention him by the name of Captain, from which circumstance they conjectured, that the murderer must have been a brother or some relation of the five Greenlanders, who in the year 1606 had been carried off by the Danes. Before Hall's death they made a diligent search after minerals,
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.

minerals, and on this occasion had discovered several rivers and harbours, and had likewise seen the traces of a large stag or elk, as large as those of an ox. After his decease they resumed their search in the bowels of the earth, and found many places where the Danes had already dug before them; they found also stones with bright shining colours; but these, when they were brought to the test, yielded nothing but mere flags; for they contained no metal, but resembled Glacies Marie, or Moscovy talk.

As they could neither find any minerals, nor induce the inhabitants to carry on any further trade, they left Rummel Ford (Rommels-Fiord) in 67 deg. N. lat., where the needle varied 24 deg. 16 min. and arrived the same day at King's Fiord (Kongs-Fiord). They now shaped their course to the south, as another of the sailors had been killed by a Greenlander, in consequence of an attempt the sailor had made to pull him by force out of his boat. On the 18th of August they were in 58 deg. 50. min. N. lat. till the 6th of September they had continual storms. They were in 61 deg. 18 min. N. lat. the variation of the compass was 6 degrees eastward, and they had ground at 68 fathoms. On the 8th of September they reached the Orkneys, where they anchored, and procured from the inhabitants fowls, geese, and sheep, in exchange for old clothes and shoes; and on the 11th they made Kingston upon Hull.

William Baffin, who was but very young at the time, and who has written the account of this voyage, adds to it, that probably those glittering stones, of different colours, did not contain any metal. From this it should seem, that these stones were Labrador—or glimmering spar. Perhaps they are found here also; and nobody can give a better account of the matter than the Moravian brethren, who are resident in those parts. That there are mountains of white alabaster here we are assured by Baffin. At a place about 40 miles up the country there are said to be some trees; for near Baali Rivier they saw a little grove of trees not more than
than six or seven feet high, consisting of willows, juniper and other trees of this kind. They found also a great quantity of angelica; this perhaps was the Heracleum Spondylium, or cow's parsnip; and it was supposed that the people used to eat the roots of it, as they were found in their boats.

A great number of foxes was seen here, some of which were quite white. There were also large animals of the stag kind here, (viz. reindeer) which had very large hoofs. The Greenlanders fish during the whole summer, and dry their fish and seal's flesh on the rocks for their winter provision. They have little boats, two feet broad, and sometimes 20 feet long, closely covered over with seal-skins, with a round hole in them, where the owner of the boat gets in, and envelops himself with skins, so that no water can get into the boat.

Their oars have two blades, one on each end of them. They take hold of the oar in the middle, and work alternately with it on each side. They row so swiftly that no ship can keep pace with them. In these boats they catch seals, sea-horses, salmon, and other fish, which they pierce with a dart or harpoon. The point is made of bone, the line of whalebone.

In summer they live in tents, in winter in houses, which are half under ground. They do not live constantly on the same spot, but wander from place to place, just as it happens to be convenient for their fishing. They usually worship the sun. When any stranger comes towards them, they point up to the sun, and call aloud, Illyout; and, if you extend your hand in the same manner to the sun, and pronounce the same word, they approach towards you, but otherwise they will not venture to come near. They bury their dead in a pit encompassed with stones, to prevent the foxes from eating them, and in another pit next to this they inter the bow, dart, arrows, and other utensils of the deceased. They eat raw flesh and drink sea-water, yet they are not cannibals. They are very desirous, however, to obtain iron by any means whatever.

From
From this account we have another instance to what lengths this people will carry their vengeance, as we find that they made a point of revenging the capture of their five countrymen on the Captain. Notwithstanding which another of the sailors was tempted to try to carry off another Greenlander, who, however, had courage and adroitness enough to punish with immediate death the man that attempted to deprive him of his liberty.

All the preceding observations of Baffin are excellent. There is one, however, upon which, with Crantz *, we find ourselves obliged to make some strictures; this is, that they worship the sun. The mariner sees the Greenlander, newly risen from his bed, go immediately out of his hut, and look steadfastly at the heavens and the rising sun, in order to know from them what weather he is to expect in the course of the day. Now this act is considered by the sailors as an adoration of the sun, a thing of which the Greenlander never had the least thought.

XVI. The idea of finding a passage to the Indies somewhere in the north, was, notwithstanding the fruitless attempts that had repeatedly been made, not yet given up; on the contrary it was supposed to be an easy matter to discover it under the direction of a man of skill and resolution. The former enterprizes had been backed partly by Government, partly by the first people in the country, and partly likewise by merchants. But then, after a similar attempt, their zeal had soon abated again. It is true, the voyage of Capt. James Lancaster, in the years 1591, 1592, and 1593, to India, by the Cape of Good Hope, had indicated the possibility of the passage; but then it had likewise shewn the difficulties attending it. He failed, too, a second time, in 1601, to the East-Indies, as Commander of a fleet belonging to the newly-esta-

* David Crantz's History of Greenland, Part I. Book IV. Chap. 3. § 35.
blished East-India Company, and returned in 1603 to England with great riches. Sir Henry Middleton, as also Sir Edward Michelbourn, returned safe in 1606 from the Indies to England, each of them with a very richly-laden fleet. From hence one would be apt to imagine that these successful expeditions to the Indies had entirely stifled the passion for making new attempts to find out a passage by the north. There was nevertheless a society of resolute and wealthy men found, who not only believed in the probability of the passage, but also were aware of the advantages that would result from it, and who, therefore, with a resolution, perseverance, and noble liberality, almost unexampled, furnished the money necessary for three expeditions. To the command of these expeditions they appointed Henry Hudson, a great and experienced seaman, whose knowledge, capacity, and intrepidity, are scarcely to be equalled, and who certainly, in unweaned alacrity, and unremitting labour, was surpassed by no one in those times. Hudson's Journals, and the names of the Gentlemen who employed him in these expeditions, have not been transmitted down to us; and upon the whole, what is come to our knowledge concerning his navigation, are only fragments. It was resolved to search for this passage by three different routes, either strait on by the north, or by the north-east, or by the north-west: and all these three voyages were actually performed by Hudson.

Hudson begun his first voyage in 1607, and set sail from Gravesend on the 1st of May. On the 13th of June, in 73 deg. N. lat. he saw land, which he called Hold with Hope. This land is situated between 6 and 7 degrees to the north of Iceland, on the east side of Greenland. He had found the weather far colder in 63 deg. than he did here; for here it was quite mild and agreeable. On the 27th they were in lat. 78 deg. and still had mild or rather quite warm weather. On the 2d of July it was very cold, though they had not altered their latitude. On the 8th of July they were still in the same latitude of 78 deg.
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH. 325

when they had calm weather, and an open sea, in which there was a great quantity of drift-wood floating. Whenever the sea appeared green, it was always a free and open sea; but when it looked blue, it was generally covered with ice. On the 14th of July Hudson sent the mate of his ship and the boatswain on shore in 80 deg. 23 min. N. lat. They found the vestiges of reindeer, and saw some water-fowls, and also found two streams of very fresh water, of which, the weather being hot, they drank with great satisfaction. The sun remained even at midnight 10 deg. 40 min. above the horizon. Hudson sailed as far as 82 deg. N. lat. and would have proceeded still farther if he had not been prevented by the great quantity of mountains and fields of ice by which he was encompassed. This, however, did not deter him from making yet another trial, whether he could not find about the part where he had seen Hold with Hope, a way quite round Greenland, which he considered an island; and then return home by Davis's Straits. But this passage was likewise obstructed by the ice, and he was obliged to sail back to England, where he arrived on the 15th of September at Gravesend.

By this voyage more of the eastern coast of Greenland was discovered to the northward than had been done in any former voyage. The great degree of warmth felt in the high northern latitudes appears to me to be owing merely to the lands situated so high up towards the north; for in the southern hemisphere, in which in 30, 40, and 54 deg. S. lat. there is nothing to be seen but sea, the sea absorbs all the rays of the sun, which consequently are not able to produce any heat in the air; for it is only those rays of the sun which are reflected from the earth, and its unequal surfaces, that cross each other in every direction, and thus produce heat in the air. It appeared therefore very strange to Hudson, that, in so high a latitude, he should meet with warmer weather than that which he had experienced in 63 deg. at sea. But he could not but know at the same time, that it is not from
from the vicinity or presence of land alone, that we are able to form a conclusion respecting the warmth of the weather; for winds blowing over the ice, and through very cold regions, contrast in their course a degree of cold, of which, without having experienced it, it is hardly possible to form any idea. Even beyond 73 deg. N. lat. between Greenland and Spitzbergen, he still met with drift-wood, which probably had been carried thither from out of the mouths of some Siberian or American rivers; a circumstance, however, of which we have not observed the least vestiges all over the sea situated near the South Pole, because there is no land in those parts, and nothing is to be seen but sea. The honour of the discovery of Spitzbergen consequently belongs to Hudson. The first who afterwards failed thither on the whale fishery, were Englihmen. It was a long time ere the Dutch resolved upon going thither; however, they found so much profit arise from this expedition, that in the beginning of this century the Dutch and the Hamburgh people were almost the only whale-fishers in the Spitzbergen seas. For at length the English sent no more than one ship thither every year, till the attention of Government was directed to it, when Parliament found it necessary to grant considerable premiums to the Spitzbergen (or, as they are improperly called, the Greenland) navigators and whale-fishers, by way of encouraging the English to pursue this business, which premiums are still continued in part every year. In the first years the English were so inexperienced in the whale-fishery, that though they fitted the ships out in England, yet they were obliged to let half of the respective crews be Dutchmen. Spitzbergen, cold as it is, nevertheless affords food for some reindeer, which, as this country is surrounded on all sides by the sea, must come to it over the frozen sea from Greenland, where these animals are also met with in very high latitudes. In these high northern latitudes the image of the sun continues, as is well known, from the Arctic Polar Circle onwards, during the whole of the 24 hours above the horizon; and the nearer we come to the Pole, the higher
higher the image of the sun appears above the horizon at midnight, and the lower it sinks at noon, till at last, just under the Pole, it continues the whole 24 hours at an almost equal height above the horizon.

Hudfon, with great intrepidity, endeavoured to approach the Pole, and indeed went as far as 82 deg. N. lat. and is without doubt the first who has advanced beyond 80 deg. to the northward. It is true the ice prevented him from sailing any farther, notwithstanding he shaped his course once more towards Greenland, where he was in hopes to find a passage, and return by Davis's Straits; but the ice again obstructed his way. All this, however, evinces the intrepid spirit, unshaken fortitude, and courage of the man who was selected for this great enterprise.

XVII. Hudfon having in vain sought for this passage directly by the north, the members of the Society at whose expense and under whose direction the first voyage had been undertaken, resolved to make another attempt the very next year, and Hudfon was to have the command of this expedition likewise. He set sail on the 24th of April, 1608, and endeavoured to find the passage in the north-east, between Spitzbergen and Nova Zembla, discovered by him the preceding year; but here also he found insurmountable obstacles in the ice he met with. At the same time it is to be regretted that no narrative has been preserved to inform us how high a latitude Hudfon failed by this route. The result not answering his expectation, he failed along the land of Nova Zembla, where he found the climate mild and agreeable, and the coast free from ice. He therefore thought it would be possible to land, on the utmost side of Nova Zembla, a passage, which till then navigators had in vain attempted to discover in the interior sea beyond Waygatz Straits; but here also he found so much ice in his progress, that he was obliged to abandon his design. Accordingly he made all possible haste to search for this passage.
passage by Lumley's Inlet; but the season being already far advanced, the days beginning to shorten, and the weather growing cold and stormy, he was obliged to postpone this new attempt to another year. He hastened therefore to England, where he arrived safe on the 22d of August. This voyage, of which but few and those very few imperfect accounts, are come to our knowledge, justly excites in us a wish that it were possible to find in any part of England the journal of this great navigator; for we cannot doubt that the observations made in the course of this attempt, though it did not succeed, must yet be extremely important and instructive to posterity with respect to physical geography.

XVIII. Before we begin the relation of Hudson's last remarkable voyage of discovery, we find it necessary to make a few remarks on several other undertakings of this nature. Already the Dutch had discovered, under the command of William Barentz and Heemskerk, a small island in 74 deg. 30 min. N. lat. to which, on account of a very large bear they had killed there, they gave the name of Bear Island. They then failed to the N. N. W. and in about 80 deg. 11 min. N. lat. again discovered land, which proved an extensive country. They failed along the west side of it as far as 79 deg. 30 min. and there found a bay. This extensive country was afterwards discovered by Hudson in 1607, and was called by the Dutch Spitzbergen, but by the English Greenland, because they looked upon it to be really a continuation of Greenland. In 1603 Sir Francis Cherry, an Englishman, sent a ship out, at his own expense, which in 74 deg. 55 min. N. lat discovered an island, on which a tooth of the sea-horse (Trichechus Roimarus) was found, as also lead ore. This island the sailors called Cherry Island, in honour of Sir Francis Cherry, and also took possession of it in the name of England.
of it in his name. Now this was the same with
Bears Island discovered in 1596 by William Barentz.
In 1604 another ship set out for Cherry Island, the
proprietor of which was a Mr. Wilden, and Stephen
Bennet the commander. They set sail on the 15th of
April, arrived on the 1st of May at Kola, in Lapland,
and remained there till the 1st of July, when they
continued their voyage, and on the 8th made Cherry
Island. The current was so strong, that they could
not land; they therefore failed round the whole Island,
and anchored at the distance of two miles from the
land. They then landed and shot so many birds,
that they loaded their boat with them. On the 9th
of July they saw a great number of foxes, or rather
what the Russians call Peski, viz. the arctic fox
(Canis Lagopus). They found this part of the island
to be in 74 deg. 45 min. N. lat. They then weighed
anchor, and went on the 10th to another bay,
where they found above 1000 sea-horses, lying in
heaps one upon the other asleep, of which, however,
they killed but 15. On the other hand they found
as many teeth lying about as filled a whole hoghead.
These were in all probability the remains of such of
these animals as had died there of old age, or else
had been devoured by the bears. Before the 13th
they had killed more than 100 sea-horses, of which
they used only the teeth.—In 1605 the same people
went again with the same ship to this island, where
they landed on the 2d of July. They killed a great
number of sea-horses, which they now however used
also for the purpose of making train-oil. Five sea-
horses produce one tun of train-oil, and they filled
11 tuns. They discovered also a vein of lead, under
a mountain, which they called Mount Misery, and
they took above 30 tuns of the ore with them to
England.—In 1606 the same people undertook with
the same ship another voyage to Cherry Island, where
they landed on the 3d of July, in 74 deg. 55 min.
N. lat. They stayed there till the ice was dissolved,
as before that time the sea-horses do not go on shore.
In about six hours they killed 7 or 800 of them, and two white bears. From the sea-horses, they got 22 tuns of oil and filled three hogheads with their teeth. In 1608, they made another trip, when the weather was so hot on the 21st of June, that the pitch melted, and ran down the sides of the ship. In the space of 7 hours they killed more than 900 sea-horses, which yielded them 31 tuns of train-oil. They took two young sea-horses alive along with them, the female died on the voyage, but the male lived ten weeks after their arrival in England, where he had been taught several tricks. In 1609 a ship, called the Amity, fitted out by Sir Thomas Smith, and the Russia Company, and commanded by Jonas Poole, went on a voyage to Cherry Island, as also to make discoveries towards the North Pole. Poole set sail from Blackwall, near London, on the 1st of March, and, after enduring very severe cold and stormy weather, discovered the southern part of Spitzbergen on the 16th of May. He sailed along the coast, took the soundings as he went on, gave a name to every point of land, and to every bay he met with, and made some very exact and excellent observations for the benefit of navigation. On the 26th of May he was off Fair Foreland, a point of land which stands on the west side of Spitzbergen, on the island called Foreland, or Voorland. By the Dutch this point is called Vogelboek. He sent his mate on shore, from whom he learned that all the ponds and lakes were unfrozen, which induced him to expect a mild summer; and as the sun had so much power, he judged that a passage was as likely to be found in this place as anywhere else, it being far less cold here than he had found it to be in 73 deg. N. lat. In the mean time, having made two useless attempts to get beyond 79 deg. 50 min. N. lat. the ice obliged him to turn back again and look out for fish, in order to pay the expense of the voyage. On the last day of August he arrived safe at London. In this voyage Poole and his people were in great danger from the sea-horses; and one of his people was surrounded in the
the water by these creatures, which wounded him very dangerously in the thigh, so that it was with the greatest difficulty that he was saved from destruction. This animal, which bears a great affinity to the seal kind, is very much sought after for its teeth, which are used for the same purposes as ivory, for its fat, which yields train-oil, and for its very thick skin which is covered with a yellowish hair. These creatures live in large families together, on crustaceous animals, fish, grails, and rock-weed. Formerly, when they were not so much sought after and killed, it was an easy matter to come near them, while they were sleeping on shore by the hundreds together; but at present they are become very shy in consequence of the eagerness and fury with which they are killed, persecuted, and destroyed, with spears by the human race. They are rarely seen on the land, and in case they are there, they do not go far from the shore, and always take care to place one of their number on the watch by way of sentinel, or else they will lay themselves down to sleep on a small flat piece of ice. If the spot where they lie on shore is very steep, they are used, when attacked, to put their hind legs between their two long projecting tusks, and, with great force and velocity, roll over into the sea. They bring forth one, or, at the most, two live young ones at a time. When they are closely beset, and in danger, or find that they are wounded, they grow very furious, and endeavour to do mischief both to the boats and men with their long tusks. They have also more courage in the water than they have on shore. In 1610 the Ruffia Company again sent two ships out, which killed some white bears on Cherry Island, and likewise took two young ones with them to England: they also killed many seals, and shot a great number of birds. On the 15th of June they hoisted a flag, and took possession of the island in the name of the Company. On Gull island they discovered three veins of lead ore, and in the northern part of it, a coal-pit. Three other ships came also to the island
in order to fish, and killed more than 800 sea-horses. At length Poole was sent out again in 1611. He said in Croyesroad, off Spitzbergen, till the 16th of June, on account of the ice and the badness of the weather. After this he failed 14 leagues to W. by N. and fell in with a field of ice. From thence as far as to 80 degrees the ice lay close to the land; but the strong currents deterred him from venturing in between the ice; he therefore fled to the southward, hoping by this means to get to the westward of it, but found it lie the next hand, S. W. and S. W. and by S. and ranged along it 120 leagues. Near the ice he could get no ground with 160, 180, and 200 fathoms. He therefore returned to Spitzbergen to follow the whale fishery, but had the misfortune to lose the ship.

All these voyages to Cherry Island, had been undertaken chiefly with a view to the killing of sea-horses. This place has been often mistaken for Jan Mayen's island; but it materially differs from that, as well in latitude and longitude, as also in shape; for Cherry Island is nearly square, and Jan Mayen's island is long and narrow. In Cherry Island the English have found many veins of lead, and in more modern times the Ruffians have also discovered virgin silver, of which I have myself seen some very fine specimens of a dendritic form*, as also others in the form of Octaedrous crystals. Besides this, coal-pits are said to be found here. This island consequently seems to abound in all sorts of useful minerals. But nobody has yet obliged the public with the mineralogy of it. The sea-horses and whales which formerly were found here in such great abundance, have been much diminished in their numbers by the chase of them, they having at length retired to some other parts less frequented by men.

XIX. Henry Hudson had made a voyage to America in 1609, where he had discovered Hudson's River, and, after having traded somewhat farther still, was

* See also on this subject Georgi's Edition of Brunsch's Mineralogy, pag. 291.

returned
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.

333

returned home. He had undertaken this voyage in behalf of the Dutch. He offered to undertake another voyage, which they however refused, and in consequence of this, finding himself released from his engagements, he entered again into the service of the English Company, which had already employed him in two former voyages; and Hudson set sail from Blackwall, near London, on the 17th of April, 1610. The Company which had joined in fitting out the ships for this expedition had made it a clause, that Hudson should take with him, by way of assistant, one Coleburne (Fox calls him Coolbrand) a very experienced and able seaman: Fox says, that he was preferable to Hudson in every respect. But this great confidence of the owners in Coleburne's skill excited Hudson's envy: accordingly he sent him from Lee on the river Thames to London with a letter to the Proprietors, in which he alleged his reasons for having taken this step. All those who have given an account of the voyage, assert that this rash step of Hudson was in part the source of his own misfortunes, and had set his crew an example of disobedience to the commands of their superiors, and of the neglect of that consideration and respect which is due from every one to his Commander. On the 15th of May he had got as far as the Orkneys and the northern end of Scotland, which he found to be in 59 deg. 23 min. N. lat. On the 8th he saw the Faro Islands, in 62 deg. 24 min. On the 11th he came to the east side of Iceland, and sailed along its southern coast, till he reached the western coast of it. It must have been somewhere thereabouts that he put into a harbour, where he met with a friendly reception from the inhabitants, but also at the same time had the misfortune to find great dissensions amongst his crew, which he could not appease without great difficulty. On the 1st of June Hudson sailed farther to the west, in 66 deg. 34 min. N. lat. On the 4th he saw Greenland very clearly over the ice that lay before it. He now kept along the coast, which was everywhere furrounded.
rounded with ice. On the 9th he was off Frobisher's Straits. On the 15th he described the Land of Desolation in 59 deg. 27 min. N. lat. He failed to the north-west, to 60 deg. 42 min. The current set to the N. W. On the 23d he came in sight of a great quantity of ice, in 62 deg. 19 min. On the 25th he saw land to the northward, and kept still failing to the westward in 62 deg. 19 min. But now he pleyed to the southward, in hopes of finding the coast on that side. In 62 deg. 16 min. he had still a great quantity of ice before him. On the 8th of July he left the shore again, and saw extending from the N. W. by W. quite to the S. W. by W. a campaign land covered with snow, and named it Defire-provoked. He continued still pleying to the westward, and, on the 11th, being apprehensive of a storm, anchored behind three very rocky islands, in a very uneven ground, and found it but an indifferent harbour at high water; he had paled over rocks, one of which was the next morning two fathoms above water; for the tide rose here above four fathoms. It came from the north. The latitude was 62 deg. 9 min. and this harbour, in which were the islands called by him the Islands of God's Mercy, seems to lay close by the large island of Good Fortune, to the north of Hudson's Straits, in 308, or 309 deg. E. long. from Ferro. On the 19th he found that he was in 61 deg. 24 min. and saw in the land to the southward a bay, to which in a former voyage he had given the name of Hold with Hope. Till the 21st he pleyed to the northward, and found the sea more grown than he had seen it since his departure from England. On the 23d the height of the Pole was 61 deg. 33 min. On the 25th he saw land to the south (viz. the Coast of Labrador) which he named Magna Britannia. On the 26th he found the latitude to be 62 deg. 44 min. On the 2d of August he discovered a high promontory to which he gave the name of Salisbury's Foreland. He then failed 14 leagues farther W. S. W. and at about midway found the sea full of whirlpools and currents. Having failed seven leagues more,
more, he found himself at the entrance of a strait, not above two leagues broad, and which was at the distance of 250 leagues from the northernmost side of Davis's Straits. On the 3d he passed through these straits, and named the cape on the right hand, or starboard side, Cape Diggs, and that on the left, or larboard side, Cape Wolstenholm. Some of his people having been sent on shore, observed the tide to rise to 5 fathoms, and that it came from the north. Having failed through the straits, he observed, that the land trended to the southward, and that there was a wide sea to the westward.

This is all that is to be found of Hudsom's narrative; the rest must be sought in the narrative of a seaman, named Habakuk Pricket, who was in the service of Sir Dudley Diggs. Amongst other things he mentions, that when Hudsom was near the Land of Defolation, they met with a great number of whales, some of which swam along-side the ship, while others passed under her without touching her. After this, while Hudsom was still in Davis's Straits, between a great quantity of ice, he saw a large mountain of ice overturn, which served them as a warning not to go near these high masses of ice. It seems Pricket was ignorant of the real cause of this overturning of the ice-mountain, which, in fact, lies in their bursting asunder. Near Desire-provoked they saw mountains of ice a-ground in six or seven score fathom water. On the island of God's Mercy Pricket sprung a covey of partridges, but killed only the old one. The whole country was barren and gloomy, having nothing on it but plashes of water and riven rocks, as if it were subject to earthquakes. They also found some driftwood lying a-shore here. Then they came again among a great quantity of ice, and seeing at length on the south side of the straits, land, with high promontories, he called the first Prince Henry's Cape, that with two hills, which was farther to the west, but on the south side, was named King James's Cape;
but towards the north were some islands which he called Queen Anne's Foreland. All these lay to the northward in a bay, in which there appeared to be a great deal of broken land, lying quite close to the main land. At length, after a storm, they saw another mountainous part to the northward, which they named Mount Charles, or Cape Charles. To the westward was more broken land, forming a bay, in which possibly a good road might be found for ships, and the promontory here was named Cape Salisbury. Between the main land to the southward and an island was a strait with a strong current; the two promontories enclosing it were called Cape Diggs and Cape Walstenholm. On Diggs's island they found a herd of animals of the stag kind (viz. reindeer) but could not get within a musket-shot of them. From this part forward we have only Pricket's relation to guide us. They sailed southward, and had the land to the eastward of them. After a run of about 20 or 30 leagues, the sea grew shallow, and they got among rocks and broken land, and the sea grew still shallower and shallower, so that they were obliged to anchor in 15 fathoms. Not long after, they weighed, and stood to the south-east along the land, till they had land on both sides. They then stood again into a large sea, but at length found it to be only a bay, and here they took in water and ballast. In 53 deg. N. lat. was an island. Various remarks having been made by the crew on occasion of Hudson's entering the bay and going out of it again, he displaced the mate of the ship, Robert Ivet, as well as the boatswain, and appointed Robert Bylot to be mate, and William Wilson to be boatswain. At length, on Michaelmas-Day, they stood in among a cluster of islands, and called the place Michaelmas Bay. They anchored in very shallow water; but in weighing again, they left the anchor, but fortunately saved the cable. In the dark they ran a-ground upon a rock.
The tide carried them however off from it again without their having received any damage; and after failing to and fro for a long time, Hudfon resolved to anchor in the bay where he then was, and spend the winter there, it being already the latter end of October. Having found at a fit place, they secured the ship by running her aground, and here she was frozen in, ten days afterwards. Hudfon now thought of husbanding their provisions, for he had only taken with him victuals for six months, though he might have taken more. He sought however only to stretch out their provisions till the spring, when he might go to Cape Digge, where the sea-fowl bred. In the mean time he proposed rewards to those that killed either beasts, fih, or fowl. In the middle of November died the gunner, in consequence, as it is here inferred, of the hard and unkind treatment he had met with from Hudfon. Hudfon had in London taken into his house a young man, named Henry Green, of a respectable family, but who had lost the affection of all his friends and relations by his ill behaviour and extravagance, and had spent all that he had. By the assistance of a friend, Hudfon had procured him four guineas from his mother, to buy clothes with. This young man he had taken along with him, without the knowledge of his owners; and he had already been guilty of several misdemeanors; for at Harwich he had attempted to desert with a failor, and in Iceland he had fervely beat the ship's surgeon. Hudfon had, however, always taken his part. Now the season being far advanced, and the ground covered with ice and snow, Hudfon requested the carpenter to build the house for them to winter in; but the carpenter refused to do it, on the pretence that he was not a house-carpenter, but a ship-carpenter, and that Hudfon had not given orders for the building of the house till the snow and frost had set in. In the course of this quarrel, Hudfon...
Hudson was so much provoked as to beat the carpenter; and this latter now being about to begin upon the work, and wanting a companion, and at the same time positive orders having been given that nobody should go any where by himself, on account of its being unsafe, Green accompanied him. This circumstance made a wide breach between Hudson and the young man, who from that time forward took every opportunity of lessening the former in the esteem of every one in the ship, and alienating their hearts from him, as well as of laying the foundation to the ungrateful and cruel behaviour he afterwards experienced from them. During the whole winter they had such abundance of ptarmigans, that of these and other sorts of grouse, they killed above a hundred dozen. In the spring, when these birds left them, they were replaced by swans, wild-geese, ducks, and teal, which, however, were more difficult to come at, because they did not stay there to breed, as it was expected they would do; but as fast as they came from the south, proceeded to the north, so that in a short time there were none at all to be seen. And now the great scarcity began; they eat moths, and the frogs which were beginning to couple. Thomas Woodhouse, a young man who had gone out with them as a volunteer, and who had studied the mathematics, brought them branches and buds of a tree, which were full of a substance like turpentine; these the surgeon boiled, and made a drink for them, and the boiled buds were applied hot, by way of poultice, to such as had pains in their limbs, who also found an immediate relief from the application. I imagine that these buds were from the Tacamahaca Tree (Populus Balsamifera), the buds of which are very adhesive, in consequence of their containing a glutinous resin, like turpentine, of which they have also the smell. The decoction was certainly a very powerful antiscorbutic remedy, and the warm application of the boiled buds served to relieve the pains and swellings of their limbs, which were rendered sore and painful by scurvy and rheumatism. But, in fact, the young shoots, or (as they are called in American, &c. scurvy. They gave a large number of skins; but never applied them, and got none. Hudson made the remainder immediately after his return with Michael Lee. They put John Hud- son, the mathematician, into a floop, to wait with a vessel, which had never anchored their ship, and hardly to come at, as the ship failed; but it often, and got the gathered at the sea, to be presumed perhaps the young shoots must have the number of a rock, on which they pursued some fowl, the boats filled with others to dirty the ring leaders the men in the
in America) the buds of the spruce fir (Pinus Maria-
ena & Pinus Canadenis) are also a remedy against the
scurvy. A native paid them a visit, to whom they
gave a knife and some other trifles, in return for
which he brought them some beaver-furs and deer-
skins; he also promised to come to them again, but
never appeared afterwards. They caught some fish,
and got the ship ready for their departure, after
Hudfon had, with tears in his eyes, distributed all
the remaining provisions in equal shares. Immedi-
ately after the departure of the ship, Green, togeth-
er with some others, and in particular Wilson,
Michael Pierce, and the discarded mate, Juet, mutined.
They put Henry Hudson, together with his son,
John Hudson, who was but a boy, Woodhouse, the
mathematician, Philip Staffe, the ship’s carpenter,
and five more sailors, in all nine persons, into the
floop, to whom they only gave one gun, some spears,
with a very small stock of provisions, and then aban-
donened them to their fate, with a want of feeling
hardly to be equalled. Those who remained in the
ship failed along the eastern coast. They landed
often, and not being able to catch any fish, they
gathered a herb they called Cockle-grafs (which it may
be presumed was a kind of tang, or rock-weed, per-
haps the Ficus Saccharinus) and without which they
must unavoidably have perished. At length they
reached the strait and the capes, where they saw the
birds brooding on their nests, and killed a great
number of them; but here they ran a-ground upon
a rock, on which they were obliged to remain eight
or nine hours; for they ran upon it during the ebb,
which came from the east, as the tide of flood did
from the west. As soon as they were afloat again,
they pursued their course, and endeavoured to get
some fowl near Cape Diggs. Here they saw seven
boats filled with the natives, with whom they made
friends. But shortly after, they were attacked by
these savages, who killed Green, and wounded the
others so desperately, that three more of them, chiefly
the ringleaders in the mutiny, and those the stoutest
men in the ship, died in a day or two after. Now
Blyot became their leader. They killed 300 more sea-birds, and being driven back by the wind, they killed 100 more. At length they proceeded farther, but were driven to such straits for want of food, that they were obliged, after singeing off the feathers, to eat the skins which they had torn off from the sea-fowls, as also their entrails. At first they attempted to go to Newfoundland, but were prevented by a S.-W. wind, and shaped their course for Ireland. Their distress increasing, they took the bones of the birds which they had eaten, fried them in tallow, poured some vinegar on them, and eat them as a great dainty. Just at the time when they had lost all hopes of reaching Ireland, Robert Foot died. They had put their last fowl in the steeping-tub, and were at the end of their provisaons, when they descried Ireland. Here they with great difficulty obtained some provisions, and arrived at last, by the way of Plymouth and Gravesend, in London.

This voyage notwithstanding all the important discoveries made in the course of it, cost poor Hudson and the few people who were with him, their lives. Never perhaps was the heart of man poffeffed by ingratitude of a blacker die, than that of the infamous villain Green. Hudson had sav'd this wretch from perdition, had cherished him with the utmost kindness in his own house, and had but with too much weakness taken his part, even then when he had been guilty of the greatest misdemeanours; notwithstanding which, this outcast of society had the wickednes to stir up the rest of the crew against their commander, and to expose his benefactor and second father, without clothes and arms, and without provisions, in a small boat, to the open sea, in an inhospitable climate, where none but savage beasts, and still more savage men, dwell; and where, during the greatest part of the year, all is covered with snow and ice. It is scarcely to be believed, yet it is certainly true, that the foundation of all this lay in the bad constitution of the laws with respect to navigation and seamen. It is scarcely 40 years since an act was passed, by which the seamen belonging to the royal navy who should refuse to obey their officers orders, after suffering shipwreck, were made liable to be punished;
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.

punished; and, even now, it is only the officers of the royal navy who have the privilege of punishing such as have committed any misdemeanor, or have been guilty of any infraction of the articles of war. On board the merchantmen, and even on board the ships belonging to the East-India Company, neither the Captains nor any of the mates have power to punish any individual; if they do, the seaman at their return may lodge a complaint against them, and demand satisfaction; which satisfaction indeed is seldom refused, as it is well known that the power usurped by these gentlemen but too often exceeds the proper limits. Self-interest, and the fear of having the whole or part of their pay struck off, in case of their refusal to do their respective duties, are the only ties by which the crew are bound to obey the Captain's orders; and hence it is that we so frequently hear of a ship's crew rising against their captain, and either killing him or putting him on shore somewhere, and running away with the vessel. New voyages of discovery would have been often undertaken at the expense of private individuals, but the fear of the crew's mutinying, and by this means interrupting the progress of the discovery, has in these days proved an obstacle to every undertaking of this kind; for this reason, at present none but men of war can be employed in these expeditions. Mr. Alexander Dalrymple, a very able navigator, and whose zeal for making discoveries is equal to his resolution and courage, would have long ago collected amongst his friends as much as would be requisite for undertaking a voyage of discovery; and to this end petitioned Government to extend the laws respecting the regulation of the royal navy, only to the ship in which he was going; but met with a refusal*. The cruel behaviour of Green and his accomplices towards Hudson did not, however, remain long unpunished. The faithless Esquimaux killed him and his chief assistants in iniquity; and the others suffered such great hardships, and were driven to such dreadful straits, that humanity shudders at the idea.

* The author has been grossly deceived with respect to this anecdote, which has not even the shadow of truth to support it; and is only inserted here to be contradicted. [E. T.]
Hudson found the eastern coast of Greenland covered all over with ice, in the same manner as it is still found to be at present. The dreadful oversetting of the mountains of ice has also been observed by Hudson's continuator, Pricket. By the great quantity of ice accumulated in Davis's Straits, Hudson was obliged to go to the westward, and consequently without intending it, to make the discovery of the strait and bay called after his name. What by men is often termed chance, is, without doubt, under the direction of infinite power and wisdom, which is but too often mistaken by short-sighted mortals. At Cape Diggs they found reindeer, forrel, and scurvy-grass (Cochlearia officinalis) both of which herbs are excellent remedies against the sea scurvy, whence the latter has taken the name it bears in English. It struck me very much in my voyage round the world, to find that the shores of all the countries which we visited were abundantly furnished with herbs, which are antidotes to the scurvy. In the Tropical islands we found wood-forrel (Oxalis) pepperwort (Lepidium oleraceum & pisioidum) and a new species of ladies-smock (Cardamine farinata); and at New Zealand and Tierra del Fuego, a species of well-croft (Arabis heterophylla) and celery (Apium decumbens). It would seem as if Providence had intentionally distributed on these spots, for the benefit of the inhabitants of the sea-coast, and of the people returning from long voyages, such plans as might be serviceable in mitigating the dreadful symptoms and effects of the scurvy. Neither has the afflicted mariner far to go after them, as, almost the first step he takes on shore, he finds under his feet those wholesome plants, so well adapted to his wants. But it is possible to mistake this invariable order of nature in the production of them for mere chance? and can the determination of the spots where these plants chiefly grow, have been left to a mere accident? And if, in answer to this, it be said, that this foil and situation are best adapted to the growth and encrease of these plants,
plants, and that other animals eat them as well as men; I must then, take the liberty to ask again; but who is it that has connected this circumstance of their being so singularly antiscorbutic, with the particular spot where they grow, and with that other circumstance of their thriving the best near the sea shore? If it be mere accident, what is the reason then that it takes place not in one country only, but everywhere alike? And does it follow that mankind is excluded from making use of these plants, because animals are fond of them? or, indeed, is it not rather a proof of superior wisdom, when different effects are accomplished by the intervention of one and the same cause? Certainly, to misconceive the intentions of this supreme wisdom, this more than fatherly kindness, in this admirable regulation of the works of nature, is nothing less than to degrade the intellectual faculty of man, his noblest prerogative, and reduce him to a level with the stupid and senseless brutes! Should, however, after all that has been said, some sceptical miscreants still insist upon this topic, we can only say, that we do not in the least envy them their boasted enlarged ideas and philosophy.

It is really inconceivable what an astonishing quantity of different kinds of grous there is every year caught and eaten in the factories of the Hudson's Bay Company. Of ptarmigans alone they kill more than 10,000. While Hudson's Bay was in the hands of the French, from the year 1697 to 1714, a French Governor at Fort Bourbon, together with his garrison, consisting of 80 men, eat in one winter 90,000 spotted grous and ptarmigans, and 25,000 hares. To the above account must be added in the spring, the immense number of swans, geese and ducks, which are eaten there; besides which, they catch a great many reindeer. It is therefore astonishing, that Hudson, who used to act with so much prudence and foresight in every thing, should not have taken care to have preferred out of the hundred dozen of
of ptarmigans which they caught in the winter, at least some few dozen for a store of provision in the spring, and on the voyage. But probably the mutiny of his crew was the cause of this neglect.

The villains, who behaved with so much cruelty to Hudson, bound themselves to this atrocious wickedness and inhuman deed, as though it had been a laudable, beneficent act, by an oath, which, according to the English custom, they took on the Bible. In fact, they swore that every thing they were going to undertake, should be to the glory of God, and harm to no man, which, however, was a most horrid abuse of a sacred act of religion, and the most shameful piece of hypocrisy that it is possible to conceive.

XX. The account of Habakuk Pricket, that when Hudson's ship had struck upon a rock near Diggs's Island, she had been heaved off again by a high tide coming from the westward, excited new hopes in the Society which had planned the former voyages, that still, in some part of the western coast of Hudson's Bay, there must be a strait, through which this tide could come from the west; for if this part of the sea discovered by Hudson was a mere bay, the tide must needs come into it from the east or the entrance; now, supposing the tide to come from the east, it must needs diminish in height in proportion as it advanced farther into the bay; but here it was exactly the contrary, for it happened to be lower at the entrance than farther into it; and therefore it was highly probable, that this westernly and higher tide actually proceeded from a sea which had no connection with the mouth of Hudson's straits. Besides, humanity seemed to demand, that in case the unfortunate Captain Hudson and his companions should happen to be still alive, they should be rescued from the dreadful state of misery into which they had been plunged by the most hardened of villains. Accordingly they fitted out two ships for this expedition, the one of which,
which was named the Resolution, and the other the Discovery*. Capt. Thomas Button, a very experienced navigator, whom the King afterwards engaged a Knight on account of some services he had done to the crown; and who was then in the service of Prince Henry, was elected commander of the whole expedition, and the command of the Discovery was given to Capt. Ingram. Besides this gentleman, Button took with him several other very skilful men. His first mate in the Resolution was Nelson, a man of great experience and knowledge; and it was after this person that he named the river where he wintered, Nelson's River. Moreover, he had two gentlemen with him, of whose knowledge and experience, we must, even from Button's own testimony, form a very high idea. The one was his relation and favourite, by name Gibbons; and the other was Capt. Hawkridge. The name of his mate was Josiah Hubbard, a man possessed of very just conceptions of such an undertaking, and of the probability of a passage. Finally, he was also accompanied by Habakuk Picket, who had made the last voyage with the unfortunate Hudson. They were victualled for 13 months, and set sail in the beginning of May 1612. They shaped their course to the westward, and arrived off Hudson's Straits, which they entered to the south of the Resolution Islands, and for some time were blocked up in the ice. At length they came to Digges's Island, where they stayed eight days, and in that time set up a pinnace they had brought with them in pieces from England. After this, they went farther to the westward, where they saw land, to which they gave the name of Cary's Swans Nest. From thence they proceeded to the southward of the west, and came in 60 deg. 40 min. N. lat. again to a land, which

* It is very remarkable, that in the last voyage of discovery, undertaken by the glorious and unfortunate Capt. Cook to the South Sea and the northern parts between Asia and America, there were likewise the names of the ships employed on that expedition.
on this account was called Hopes checked by Button. Here they were overtaken by a terrible storm, so that they were obliged, on the 13th of August, to put into a harbour, to repair the damages done to the ships. But immediately after, the dreadful winter set in, and Button was obliged to winter there in 57 deg. 10 min. N. lat. in a small creek on the north side of a river, which he named Port Nelson, after his deceased first mate. He secured both the ships, as well as he could, against storms, ice and the tides, with piles of deal driven into the ground, and a mound of earth. They wintered in the ships, keeping three fires constantly; notwithstanding which many of his people died, though he took the greatest care of them; and they consumed 1800 dozen = 21,600 ptarmigans and wood-grouse. Button himself was indisposed during the first three or four months of the winter. The river Nelson was not frozen over till the 16th of February, although at times it had been very cold; yet the mild winds immediately following upon the cold weather, had brought on a thaw. Button had observed, that in former voyages, inactivity and the want of employment had but too often been the occasion of discontent, murmurings, and secret confederacies in the crew against their superiors in command; he resolved, therefore, to prevent this by allotting to every one his task, and even to the best of them he gave employments suitable to their stations and capacities; for of some he enquired, what was to be done in case the water should happen to be spent in their present place of abode; and in what manner they had best proceed in the discovery, which was the end of their present voyage? Others he enjoined to give him in writing an exact calculation of their voyage till then, with the mutual distances of each place, the ship’s course, the latitude and longitude, the variation of the compass, the different soundings, together with other observations on the wind and weather, the tides, &c. so that nobody could find leisure from idleness and want of employment for such dangerous associations.

The
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH. 347

The ice began to clear out of Nelson's River so early as on the 21st of April, but it was not till two months after, that they set out again with a view of exploring the whole western coast of the bay, which he called, after his own name, Button's Bay. The neighbouring land was named New Wales. In the 60th degree they found a strong current, setting sometimes to the east, and at other times to the west. This circumstance induced Hubbard to name this part in his map, Hubbard's Hope. The highest latitude to which Button's researches extended, was about 65 deg. The observations which he had an opportunity to make there on the tide-flux were such as not to leave him the least doubt of the possibility of a northern passage. Some islands, lying to the south-east from Carey's Swan's Nest, he named Mansel's (Mansfield's) Islands. On the west side of the land called Carey's Swan's Nest, he came to a kind of a bay, which he called Non plus ultra. The southernmost point of the land was Cape Southampton; and on the east side of the land was a promontory to which he gave the name of Cape Pembroke. He reckoned 10 leagues from this cape to Mansel's (Mansfield's) Islands. Between Cape Chidley and the coast of Labrador they found another strait, through which they failed, and from thence, in 16 days, arrived in England, in the autumn of 1613.

It is a great pity that Button never published his Journal; for, from all the dispersed and unconnected accounts now remaining, we learn no more than that this Journal really contained some very important observations on the tides, and other objects of natural philosophy. The great quantity of ptarmigans and grouse there is in those regions is very evident, from the circumstance of Button and his people having eaten 1800 dozen of them.

XXI. The same Society which had promoted Button's and so many former voyages, in the year 1614, sent on the same errand Capt. Gibbons, the kinsman and friend of Button, in the Discovery, the very same ship in which Button had made his voyage of discovery.
covery. But he was scarcely arrived at the mouth of Hudson's Straits, when a large quantity of ice quite encompassed him, and carried him by means of the current and the winds, into a bay on the coast of Labrador, in 58° ½ deg. N. lat. which his people on this account named Gibbons's Hole. Here he was obliged to lie for the space of 10 weeks, in the greatest danger all the time of losing his ship and his life. Being at length freed from this danger, he immediately set sail for England, partly because the ship had been very much damaged by the ice; and partly also, because the season was too far advanced for going upon any fresh enterprizes in those cold regions. Fox calls the land where the bay lay, Stinenia, an appellation for which I can give no reason*. It was, without doubt, the coast of Labrador; and Gibsons's Hole is nearly on the same spot with the colony of the Moravian brethren, to which they have given the name of Nain.

XXII. The same year, 1614, Fotherby and Baffin were sent out with a single ship on a voyage of discovery in the north, and that probably by the Russia Company. With great difficulty, and after several fruitless essays made with the ship, they succeeded, however, at length, in getting with their boats to the firm ice, which enclosed Red Beach. This forms the north-east point of Spitsbergen, and is situated on what is called the Deer Field (or Rennen Felde). The Moffen Island lies to the north-east of Red Beach. To this Red Beach they went on foot over the ice, in hopes of being lucky enough to find some whale-bones there; they were, however, for once deceived in their expectation. Fotherby adds, 'Thus, as we could not find that which we desired to see, so did we behold that which we wished had not been there to be seen, viz. a great abundance of ice, which lay close to the shore, and stretched out in the sea as far

* In the Table of Errata annexed to Fox's book, the word Stinenia is changed for America; but this and several other errors (which are here corrected) succeeding writers, and with them Dr. Forster, have been led into by Fox's having absurdly placed that table in the middle of his Book.
as we could discern." On the 1st of August they failed from Fair Haven (a place situated between Hakluyt's Headland, which is likewise called Amsterdam Island, and the island of Vogelfang, lying off the north west point of Spitzbergen), with a view to try whether the ice would admit them to pass towards the north or north-east. They failed from Cape Barren, or Vogelfang, N. east by east, eight leagues, when they met with ice, lying east by south, and west by north. On the 15th of August they found ice in the sea, which was frozen as thick as a half crown piece.

This very short account of another attempt to seek for a passage in the north, by Spitzbergen, is a fresh proof of the great exertions made to discover this passage to India. Those also who have hitherto believed, with M. de Buffon and Mr. Daines Barrington, that sea-water could not freeze, will here find a fresh proof to the contrary: for if even in the summer season, six weeks after the summer solstice, it freezes in one night as thick as a half crown piece, how hard must not the sea be frozen during the severe cold of the long winters in these parts?

XXIII. In 1615 Fatherby was again sent out to the north, in the pinnace Richard, by the Russia Company. He could not get farther than in the preceding year, on account of the ice. On this occasion he refers to a chart, in which he had laid down what was already known and discovered in the space comprised between 80 and 71 deg. N. lat. and within 26 deg. W. long from Hakluyt's Headland (reckoning westward). For his part, he says, he could have wished to have been able to advance farther than he did, but the ice always prevented him from so doing; however there was still a large space of sea between Greenland and King James's Newland (which is also called Spitzbergen) where perhaps a passage might be possible, though this sea be much obstructed with ice. Since this attempt the English Russia Company seems not
not to have concerned itself any farther with making discoveries in the north.

XXIV. The same merchants who had supported the former enterprizes with so much ardour, and at so great an expence, were still buoyed up with the hope that at length they should succeed in discovering this passage. Accordingly, in 1615, they sent out the Discovery, which had already been on the voyages of discovery made under the respective commands of Hudson, Button, and Gibbons, now, for the 4th time, and for the same purpose, under the command of Robert Bylot or, (as Purchas calls him) Byleth. Bylot, too, had been each time in the capacity of mate, William Baffin, who had made the voyage with Hall in 1608, and had been out afterwards with Hudson, Button, and Fatherby, and consequently had acquired great experience, as well as very just conceptions of the nature of those regions, and of the voyages that might be undertaken to those parts. Bylot set sail on the 18th of April; on the 6th of May he saw Greenland on the east side of Cape Farewell. Shortly after he fell in with a great quantity of ice. Baffin saw a mass of ice, which measured 140 fathoms; i.e. 840 feet above the level of the sea; and some affert, that there is never more than 1-7th part of the ice above the water. But by referring to my Observations, page 60, it will appear, that as, according to Mairan sur la Glace, p. 254, ice is only 1-14th part of its height above the surface in fresh water, or, according to Dr. Irving, in Capt. Phipp's voyage towards the North Pole, Appendix p. 141, no more than 1-15th of its height

* This calculation might well have been spared. It is founded on Fox's assertion. (Vid. Fox's North-west Fox, p. 137.) that Baffin saw ice 140 fathoms above water. But this is evidently a blunder of Fox, proceeding from his having mistaken Baffin's account published by Purchas. Baffin himself says, it was 240 feet; and thence infer, that it was 140 fathoms, or 1680 feet from the bottom. Vid. Purchas's Pilgrims. Part III p. 837.
in snow-water; therefore ice in sea-water may probably be only \( \frac{1}{10} \)th of its height above the surface, and that consequently 840 feet instead of 7 ought to be multiplied by 10 to measure the whole height; so that this mass of ice was 8400 feet high, which is indeed a most tremendous height! In 61 deg. 16 min. N. lat. he came to the firm ice, and put in amongst it, in hopes that every tide it would open more and more. Having passed some days among the ice, on the 27th of May he descried the Resolution Islands. On the 1st of June he discovered a good harbour on the west side of the Resolution Islands. At the change of the moon the water rose and fell nearly 5 fathoms. The variation of the compass was 24 deg. 6 min. The northern channel, or Lumley's Inlet, was 8 miles in the narrowest places. On the 8th of July he came to the Salvage Islands (Savage Islands) which form a considerable group: here he found a great number of natives, with whom he traded. Their dogs were most of them muzzled, and wore collars and harnesses for the purpose of drawing their masters furniture when they remove from one place to another. They are of a black-brown colour, and have very much the appearance of wolves. Their fledges are shod or lined with large fish-bones. This island lies in 62 deg. 32 min. N. lat. about 60 leagues from the mouth of the strait. The variation of the compass is 27 deg. 30 min. A south-easterly moon makes a full tide, which rises almost as high as at the Resolution Islands, and comes from the east. On the 29th of June, the weather being cleared up, he at length saw Salisbury Island. On the 1st of July he discovered a group of islands, which he named Mill-Isles, because of the grinding of the ice among these islands. The latitude of them is 64 deg. As he was standing along these islands the ice came with the tide from the south-east, and drove his ship with great force into the eddy of the islands. On the 11th he discovered land to the westward, which being a headland he named Cape Comfort. The latitude of it is 65 degrees N. The farther he proceeded in the inlet,
inlet, the shallower it grew. This cape was on the land of Carey's Swan’s Nest. Bylot went only to 65 deg. 25 min. N. lat. and to about 86 deg. 10 min. west long. from London. Having tacked about to return, because the land trended to the north east, he found, on the 16th, near a point of land, a great number of sea-horses lying on the ice, and from this circumstance named it Point Sea-horse. Here he observed that the flood came from the south-east, and the ebb from the north-west. On the 26th he passed between the islands Salisbury and Nottingham. He came to an anchor at Digg’s Island, where his people killed a great quantity of sea-fowl on the rocks for their food, and at last arrived again at Plymouth.

XXV. The public-spirited gentlemen who had had the former voyages on discoveries made at their own expense, were willing to set on foot one more. The gentlemen alluded to were Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Dudley Digg’s, Mr. John Woffenholme, and Mr. Alderman Jones, together with some others. They again chose Robert Bylot for the Captain, and William Baffin to be pilot. The ship Discovery went out now for the fifth time on a voyage of discovery. They set sail from Gravensend on the 26th of March, 1616. The first land they saw, being the 14th of May, was within Davis’s Straits in 65 deg. 20 min. N. lat. Several Greenlanders came to their ship, and received some small pieces of iron from them. But seeing that he was falling away, they appeared much dissatisfied. Bylot did not come to an anchor till he was in 70 deg. 20 min. near Davis’s London coast, where the inhabitants fled before them in their boats. In this found, which was a very good one, the tide did not rise above 8 or 9 feet. Two days after, he sailed farther to the northward. On the 30th he reached Hope Sanderson (the farthest land that Davis had been at) in 72 deg. 20 min. Continuing his course, he came in 72 deg. 45 min. to some islands, where he found nothing but women, whom he treated with kindness, making them presents of iron. To these islands he gave the name of Women’s Isles. Here the tide...
tide did not rise above 6 or 7 feet. The women had black streaks on their faces, which were raised above the surface of the skin. Bylot now failed farther on to the northward, but met with a great deal of ice. He therefore looked about for a harbour, till the ice should be wafted and gone, and stood into one in lat. 73 deg. 45 min. Here the inhabitants came immediately to them, and brought them seal-skins and unicorns * horns, in exchange for iron. Hence he named the sound Horn Sound. He stayed here a few days longer, and then set sail again. The wind was still contrary, but the ice was almost all dissolved, insomuch that he had it in his power to go again to Women's Islands, from which he failed 20 leagues to the westward, without finding any more ice. On Midsummer-Day all the ship's tackle was covered with frost, nevertheless the cold was by no means intolerable. The sea was free and open, but the wind was contrary. He therefore stood off from the shore, and stood in for it again. He then let fall an anchor to measure the tide, which afforded him however but little hope. The weather now grew very fogy, he therefore sailed along the coast. The next day he came to a fair cape or headland, which he named after Sir Dudley Diggs. It was in 76 deg. 35 min. N. lat. and close adjoining to it lay a small island. At the distance of 12 leagues from the cape he saw a considerable inlet, in the middle of which was a small island, which caused a double current. Here he anchored, but the ship drove with the current though she had two anchors out. He was therefore obliged to weigh and stand out to sea. This

* These horns are very improperly called by the name they bear; for it is well known that the narwhal, or sea unicorn, a kind of whale found in Greenland, has two such horns, which are long and wreathed, but that seldom both horns are found together in the fish; probably they may lose one of them in their wars with each other, or in the combats they have with other fish. There has been an instance of a sea-unicorn having run his horn into the bottom of a ship, where he had broke it off and left it.

A a inlet
inlet he named Wolfenholme's Sound; it spreads out in several small inlets, and is very convenient for the whale-fishery. Another storm now arose, which obliged him to lie a Hull; and when the weather cleared up again, he found himself in a large bay. He then set sail again, and stood over to the southerly side, where he anchored in an inlet, but lost both anchor and cable; the wind blowing with great violence from the tops of the mountains. He was therefore obliged to stand off and on, the bottom of the bay being still entirely covered with ice. This bay contained a great many whales, on which account he also named it Whale Sound. The latitude of it is 77° 30'. The weather being very fair, he kept along by the land, till he came to a large bank of ice, behind which lay the land. On seeing this he stood back about eight leagues to an island to which he gave the name of Hakluyt's Island. This island lies between two inlets, viz. Whale Sound and Sir Thomas Smith's Sound; which latter runs to the north of 78° 7', and is also extremely remarkable in one respect, viz. because in it there is the greatest variation of the compass of any part of the known world. For, by divers very exact observations, he found it to be above five points *, or 56 degrees varied to the westward. This inlet seems to be very conveniently situated for the whale-fishery, it being the largest in the whole bay. That which induced him to fall over to the island was that he intended to search for whale-bone there. But the weather was so bad, that he could not land with the boat. The next day the wind came more outward. The sea was grown so high, that he weighed anchor, and it was two days before he could find a good anchoring place. This day the weather cleared up, and he discovered a group of islands at the distance of about 10 or 12 leagues from the land. He could have wished

* The mariner's compass is divided into 32 different points, or winds. Now the whole compass comprising 360 degrees, each of these 32 points or winds must amount to 11 1/2 degrees; consequently five points are equal to 56 1/2 degrees.

Indeed
indeed to stand over to them, but the wind would not permit it, nor would he spend any more time after these islands, which he distinguished by the name of Cary's Islands. He then stood to the westward with a stiff gale of wind, which was succeeded by a calm, accompanied by a fog, when he found himself at the entrance of a large inlet, which he called Alderman Jones's Sound. In the afternoon the weather turned out fine and clear; and he sent a boat on shore, whilst the ship kept on her course; but the wind getting up again, the boat returned on board, and the men related, that they had seen a great number of sea-horses lying on the ice along the coast. Then having an easy gale of wind at E. N. E. they sailed along by the coast, which began to trend more to the southward, and began to have the appearance of a bay. On the 12th day he opened another great found, or inlet, and named it James Lancaster's Sound. Their hopes of finding a passage began now to decrease every day. From this inlet to the southward a ledge of ice ran all along the shore; he therefore kept close by the ice till he came to 71 deg. 16 min. where he could see the land as far as 70 deg. 30 min. Being now almost surrounded by the ice, he was obliged to stand more to the eastward; for he expected to be soon clear of the ice, and designed to have kept on the off-side of it till he came to 70 deg. when he intended to stand in again to the southward; but matters turned out quite contrary to his expectation, for he was obliged to run above 60 leagues through the ice, and was often fast locked in it, though he kept his course due east. He kept constantly so near the ice, that many times he found it difficult to get clear of it; and yet he could not get near the land till he came to 68 deg. 41 min.; when he saw the shore, but by reason of the great quantity of ice could not come to it by 7 or 8 leagues. This was on the 24th of July. Here he continued
continued for three days more, endeavouring to come to an anchor, in order to try the tide; but the ice carried him at length into the latitude of 65 deg. 40 min. upon which he left the western coast entirely, being now directly opposite Cumberland Straits, where he had no hopes of a passage. He therefore found himself under the necessity of putting an end to his voyage of discovery, as the proper season for it was already elapsed, and his crew but weakly; some of them, indeed, being absolutely sick, and his cook even dead. He now stood over to the coast of Greenland, and came to an anchor in the harbour of Cocking Sound, in lat. 65 deg. 45 min. Going on shore on an island there, they immediately found some Greenland scurvy-grasfs (Cochlearia officinalis varietas Groenlandica) forrel (Rumex acetosella) and orpine (Sedum acre) in great quantity. They boiled the scurvy-grasfs in beer, and in a week all the sick were perfectly recovered, and continued well till their arrival in England. Soon after their landing the inhabitants came and brought them some young salmons and other fish, which they bartered for glass beads, counters, and pieces of iron; and which contributed very much to the recovery of the crew. It was quite astonishing to see the great shoals of salmon that were swimming to and fro in this harbour. The tide rises in it about 18 feet. The crew being perfectly refreshed, he set sail again, and, in 19 days, saw land on the coast of Ireland. On the 30th of August he anchored in Dover Road. This voyage likewise, though in the highest degree worthy of attention, is but very imperfectly known to us from Baffin’s relation; and all the charts of the newly-discovered Baffin’s bay have been merely laid down from the observations made in his journal; for Purchas, who has published so many wretched, paltry maps, was afraid of the expence attending the publication of Baffin’s important chart, and it is therefore probable

* Vide fo
II. page 208.
probably that it is entirely lost. The female Greenlanders on Women's Islands had black streaks on their faces, railed above the surface of the skin, and the same kind of decoration has been observed to be used among the Tungus in Siberia, as also on some Jau-
kutes *. The gradually decrease of the tide to the north-ward seems to me to be a pretty strong proof of its coming from Davis's Straits, and that consequently this Baffin's Bay has no connection either to the northward or the westward with the great ocean; in which case no passage can be expected to be found in the whole bay. It is, however, astonishing, that Baffin should have been the only person hitherto that has explored this bay, and that after him no one has ever ventured upon this sea. The whales, which are found here in great abundance, may perhaps have purposely selected this bay, which no mortal besides Baffin has ever navigated, for their residence, on account of the security it affords them. The whale is a subtle animal, and very capable of distinguishing the places where frequent chase is made after him.—It is astonishing that all those who were afflicted with the scurvy on board of Bylot's ship, should have been restored within eight or nine days by the use of fresh herbs and fish. This proves that nothing contributes more to cause this kind of putrid fever than the want of sweet air and of fresh provision. It is possible, without doubt, to retard, in some measure, the progress of this disease, by the infusion of malt or sweet-wort; but as to curing it radically, that can only be effected on shore, by means of fresh provisions, and a diet consisting chiefly of vegetables.

XXVI. This last unsuccessful voyage of Bylot and Baffin seems to have put almost an entire stop to the inclination of the enterprising society above-mentioned to promote any farther voyages to the north; neither indeed do we find any one recorded for a long space

of time. Something, however, is mentioned of a voyage made by Capt. William Hawkbridge, or Hawkridge. This is the same person who, in 1612 and 1613, had accompanied Sir Thomas Button in his voyage of discovery. But the account is very imperfect: for first, it is entirely unknown in what year this voyage took place; 2dly, neither is it known at whose expense or at whose instigation it was undertaken: nor, lastly, is it possible to discover the name of the ship in which Hawkbridge sailed, nor from what port he went, nor where he landed on his return to England; it seems probable, however, that this expedition took place after that of Bylot in 1616; because Fox describes it quite at the end, after Bylot's; and that it was before that of Fox and Jamesy, which took place in 1631; because the same writer places it expressly before his own.

Hawkbridge failed to the westward, and, on the 29th of June, found himself in the great entrance to Lumley's Inlet; and in fact was the first that ever was in this inlet, for all his predecessors had only imagined that they were in it, but had at length found it prove otherwise. He did not leave this inlet till the 8th of July; on the 9th, he found the pinannce again, which had failed out with him. He was retarded for a long time by strong currents and contrary winds. Near Cape Charles he found a small island, and the ground thereabouts seemed to promise a great quantity of fish; nevertheless he caught none. The latitude of the island was 62 deg. 19 min. The variation of the compass 3 deg. 9 min. The tide rose 21 feet, and set to the southeast. On the 27th he sailed farther on: after making many efforts to this purpose, he saw land on the 7th of August, which appeared to him to be Salisbury Island. Towards the bottom of the bay the latitude was 64 deg. 30 min.; the variation 23 deg. 10 min. At length, on the 10th of August, he came to Seaborne Point. On the 12th he went deeper into the bay, till he at last found the lat. to be 65 deg. N. He therefore tacked about, and stood for Diggs's Island, in order to try the tide there.
After this, he said a few days off the King's Foreland and Mansfield Island. A little farther on, seeing firm ice, he returned. On the 7th of September he was again near the Resolution Islands. On the 10th the pinnace left her boat, and probably he hastened home, for here the account breaks off.

This attempt of Hawkbidge's has discovered nothing new, but that between Carey's Swans Nest and the eastern islands he went as far as 65 deg. where Bylot, however, had already, in 1615, been before him.

XXVII. After a long pause, the spirit of enterprise and investigation again burst forth. Lucas Fox, a man who from his earliest years had used the sea, and who was to have gone out with John Knight, in the capacity of mate, in 1606, and since that time had collected all the information he possibly could arrive at concerning the progress that had been made in the voyages of discovery undertaken to the North, formed an intimacy with several skilful mathematicians of his time, amongst whom he particularly cites Thomas Sterne, who had carefully collected all the journals and charts of the former voyages, with a view to his profession, viz. the making of globes. After this he renewed his former acquaintance with the famous mathematician Henry Briggs, who made him acquainted with Sir John Brooke, when several respectable people formed an association for setting on foot another voyage of discovery, which was, however, put a stop to by Henry Briggs's death. In the meantime Capt. Thomas James had persuaded many merchants in Bristol to set on foot a voyage of discovery in the north, and these solicited Mr. Briggs and Sir John Brooke, to allow both ships to go out together on this expedition, a request which was willingly granted. Sir Thomas Roe, who was returned from his embassy to the Court of Sweden, and old Sir John Wolstenholme, were appointed by the King, to procure every thing that might serve to promote this voyage. The brethren of the Trinity House were also to give their assistance, and young Mr. Wolstenholme, afterwards Sir
John Wolstenholme, was to be Treasurer to the whole enterprize. The King (Charles I.) gave also one ship to it, and ordered it to be fitted out with all necessaries in the most complete manner, and to be victualled for 18 months. When Capt. Fox was presented to the King, his Majesty gave him a map, containing all the discoveries made by his predecessors, with instructions and a letter to the Emperor of Japan, in case he should get into the South Sea, and reach Japan by the passage he went out to discover.

Capt. Lucas Fox set sail from Deptford on the 5th of May, 1631, in his Majesty's ship Charles, of 80 tuns burden. On the 15th he broke his main-yard in two. He went to the Orkneys; but not being able to procure a new main-yard there, sailed on. After passing Cape Farewell in a fog, he shaped his course towards Hudson's Straits. When he came near the ice, he found that to the leeward of every large island of ice, there floated a great many small pieces, formed by the continual beating of the sea upon these islands, and undermining them so that they fell to pieces by their own weight. At length, on the 30th of June, Fox saw land on the north side of Lumley's Inlet. He was then in 62 deg. 25 min. N. lat. Finding ice in this inlet, he was desirous of getting into Hudson's Straits; but here likewise there was floating a great deal of ice. He stood over from Cape Warwick on Resolution Island, to Cape Chidley, or Button's Islands, of which he distinctly saw four. On the 23d the morning was foggy, but later in the day the sun shone so hot, that the ice as well as the pitch on the sides of the ship began to melt. In the strait was still a great quantity of ice, of which he observes two sorts: drift, mountainous ice, of a very considerable size and height, some of which reached from 20 to 40 yards above the surface of the water; and next, flaked ice, some of which was above a rood, and some two acres square, but most of it about one or two feet above the water, and eight or ten under the water. On the 30th they passed by a piece something higher than the rest; on this lay a large mass of ice, which the sun heat consumed. They passed through a great deal of ice, some black and some white, and some black and some red; some in the form of mountains, and rocks, and some in the form of shattered stones, which they called 'alliased ice.' One night, as he was sailing towards the islands, the frat hove to fast. The next day between the islands and the land, there was being a great deal of ice, and a ridge of ice upon it; but he got in and out of the ship without harm. When he came to Hudson's Strait, he found that the ice was still immense. He went through it; and at length, on the 20th of June, he found land on the north side of Lumley's Inlet. He was then in 62 deg. 25 min. N. lat. Finding ice in this inlet, he was desirous of getting into Hudson's Straits; but here likewise there was floating a great deal of ice. He stood over from Cape Warwick on Resolution Island, to Cape Chidley, or Button's Islands, of which he distinctly saw four. On the 23d the morning was foggy, but later in the day the sun shone so hot, that the ice as well as the pitch on the sides of the ship began to melt. 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In the strait was still a great quantity of ice, of which he observes two sorts: drift, mountainous ice, of a very considerable size and height, some of which reached from 20 to 40 yards above the surface of the water; and next, flaked ice, some of which was above a rood, and some two acres square, but most of it about one or two feet above the water, and eight or ten under the water. On the 30th they passed by a piece something higher than the rest; on this
lay a large stone, weighing at least 5 or 6 tons; besides which there were other stones on it, and some mud. These mountains of ice are formed on shore by the snow, which the wind blows on to the steep brow of some high mountain, to which it adheres, and is compacted into a firm and solid piece of ice, which in the spring becomes loose at the approach of a thaw, and rolls into the sea, carrying with it the earth, stones, mud, and trees, which it before enveloped. One night a mountain of ice came driving straight on towards the ship; as it was deeper under water than the flaked ice, the current consequently made it drive faster over than the latter, some of which was between the ship and the mountain, else this huge mass being already perforated by the action of the water upon it, in consequence of its percussion against the ship might have burst; when the broken pieces falling into the vessel, might easily have sunk it, as this mountain was 9 or 10 fathoms (i.e. from 54 to 60 feet) above water, and who can say how many under it? (perhaps 9 or 10 times as much, and consequently the whole height of the mountain of ice was about 540, or even 600 feet). On the first of July Fox was opposite to a second island, separated from the Resolution Islands, which in some maps is called Terra Nivea. The weather was hot and close, but calm, so that they could not steer for want of wind. On the 4th he sent a boat to the north land, where they found several huts deserted by the natives, as also a piece of drift-wood, and the footing and dung of an animal of the stag kind. On the 14th he saw a sea-unicorn, about 9 feet long. The back of it was black, with a small fin upon it; the tail lay flat, transverse with respect to the ridge, and between the two peaked ends was, as it were, indented. The sides were dappled, black and white; the belly was all over of a milk white; the body, from the gills to the tail, was shaped like a mackerel's; but the head resembled that of a lobster, and on the fore part of it grew a wreathed horn, six feet long and of a black colour all over, excepting just at the tip. The same evening he saw 20 more
more sea-unicorns. On the 15th, seeing the islands of Salisbury and Nottingham at 7 leagues distance, he went somewhat to the southward, out of the way of the ice, and had ground in 160 fathoms. The stones brought up by the lead were of the same kind with those that usually lay upon the ice, and are carried by it from the main land; these stones consequently being by degrees detached from the ice, fall to the bottom; so that in the space of so many years it is not to be supposed that any spot on the bottom of the sea hereabouts can be free of them. Here he observed that the needle had lost its powers, and gives his conjectures on this phenomenon, and on the cause of it, which he was inclined partly to deduce from want of motion in the ship, in consequence of its being becalmed, or from the action of the neighbouring mountains, which perhaps might contain such minerals as had an influence on its magnetic powers; or else from the cold benumbing it, and operating upon it in the same manner as it does upon us, or rather from the sharpeness of the air interposed between the needle and its attractive point, weakening the force of its direction. He was now near Nottingham Island, whither he intended to send his boat. He had ground, with muscle-shells and stones, at 35 fathoms. The ebb came from the N.W. Their latitude was 63 deg. 12 min. On the 15th Fox made a very important observation: the islands Resolution, Salisbury, and Nottingham, were all three of them high on the east

* The celebrated Mr. Henry Ellis, who in 1746 and 1747 made a voyage in the Dobbs galley to Hudson's Bay, observed between the islands and the higher latitudes, that the magnetic needle had lost its power. As the probable causes of this phenomenon, he assigned, 10, the minerals, by which possibly the needle was strongly attracted (as for instance, it is in the isle of Elba) ad, the proximity of the magnetic Pole, and finally, the cold of the climate, which latter he considered as the true cause; finding that the compasses, as soon as they were removed into a warmer place, immediately recovered their usual power and direction. We see, however, that Fox had observed this fact before him, and assigned nearly the same causes for it. After this can we refrain from exclaiming with the wife man, There is nothing new under the sun?"
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH. 363

side, and low on the west. Here he also saw a great many sea-horses. He saw the same day, at a distance, Cape Pembroke on the main land of Cary's Swans Nest, where likewise were many sea-horses. On the 18th he was pretty near this last-mentioned land, and on the 19th, on a flake of ice, saw a white bear, which after some time they killed. It yielded 48 gallons of oil; they ate the flesh of it boiled, and found it to be good; but when roasted, it tasted fiddy and rank.

The same night they saw a dark streak in the horizon, and in the sky to the northward the meteors, known by the name of Hẹnbanes, or petty Dancers, which were confidered by Fox as the fore-runners of a storm to follow within 24 hours; an event which did not, however, happen. On the 21st they were not advanced much farther. They came to Cary's Swans Nest, where they chased many swans, but caught none, on account of the marshes, brooks, and pools of standing water, so frequent on this shore. On the 24th they saw several seals in 62 deg. 20 min. N. lat. but as for fowl there were but few of any kind. On the 27th it was warm, even at night. There he saw abundance of rock-weed and tangle (or Tang). Near the main land on the west-side of Hudson's Bay, he discovered an island in 64 deg. 10 min. N. lat. which he named Sir Thomas Roe's Welcome. They found some burial places of the natives, but not one human creature alive. The spears left behind in these sepulchres were headed, some with iron and some with copper. On the 28th he observed a great number of fish leaping in the water, together with many seals, and also a whale. He came at length to a white island, to which he gave the name of Brook Cob-

* This physico-geographical observation is of the highest importance, and seems to me to prove that at that time, when the ice burst impetu-ously into Hudson's Bay, and tore away these islands from the main land, it must have come rushing from the east and south-east, and have washed away the earth towards the west; a circumstance which has occasioned their present low poftition.
ham, after Sir John Brook. (It is also now called Marble Island). They found swans and ducks, and a young bird with a long neck and head, of which Fox did not know whether it was an ostrich (probably it was a species of crane). Their dog pursued for a long time a rein-deer, but the quarter-ster, having neither gun nor spear with him, was obliged to let the creature escape, though the dog had brought it to a stand, both the deer and the dog having hurt their feet very much on the rocks, so that they bled copiously. They saw also near the island about 40 whales, which were probably asleep there. Fox then sailed along the western coast of the main land, which he kept constantly in sight, and before which there lay a great many small rocks. On the 20th the matter went on shore on a small island, on which he found a considerable quantity of sea-fowl (viz. black guillemots, the *Columbus Grylle Linnaei*). He brought also from thence a live dun fox (the *Canis Lagopus*, or arctic fox) and had seen two sea-horses, one of which he struck with a lance, which nevertheless escaped, for want of the assistance of some person besides himself. They also brought a great quantity of scurvy graps on board, from which Fox ordered the juice to be pressed out, and mixed with a hoghead of strong beer, and commanded that every one that chose it should have a pint of it for his morning's draught; but not a man on board would taste it, till such time as it was entirely spoiled, and they were all terribly afflicted with the scurvy *. The island was called Dun

*Dun Portland* is the name of the island. The last place that Fox visited was the coast of New Zealand, from which Fox returned to the Cape in the morning. He had found the mouth of the river and he set foot on the coast of *Bay of Islands*, the white bear was sighted August 25th, he sailed up to the goolebeach, and fixed his footing at a small spot that he had lately remarked, having the hair of a white bear, that near it. 28th the bay was entering, and the vessel was fixed. Having anchored he ordered it and endeavoured to take a leading line, but they were too far from the wind to bring the carpenter and he was conducted by the wide ship. None of the men were here before the winds swarms in swarms in the root deep and they were all very unwell to sea. For many days the wind was not good, and the men were very ill. The fare was very bad, and ping ponging in the length, he could not.
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH. 365

Dun Fox Island. On the 31st they came to a quantity of islands, which Fox named Briggs's Mathematics. The land along which they sailed on the 3d of August was low, with here and there a little sand-hill, like the coasts of Holland and Flanders. The farther Fox removed from the Welcome, the smaller was the height to which the tide rose. On the 9th he determined at length to go into the River Nelson, at the mouth of which he saw several white whales. Here he set up his pinnance, and here found the remains of Button's winter dwelling, and saw numberless white whales of the size of porpoises. On the 15th of August the weather was very hot. On the 17th, higher up the river, they found blackberries, strawberries, gooseberries, and some vetches. They also saw the footing of an animal of the stag kind, and hard by this spot the wooden frame of a tent standing, which had lately been made, together with the fire-place, the hair of deer, the bones of fowl, and other tokens, that not long before men had been there. On the 18th they saw from on board the ship a reindeer trotting along the strand, but could not overtake him. Having found Button's cross overturned, they erected it again, nailing an inscription on it, engraved on a leaden plate, and named the land New Wales. As they were not able to sail on the 19th, on account of the wind being contrary, he once more sent the carpenter on shore to fell the best of five trees selected by the master, to supply the place of a main-yard. None of them was of any tolerable size, the wood here being universally small; for the thickness of the moss in which they stand hinders them from taking root deep in the ground. Hence it is, that for a short while they grow out of the moss pretty stout, though for many refused to eat it till they saw the Captain, the officers, and all the rest of us to eat it, when at last they too condescended to do the same. The same difficulties occurred, when we first began to eat the dun-divers and pinguins in Tierra del Fuego, as also seals flesh; but indeed, at length, from our example, the crew learned to eat almost anything.
they never grow tall, and are easily beat down by storms, and then perish. Of all the five trees pointed out, not one was serviceable, they being all rotten within. The highest tide that spring had risen to 14 feet. But then the east south-east, and east north-east winds had forced the tide in, or else it would not have risen higher than 12 feet. From this place Fox went along the coast to the eastward. On the 29th of August he for the first time had sight of Capt. James and his ship, and conversed with him. On the 2d of September he came to Cape Henrietta Maria, where the shores of the bay took a southerly direction; and thus far Hudson had explored the bay. Now likewise all the coast was explored between Port Nelson and Cape Henrietta Maria. Consequently there was no farther hope left for a passage in this part of the world, from 64 deg. 30 min. to 55 deg. 10 min. N. lat. Fox therefore was now desirous of making some fresh attempts beyond Nottingham Island, where before he had found every part choked up with ice. To Cape Henrietta Maria Fox gave the name of Wolfenden Ultimae Vale. Already, on the 6th, the master and the boatswain were sick. On the 7th Fox came to Carey's Swans Nest, on which they would have been stranded if he had not happened accidentally to go upon deck. On the 8th he found himself in 62 deg. 21 min. and to the north of him was Cape Pembroke. At length he came to Seaborse Point, and on the 15th saw Mill Isle. The shores were frozen as stiff as vellum. On the 18th he saw a headland, which he named King Charles's Promontory, and the point that lay to the north of it he called Cape Maria, after the Queen. The former of these is in lat. 64 deg. 46 min. the latter 8 leagues more to the northward. To the north-west of King Charles's Promontory are three islands, which together form an equilateral triangle, and which he called the Trinity Islands after the brethren of the Trinity-House. Another island, somewhat farther from the land, he named Cook's Isle, after his friend Walter Cook. The Queen's Cape was in N. lat. 65 deg. 13 min. On the

the 20th of August the shore was 14 leagues from the ship. Lord Lisle's assembly at Chantrey Island called the Fox's Island of which they called the farther part Island. It was reduced to a graph of the sea. Fox gave the name to every point on the coast, and his ship's crew were, with great glee, having passed through the passage of the fleet.

The Queen's Cape was a great ship, and even distant beyond the land, the passengers of the ship's company calls Anerley that Hudson was to be by the complete Welcome. To the part of the great island XX

Thomas
the 20th he saw another promontory, situated some leagues within the Arctic Circle; this he named Lord Weston's Portland, it having in fact some resemblance with the Point of Portland in the British Channel. To the northward of this promontory the land stretches to the south-east, and this he called Fox's Farthest. But the island, along the eastern coast of which Fox made these discoveries, is in some maps called James Island, though the extensive country in the southern part of Baffin's Bay, opposite to Disco Island, is also called James's Island, which has introduced a great deal of disorder and confusion into geography*. Now Fox set out upon his return, and gave names to every point of land on this coast, and to every inlet, and adjacent island; and after passing on the 5th of October, when already many of his crew were sick, near Cape Chidley, where the head of his ship by frequent dipping into the sea, was, as it were, candied over with ice, the current drove him with great impetuosity to the southward. At length, having crossed the Atlantic, he got through the Channel into the Downs, on the 31st of October, without the loss of a single man or of any the least part of the ship's tackling.

The whole narrative of this voyage, together with the occasional remarks made by Fox, shews that he was a skilful and experienced navigator, and that he even did not overlook such particulars, as would rather seem to belong to natural philosophy; as, for instance, his observations on the ice, the tides, the compass, and the northern lights, which latter he calls Henbanes and the Petty Dancers. We may add, that Fox was of opinion, that if a passage were yet to be found, it must necessarily be in Sir Thomas Roe's Welcome, the tide being higher there than in any other part of Hudson's Bay, and there being moreover a great number of whales about this spot.

XXVIII. We have before observed, that Capt. Thomas James had been sent on this voyage by some

* It would therefore be better to call this land Fox's Island, the extreme northern point of it having been discovered by him.
merchants at Bristol, in a strong-built ship of 70
tuns burthen, named the Maria. James went up to
London, and was prescribed, by Sir Thomas Roe, to
King Charles I. and like Sir, had letters given him
for the Emperor of Japan. Directly upon this, he
set sail from Bristol, viz. on the 3d of May, 1631.
On the 4th of June he came within sight of Greenland,
but was encompassed by mountains of ice. On
the 9th they had already Cape Farewell in the east.
On the 14th they were off Cape Defolation, from
whence to the islands of Resolution it is about 140
leagues. The saw a great many high mountains of
ice between the ice were many grampusses (Delphi-
num Orca). The sea looked black, the fogs was con-
tinual, thick, and flinking. On the 17th he saw
the island of Resolution. At this juncture the motion
of the needle was impeded, a circumstance which
James attributed to the thick, heavy, and piercing
fogs. A strong current set into Hudson's Straits.
The sails and rigging of the ship were frozen. The
straits were full of ice, and as they were endeavour-
ing to proceed forwards, they were fast inclosed in it,
so that they were driven with it to and fro. James
was entirely unacquainted with the voyages that
others had made before him to the northward, and
had purpofely avoided engaging any of the people who
had, previously to this, made a voyage to the north-
westward, or to Spitzbergen; consequently he was
entirely ignorant of what he must do in this cafe, or
of the best means of saving himself in such a situa-
tion. The want of experience with respect to this
point exposed him to inexpressible sufferings between
the ice, and to the most imminent danger of perifh-
ing in it, together with his ship and crew. Having
length worked through Hudson's Straits with incredi-
ble difficulty, he stood strait on to the western shore of
Hudson's Bay, where the vefsel struck more than once
on the rocks. He seldom got fight of the land on ac-
count of the ice. At length he met and conversed
with Capt. Lucas Fox, between Port Nelson and Cape
Henrietta Maria, as he called it, but which is in fact
no other than Wolfenholme's Ultimam Vale. Then,
after
after he had taken leave of Fox; he came himself to this promontory, which he first named Henrietta Maria, after her Majesty the Queen of England. The season for making discoveries was now pretty nearly over; he sought therefore, quite at the end of the bay, for a place to winter in. After encountering many storms, and thousands of perils, amongst the ice and the many rocks which are found in that part of the sea, and his ship having two or three times struck on the shoals, he ran her herself a-ground on the island, which he afterwards called Charleton Island. With great difficulty and danger they carried their provisions, cables, sails and rigging, clothes and utensils, and a thousand other necessaries on shore. They made themselves some miserable huts, of pieces of wood, which they placed in an inclining posture round a tree, and covered them with boughs of trees and with their sails, which were soon covered over with a good thick bed of snow. Besides this hut, they built another, and a store-houfe. The hands, feet, ears, or noses of every one of them were frost-bitten. Their clothes that had lain under water in the ship, they were obliged to dig out of the ice, and, after thawing them by the fire, to dry them again. As they entirely gave their ship up for loft, they set about building a small pin-nace, with which they hoped, after having once got over the winter, to save themselves from this dreary place of exile. The cold was most terrible here, in N. lat. 52 deg. 3 min. Wine, sack, oil, beer, vinegar, and even brandy froze to solid ice; so that they were obliged to cut the first of these liquors with hatchets and axes. A well which they had dug, froze also: but a spring, at 200 or 300 steps from their dwelling, did not freeze below the surface; though at the surface it was covered with ice and snow. The sun and the moon appeared on the horizon twice as long as they did broad, on account of the great quantity of vapours with which the atmosphere was filled. The island was quite covered with forests, but contained but few rein-deer, and some arctic foxes. On the 31st of Ja-

B buary
In January the atmosphere was so clear, that Capt. Jamee could very plainly perceive more stars by two thirds than he had ever seen before in his life. The sea is frozen over every night, two or three inches thick. The half-flood breaks this ice, and drives the flakes over each other, which freeze immediately together; by this means the ice in a few hours time becomes five or six feet thick, and the number of flakes and fields of ice is increased to that degree, that the sea is entirely filled with them, and the water cools more and more every day, so that at length it becomes intolerably cold; for when Capt. James's people waded in the sea-water in the month of December, though it froze upon their legs, yet they did not feel it near so sensibly as in the month of June, when to their feelings it was so sharp and piercing, that they could not bear to wade in it*. In the month of February, that horrible

* It is very probable that the generation of ice here indicated may be one of the various means which Nature actually makes use of in the economy of our system. Short-fighted and weak is that mortal who, on observing any particular method employed by Nature in her operations, immediately concludes, that is the only way in which she operates. Nature polishes a vast variety of means for the accomplishment of her purposes, of which that feeble creature Man, can form no adequate idea! But the more we contemplate this vast profusion of means, all tending to the same end, these wonderful and varied links in the complicated chain of Nature's system, the better we shall become acquainted with them, and the nearer will the reflecting mind approach to the great source of Being,

Qui mare & terras variisque mundum
temprat horis.—Hor.

"Snow and hail, fire and vapour, wind and storm, fulfilling his word!"—David.

Some, but by far not all of these means I have mentioned in my Observations. The daily augmentation of the coldness of the sea in winter, is as certain as the greater increaie of the ice there at that season; yet the circumstance here related of the ship's crew having been more sensible of cold in the month of June than in December, may not be altogether

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DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.

The horrible disease, the scurvy, made its appearance. They bled at the mouth, their gums were swoln, and sometimes black and putrid, and all their teeth were loose. Their mouths were so sore, that they could no longer eat their usual food. Some complained of shooting pains in the head, others in the breast, others felt a weakness in their reins, others had pains in their thighs and knees, and others again had swollen legs. Two thirds of the crew were under the hands of the surgeon, and nevertheless were obliged to work hard, though they had no shoes to their feet, but instead of shoes fastened clouts about them. In the open air the cold was quite insupportable, no clothes being proof against it, nor any motion sufficient to keep up their natural warmth. It froze the hair on their eyelids, so that they could not see, and it was with difficulty that they could fetch their breath. In the woods the cold was somewhat less severe, yet here they were afflicted with chilblains on their faces, hands, and feet. The least degree of cold was within doors. On the outside, the house was covered with snow two thirds of its height, and within, every thing was frozen and hung full of icicles. Their bedding was quite stiff, and covered with hoar frost, though their beds were almost close to the fire in their small dwellings. The water in which the cook soaked the salt meat froze within doors, though it stood but three feet from the fire. But, during the night, when the fire was not so well kept up, whilst the cook slept only for four hours, all was frozen in the tub into one lump. When af-
terwards the cook soaked the meat in a copper kettle, close to the fire, to prevent it from freezing, the side near the fire was found to be quite warm, while the opposite side was frozen an inch thick. All their axes and hatchets had been spoiled and rendered unfit for use, by cutting the frozen wood, so that Capt. James found it necessary to lock up the carpenter’s axe, in order to prevent it from being spoiled also. The green wood that they burned in their dwelling almost suffocated them with smoke; that which was dry, on the contrary, was full of turpentine, and produced so much foot, that they themselves, all their beds, clothes, and utensils, were covered with it; and, in short, they looked like chimney-sweepers. The timber, knees, beams, and bent pieces, wanted for the construction of their pinnace, caused the greatest difficulty, as the trees, before they could fell them, were obliged to be thawed by the fire. After this, the pieces were first hewn out in the rough, then dried again, and at length worked into the last form that was to be given them, and fitted into each other; for which purpose they were obliged constantly to keep up a large fire near the stocks, as otherwise it would have been impossible for them to have worked there. Many of them were disabled by the scurvy, or had frozen limbs, boils, and sores; others, were every morning so contracted in their joints by the rheumatism, that it was necessary to restore the suppleness and pliancy of their limbs by fomenting them every morning with warm water and a decoction of the fir-tree, before they were able to go a step forward, or to make use of their hands. In the month of March the cold was as severe as in the midst of winter; in April the snow fell in greater quantities than it had done during the whole winter, but the flakes were large and rather moist, while in the winter, the snow was dry, like dust; even on the 5th of April, the spring which we mentioned, that they had found, was frozen. An island which was situate at the distance of four leagues from them,
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.

them, they could never see from a small hill in fine
weather, and when the air was clear; but, on the
contrary, when the air was thick and full of vapours,
the island was visible, even from plain, level ground.

They now began once more to clear away the ice
in the ship's hold, and to seek for the rudder, which
the ice had beat off the year before; they wished like-
wise to see whether possibly the ship was not tight
enough to carry them safe home. With this view
they all worked very hard, and were fortunate enough
to clear the ice away by degrees, to get the anchors
on board, to find the rudder again, and to bring it
on deck, and likewise to find the ship tighter than
they had expected. Having cleared away some of
the ice, they found water in her hold. At low water
they stopped up the holes, which they had bored in
her themselves the preceding autumn with a view to
fill the hold, and thus to render her heavier than be-
fore, and keep her steady, so that the sea might not
lift her up from the bottom, and in letting her down
again, dash her to pieces. They found both the
pumps, thawed the water which was frozen in them,
and set about pumping the water out of the hold.
On the last day of April it began to rain, which to
them was a sign of the spring's approach. On the 2d
of May it snowed again, and was excessively cold.
This made the sick very low-spirited, and their di-
orders increased to such a degree, that they fainted
away whenever they were lifted out of bed. Geese
and cranes came now flying in great numbers, but
they were extremely shy. Even on the 8th, the frost
was so intense, that the ice would bear a man. On
the 24th the ice broke in the bay, with a very great
noise; in the day time the sun shone very hot, but at
night it froze. On the last day of May they saw
here and there some vetches spring up, which were
carefully gathered, and dried for the sick. During
the whole month of May the north winds chiefly pre-
vailed. On the four first days of June they had much
snow, fleet, and hail; and it was so cold that the pools
were covered with ice, and even the water in their
pitchers was frozen within doors, and their newly-washed
line.
linen continued frozen the whole day. They now hove up the anchor, and found the cable in good condition. On the 9th, all the sick were so far recovered by the eating of the green leaves of the vetches, that they could make shift to creep about in the house, and were even able to bear the air; and those who had been least enfeebled were grown tolerably strong. The green vetch-leaves were dressed twice a day, and eaten with oil and vinegar. They likewise bruised the leaves and mixed the juice with their drink. They also ate them raw with bread. On the 11th they hung on their rudder, which, for many days before, they had not been able to accomplish, on account of their weakness. They also lightened the ship, by heaving out her ballast. On the 15th all the sick were so far recovered, that they could walk about; their palates and gums were quite found and well, and their teeth were no longer looef, so that they could now eat their green vetches with beef. The sea was still frozen and full of ice. On the 16th the weather was very hot, and they had thunder and lightning: it was so hot indeed, that they were obliged to bathe in order to cool themselves. But now an incredible quantity of musquitoes (Clux pipiens) made their appearance, which tormented them extremely; at the same time there was seen a great number of ants and frogs: but the bears, foxes, and fowl, had totally withdrawn themselves. On the 20th they got the ship into deep water, though there was still abundance of ice lying about. They also began to rig the ship again, and to carry their provisions on board, together with their sails, clothes, and other necessaries. On the 22d of July they set sail again. At Cape Henrietta Maria they met with some flags, but their dogs could not overtake them; James, therefore, put these latter animals on shore, they being a dog and a bitch, and left them there. They got, however, half a dozen of young geese. After working with infinite labour and difficulty through great quantities of ice, till the 22d of August, he came to Carey's Swans Nest, and at length to Nottingham Island. Upon this, considering that
that the season for making discoveries was now elapsed, that he had but a small stock of provisions left, and that his ship was very crazy and leaky, he resolved to make for England with all possible speed. He was of opinion, that there was no passage to be found, and that for the following reasons: 1st, Because the tide in every part of this sea comes from the east through Hudson's Straits, and the farther it goes, the later it arrives at every place within the strait and bay. 2dly—Because these seas contain no small fish, such as cod, stockfish, &c. and few large ones, which likewise are seldom seen. Neither are there any whalebones, nor any sea-horses or other large fish found on the shore; nor is there any drift-wood here. 3dly—Because the ice in 65 deg. 30 min. N. lat. lies in large fields or flakes on the sea, because it is generated in the flat bays, but if there was a great ocean farther on, nothing but large mountains of ice would be found, such as are at the entrance of Hudson's Straits, and farther on to the eastward. 4thly and lastly, Because the ice drives eastward through the straits into the great ocean, by reason that it comes from the north, and has no other way to go out by.—Having cleared the straits, they crossed the Atlantic, and came to anchor in Bristol Road on the 22d of October, 1632.

It cannot be denied, that James's voyage contains some remarkable physical observations with regard to the intenseness of the cold, and the great quantity of ice in these climates; but relative to the discovery of new regions, countries, and seas, we do not find the smallest hint. His arguments to prove the non-existence of a passage in these seas, are by no means satisfactory. For, 1st, his first position is true only in part: in the southern recess of the bay the tide decreases in height greatly, and also arrives there far later than at the mouth of the strait; but it does not follow from thence that this is every where the case, particularly it is not so in Sir Thomas Roe's Welcome, where the tide is even higher than it is at the mouth of Hudson's Straits; and yet even there it does not come from the west.
wept. 2d. Fox found many whales near Brook Cobham Island (Marble Ifle) and also many sea unicorns; consequently this argument holds good only with respect to the other parts of the bay. The 3d and 4th arguments are, in fact, one and the same; and as there is always much water coming from the northward, which breaks the ice there in pieces, and drives it out of Hudson's Straits to the ealtward, this would rather induce one to draw an inference in favour of an influx from some other sea.

XXIX. After the enterprizes of Fox and James, there seemed to be no farther disposition in the public to give its support to similar undertakings. But in the mean time a burgher of Canada, named De Grofelié, or De Groeffiers, an enterprising man, who had travelled very much in those parts, had happened to come with the Canadian savages into the land of Outaucaus (Utawas, situate on the river of the same name) and at length penetrated so far into the country, that he got intelligence concerning Hudson's Bay, and its situation. When he was returned to Quebec, he joined with some of his countrymen in fitting out a bark for the purpose of accomplishing this discovery by sea. Soon after he set sail, and landed within the mouth of a river, which the savages call Pinugissit schiewan, i.e. the tearing stream, which is situated but one league from the river Pawiriniwagau, or Port Nelson River. He fixed his residence on the south side, on an island three leagues up the river. The Canadians, as being good sportmen, arrived at length, in the midst of winter, at Port Nelson River (which the French called Riviere de Bourbon) and there discovered a settlement of Europeans. He therefore went thither with his people, in order to attack them, but found only a miserable hut, covered with turf, and containing fix half-starved people. A ship from Boston, in New-England, had put them on shore, on purpose to look out for a place where they, together with the whole crew, might pass the winter. The ice had in the mean time driven the ship, with the rest of the crew, out to sea again, nor did they ever hear any thing farther.
farther of either. But that very same winter Groseillier received intelligence that at 7 leagues from the place of his residence, there subsisted another settlement of Englishmen on the banks of Port Nelson's River. He intended to attack these also; but learning that they lived in a fortified place, he chose a day for this undertaking on which the English are accustomed to make merry. Accordingly he went on Twelfth-Day to put his design in execution; and found them all so drunk, that though there were 80 men of them, they could not defend themselves in the least; so that he made them all prisoners, though he had no more than 14 Frenchmen with him. In consequence of this, he remained master of the country. Groseillier afterwards explored the whole district, and returned with his brother-in-law, Ratson, to Quebec, loaded with abundance of rich furs and English merchandize. He left, however, his nephew, Chouart, and five men in possession of the conquered post. Instead of being well received in Canada for his good conduct, he had a dispute with his employers on account of some plunder, for which Groseillier and his people had not accounted. He therefore sent his brother-in-law, Ratson, to France, to complain of the injustice he had suffered, who, however, was not listened to. He then went himself to France, and represented to the Ministers the importance of his discovery in the most favourable light he could; but neither he nor his representations met with the least attention. The English Ambassador at Paris, Mr. Montagué, who was afterwards created Duke of Montagué (and to whom the present British Museum formerly belonged, the English nation having bought it of his heirs) having heard of Groseillier's offers, and of the unjust treatment he had met with from the Ministers, spoke with him, and gave him and his brother-in-law letters to the Count Palatine Rupert, in London. This Prince was a great patron and encourager of all laudable and useful enterprizes, and saw perfectly well, that great advantages would result to England from such a settlement. Accordingly
ingly a King's ship was fitted out in 1668, under the command of Capt. Zacharias Gillam, and the two Frenchmen went with him. Capt. Gillam went as far as to 75 deg. N. lat. in Baffin's Bay, and then fled into Hudson's Bay, in the most southerly end of which, on the 29th of Sept. he entered Rupert's River; where he passed the winter. This Rupert's River comes out of the great lake Mistassie, and discharges itself into the south-eastern corner of Hudson's Bay. On the 9th of December they were frozen in, in the river, and went on foot over the ice to a small island overgrown with poplars and American firs. In April the cold was almost entirely gone, and the natives straggling in those regions, who are possessed of greater simplicity as well as goodness of heart than the Canadian savages, came to visit them. On the other hand, the Nodways, or Eskimaux (who probably had their name from the river Nodway, or indeed may have given their name to the river) are far more uncivilized and cruel. It was here that the English built the first stone fort, which they called Fort Charles, and to the country round it they gave the name of Rupert's Land. At length, after having completely performed his commission, Capt. Gillam returned and left the fortification garrisoned with a sufficient number of men.

But K. Charles II. even before Capt. Gillam had set out on his voyage homewards, had granted to Prince Rupert, and to divers Lords, Knights, and merchants, associated with him, a charter, dated the 2d of May, 1669; by which his Majesty fitted them the Governor and Company of Adventurers trading from England to Hudson's Bay; and in consideration of their having, at their own costs and charges, " undertaken an expedition to Hudson's Bay, in the north-west parts of America, for the discovery of a new passage into the South-sea, and for the finding of some trade for furs, minerals and other considerable commodities, and of their having already made, by such
such their undertakings, such discoveries as did encourage them to proceed farther in pursuance of the said design; by means whereof there might probably arise great advantages to the King and his kingdom, absolutely ceded and gave up to the said undertakers the whole trade and commerce of all those creeks, seas, straits, bays, rivers, lakes, and sounds, in what latitude soever they might be, which are situated within the entrance of Hudson's Straits; together with all the countries, lands, and territories upon the coasts and confines of the said seas, straits, bays, lakes, rivers, creeks, and sounds; so that they alone, and to the exclusion of all others, should have the right of trading thither; and whoever should infringe this right, and be found selling or buying within the said boundaries, should be arrested, and all his or their merchandizes should become forfeit and confiscated, so that one half thereof should belong to the King, and the other half to the Hudson's Bay Company.

Such was the beginning of a commercial company, which has subsisted without interruption ever since the year 1669, and still subsists the same, excepting that from the year 1697 to 1714, the French have been in possession of Fort Bourbon, or York Fort, on the river Nelson. They have at present only four settlements in the whole extent, vast as it is, of this bay. The first, Fort Prince of Wales, on the river Churchill, is also called Fort Churchill, on account of its being erected on the river of this name, and is the most northern of these factories. It is in 58 deg. 55 min. N. lat. and 95 deg. 18 min. west of Greenwich. The second is York Fort, on the River Nelson, where the French formerly had their Fort Bourbon. The third is farther from thence to the south-east, and bears the name of New Severn. The last and most southern one is situated entirely within James's Bay, and is called Albany Fort, on the river Albany. Formerly there were also some factories at Moose Fort,
at Fort Rupert, and on the east side of James's Bay in Slude River; but it seems that at present they are no longer either occupied or visited by the Hudson's Bay Company. The entire fund which constitutes the original funds of this Company, amounts to 12,500l. sterling; every holder of 100l. stock has the right of voting, and every one who is possessed of more than 100l. of the said original stock, has as many votes as he has shares or hundreds of pounds. But if a share be divided among several persons, they are intitled all together to no more than one vote. By degrees this society has raised the price of their wares, and lowered that of the commodities of the natives of America and of the Eskimaux to such a degree, that the commodities exported from England to Hudson's Bay, will only freight four small ships, which scarcely require 130 sailors to man them, and amount to about 4000l. reckoning them at prime cost. These exports consist of muskets, pistols, powder, shot, bras and iron kettles, axes, hatchets, knives, cloth, blankets, baize, flannels, steels and flints, gun-worms, hats, looking-glasses, fish-hooks, rings, bells, needles, thimbles, glass beads, vermillion, thread, brandy, &c. &c. With these commodities they buy skins, furs, castor, beaver furs, whalebone, train-oil, and eider down, to the amount of more than 120,000l. sterling. Now this would be at the rate of 25,500l. for every 1000l. disbursed by them, or 2525l. per cent. But from this we must deduct the duties, the expense of fitting out the ships, the pay of the officers and soldiers, the maintenance of the fortifications and factories, and of the people belonging to them; and yet, even then, there remains to them a very great profit. The general opinion is that the proprietors of this stock, who are at present not 90 in number, gain about 2000 per cent. As for certainty with respect to this matter, there is none; for the Company transacts all its affairs with the greatest secrecy. Thus much, however, is certain, that no trade in the world is so profitable as this of Hudson's Bay.

But,
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH. 381

But, on the other hand, it is equally certain, that as the English nation in no branch of commerce is a greater loser than in this, nothing but the fanci

of a charter granted by Government, can protect this commercial Company, so very detrimental to its mother country. If the trade was made entirely free and open, more than 50 or 60 ships would go every year to Hudson's Bay, and, instead of 130 sailors, 2500 would be annually maintained and brought up for the service of the state. These 60 ships would also yearly export to the value of 100,000l. or 120,000l. of wares and English manufactures, which would greatly encrease the manufacturing busi

ness, and would provide for a considerable number of poor, and give them employment and main-

tenance. Add to this, that these North-American provinces might also be better peopled and planted with English colonies. For, were they but removed to the distance of some miles inland, and from the sea, which is covered with vast quantities of ice, and by this means rendered intenfely cold, they would find weather far milder, and a more temperate climate; where they might cultivate themselves, in great abundance, all those necessaries of life which it is at present impossible to raise on the shores of Hudson's Bay. This would enable them to establish by degrees, still farther and farther inland, settlements and habitations of Europeans. Now the farther they went to meet the Indians, and to carry their merchan-

dize to them, the more considerable would be the stock of beaver and deer-skins, and other furs and peltry, that they might get from these people, and afterwards carry in large European boats to the factories by the sea-side. A good huntman among the Indians can kill 600 beavers; but he can carry no more than 100 beaver-skins to the factories on the sea in his small boat, made of the bark of birch: the remaining 500 he makes use of for his bed and bed-cloaths, or hangs them up on trees as tokens of remembrance, when any of his children happen to die;
die; or else he shaves the hair off, and, broiling the
skin, eats it as a dainty at their feasts; or perhaps
throws them away, and leaves them to moulder and
rot. It is still worse with respect to the deer-skins,
of which the Indians, comparatively speaking, carry
but very few to the factories by the sea-side; for in
the year 1740, at their first public sale, the Company
sold about 26,970 beaver skins of different kinds, and
only 250 deer-skins, and 30 elk-skins, when they
kept back three-fifths of their merchandise for the
next auction. Now the Indians have a notion, that
the more deer they kill, the more the number of them
will increase; for which reason, when they come into
a country where the animals are very numerous, they
wantonly kill as many as ever they can, though in
fact they make no use either of the skins or of the
flesh, on account of the great plenty there is of them;
the consequence of which is that they are all left to
rot on the spot. But if they had a place, not too far
distant to resort to, inhabited by Europeans, to whom
they could sell their skins and harts-horns, they would
undoubtedly rather preserve them than destroy them
to wantonly and without occasion. Consequently,
by making more new settlements of Europeans in
the country, the quantity of merchandise would be
augmented five or six, or perhaps ten-fold. Besides
the mutual concurrence of a variety of chapmen
would allure the Indians to make greater efforts to
procure a larger quantity of goods, and consequently
enlarge and extend the trade very much. To this
we may add, that in the northern parts of Hudson's
Bay there are a great many whales, sea-horses, and
teals, the killing of which would be very profitable,
and might serve to freight part of the ships in the
bay. Higher up in the country likewise there is ex-
cellent timber fit for masts and yards for the royal
navy, as also very fine oaks, which would make
keels, knees, bent timbers, and planks, as also pipe
shares in abundance, an article which at present begins
gins to be scarce almost every where, and is sold at such extravagant rates, that it is almost impossible to go to the price of it. Now, if there were plantations of any tolerable extent in those parts, the felling and sorting of such ship and other timber would cause the money to remain in the kingdom, which is now carried out of it; and the royal dockyards would be supplied with stores of good ship-timber and masts at a much cheaper rate than they are at present. But however detrimental the trade of the Hudson's Bay Company is to the British state, it is nevertheless still carried on; and though the Company is now and then threatened with an enquiry, by a Member of Parliament or two, yet the Proprietors always take care to adduce such solid and weighty arguments against it, that matters are suffered to remain in the old position, and they are left undisturbed in the possession of their lucrative commerce.

XXX. The miscarriage of the attempts made in Hudson's Bay, and the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company, were now powerful obstacles to the undertaking of new discoveries in those parts. John Wood, however, an experienced seaman, who had paid particular attention to the voyages that had been made to the North, proposed once more to seek for a shorter way to Japan, China, and the East-Indies, between Nova Zembla and Spitzbergen. The King gave the ship Speedwell for this expedition, and the Duke of York, Lord Berkley, Sir Joseph Williamson, Sir John Banks, Mr. Samuel Peep, Capt. Herbert, Mr. Dupey, and Mr. Hooggood, bought a ship called the Prosperous, and gave the command of it to Capt. William Flawes, that both might set out together on this voyage of discovery. On the 28th of May, A. D. 1676, they set sail from the Buoy at the Nore. On the 17th and 18th of June they found themselves in 70 deg. 30 min. N. lat. had 7 deg. variation, and saw a great number of whales.
On the 19th, in the morning, after foggy weather and rain, they saw abundance of sea-birds and finfish (*Balana Physalus*). Soon after they descried land, viz. the islands at about 20 leagues to the west of the North Cape. From hence they steered nearly north-eastward, and so early as on the 22d of June, in 75 deg. 59 min. saw ice, which extended from W., N. W. to E., S. E. The pieces that were broken off from the ice formed various whimsical figures. The large ice-field, though low, was yet very uneven and rough; the flakes lying some by the side of, and others upon each other. In some places they observed high hills of a quite a blue ice, whilst all the rest of the ice was as white as snow. Here and there also they found drift-wood between the ice. Some ice which they took up and melted yielded fresh water. Near the ice they had ground with 158 fathoms, and the lead brought up with it a green and soft ore. The current set along-side of the ice S., S. E. At midnight they had ground, with 70 fathoms and green ore; the next evening they saw land from the east to the south-east. It was at the distance of 15 leagues, and quite covered with snow. On the 27th they found that the ice lay close to the land of *Nova Zembla*, so that they could not pass between the land and the ice. On the 29th the ship struck on some rocks that lay hidden under the water. They saved only a few provisions and tools, and with great difficulty got the crew on shore, after losing a great quantity of provisions, together with the Captain's papers and other things, by the overfetting of one of the boats. Being ashore, they were at a great loss how to get away from thence. On the 8th of July they espied at length Capt. Flavus's ship, and made a great fire, in order to let him know where they were, upon which he sent his boat to their relief, and took them all on board his ship. Almost the whole of *Nova Zembla* was now surrounded by a thick and low flat ice, and every thing free from disturbance, probably from the ice found to have been a foot and a half thick, but not sufficient to bear larks. In the ice they saw first some sea-horses lying on the ice; but these animals, though they were wounded, made their escape from them into the sea. At midnight they had ground, with 70 fathoms and green ore; the next evening they saw land from the east to the south-east. It was at the distance of 15 leagues, and quite covered with snow. On the 27th they found that the ice lay close to the land of *Nova Zembla*, so that they could not pass between the land and the ice. On the 29th the ship struck on some rocks that lay hidden under the water. They saved only a few provisions and tools, and with great difficulty got the crew on shore, after losing a great quantity of provisions, together with the Captain's papers and other things, by the overfetting of one of the boats. 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Nova Zembla was covered with snow, and where there was no snow the land was marshy, as it were, and overgrown with a kind of moss, bearing a blue and yellow flower. Having dug two feet deep, they found every thing frozen like ice. The lower hills are free from snow, but the higher mountains are in all probability covered with an eternal snow. They found in the country reindeers in abundance, also some arctic foxes, and a small animal, like a rabbit, but not quite so large as a rat, and some birds like larks. Every quarter of a mile almost, there is a stream, which however proceeds only from the melted snow. The mountains they found consisted of slate, but nearer to the sea they met with good black marble with white veins. The variation of the needle, Wood found to be 13 deg. to the westward. The tide rises eight feet, and flows directly against the shore, but not along it, which he considers as a proof that there can be no passage to the northward; but as the tide in these seas must necessarily come from the west and south-west, it stands to reason, that at such a distance from the influence of the moon, it must be very weak, and consequently cannot rise to a great height; and then as the tide comes from the south-west, it cannot flow otherwise than in a direct line against the shore of a headland that stands out to the north-westward. The sea-water he found very salt and very heavy, nay, saltier in his opinion, than any he had ever tasted in his life; though at the same time it was so clear and limpid, that at the depth of 80 fathoms he could plainly see the bottom of the sea, and even distinguish the different muscles there. The point off which Wood lost his ship he named Point Speedwell, after his ship, and supposed it to be in 74 deg. 30 min. N. lat. and 63 deg. E. long. from London. But as, according to his chart, this point must be the same with that which in the Dutch and the new Russian charts is called Troost Hook, or Point Comfort, it would rather seem, that the latitude of the place should be 77 deg. 40 min. and the longitude 85 deg. eastward from Ferro; whilst, according to his computation, it was only 80 deg. 34 min. from Ferro. Though
Though Wood's journal contains hardly any thing but the ship's reckoning, yet he does not appear to have been sufficiently exact in his computations and observations.—Having now saved all the remainder of the crew, they sailed straight back to England. In their way homewards they saw the Faro Islands, and next came within sight of the Orkneys and Caithness, in Scotland, and at length arrived, on the 23d of August, at the Buoy at the Nore, from whence they had set out.

XXXI. The royal charter having been granted to the Hudson's Bay Company, partly on the account that they had undertaken, at their own expense, a voyage of discovery for the purpose of finding a passage into the South-Sea, and had made so great a progress, as to be in hopes of discovering it, it should seem that these motives alleged by the King for granting the Company such extensive privileges and advantages, would have excited them to pursue this discovery still farther with uncommon ardor; but in fact these very advantages which had been granted to them, produced the direct contrary effect. The great profits they actually derived from this trade made them fear, lest Government, in case of the passage being found out, might recall their charter, and grant it to the East-India Company, or perhaps even open a free trade to those parts. On this account they endeavoured to conceal as much as possible the true situation and nature of the coasts of this country, of the seaf, of the neighbouring nations, and, above all, of the profitable trade carried on to these parts. As the property of all the lands bordering on Hudson's Bay is vested in this Company, and as the savages actually repair thither, for the sake of trade, from very remote parts to the south-west and west of the Bay, it may truly be said, that about 80 people in England are the proprietors of a country far more extensive than England, Scotland, and Ireland, taken together. The members of this Company are accused of having even endeavoured to bribe those who had any knowledge of these seaf
feas and coasts, and who were apprized of the probability of a passage into the South-Sea. However, that they might not be said to do nothing, they sent the Captains Knight and Barlow out, with a ship and a floop, for the purpose of making discoveries. According to Ellis's account, this happened in 1719. On the contrary, Drage, the clerk of the California, afferts that it was in 1720; but nothing more is known concerning them, than that they went out, as nothing farther has ever been heard with respect to either of the two ships.

XXXII. As neither of these ships ever returned, they were supposed to have been damaged, or perhaps even destroyed among the ice, and their respective crews, it was conjectured, had been saved, and might possibly be still subsisting in some part of the land within the 63d deg. N. lat. This report being apparently founded on the vague relations of the Eskimaux, there was no dependence to be placed on it. However, as soon as the Hudson's Bay Company received this information, they immediately gave orders for another floop to be sent out to make search after the people that had gone with the two ships of Knight and Barlow, and at the same time to make what discoveries and observations they could. Accordingly the floop set sail from Churchill river on the 20th of June, 1722, under the command of Capt. Scroggs. In lat. 62 deg. he purchased from the inhabitants some raw whalebone, and some sea-horses teeth. In 62 deg. 48 min. he sent his boat out after a piece of drift-wood, and found it to be a foremast, which had been broken off 5 feet above deck. Scroggs proceeded till he came into the Welcome, where he named one point Whalebone Point, and the southermost island was called Cape Fullerton. Here he saw a great many black whales, and also some white ones. Having sent his boat on shore, the people that went in her saw many reindeer, geese, ducks, and other wild-fowl. He computed that the tide rose 5 fathoms, for he had measured it with the lead and line from on board his ship while it lay at anchor, when he found 12 fathoms ground at high water; but at low
388 VOYAGES AND

water only 7, which would make a difference of 5 fathoms. This observation, however, was defective; for as a ship that lies at anchor always changes her place with the tide, Scroggs must necessarily have presupposed, that the bottom of the sea, where the ship lay at anchor, was every where at an equal distance below the surface; a very false supposition, the experiment on which it was founded being made, not by a settled standard ashore, but by a line from the ship. Two northern Indians, whom Scroggs had with him, and who had passed the winter at Churchill, told him of a rich mine of native copper, which was to be found on the coast, quite laid open, so that, in fact, they needed only to go thither with a boat, and might immediately take in a lading of it; they had even, as a proof of their assertion, brought some pieces of copper with them to Churchill. They had also at Churchill drawn on parchment with charcoal, the situation of the coast from thence to the spot; and as far as the ship was then come, the sketch perfectly corresponded with the real situation of the country. One of these Indians had testified a desire of being distinguished, as he was only about three or four days journey from the usual place of his abode, a request which Scroggs, however, refused him. Scroggs mentions in his journal, that he had been in the Welcome, but could go no farther, on account of a ridge of rocks that lay in his way. But it appears evidently, that he never had been in the Welcome, but only in a bay, which is, in fact, known by three different names, being called Pijlot's Bay, Rankin's Inlet, and also James Douglas's Bay. That well-known island called Marble Island, and which likewise was before known by the name of Brook Cobham, lies at the mouth of this bay, and consequently it cannot be mistaken. The ridge of rocks was the occasion of Scroggs not proceeding any farther. The Indians, who very much wished to return home, had purposely made up a story concerning some hindrance or obstacle, only to induce him to tack about, and let them believe that fome persons were there, who would come to the Hut to furnish him with rings ready at his home. The voyage being ascertained, he persuaded people that he could not go any further, and immediately after that he left, took the fact with perfect acquiescence. This island they had never been to before, and would not go to it for the purpose of being driven home, but because they had a desire of obtaining some article which was very much needed by the family, the absence of which had occasioned much anxiety and trouble among themselves. The story was true, and the inhabitants were consequently induced to return. It was the right way, however, for a man to tell the truth, and to avoid all delusion by the false accounts of the people to whom he is to give his help making an unsuccessful application for the benefit of the confuzzed. These islands and the confuzzion between them have given to the Bering Straits, which have their name hereafter, a series of different names, the place being called Pijlot's Bay, James Douglas's Bay, and finally, Marble Island.
let them go. Many of his crew, too, were desirous of returning that same season to London. They were therefore anxious lest the ships belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company should not only be already arrived at Churchill, but even might be gone home. Now the boat which Scroggs had sent out, being advanced something farther into the bay, the people who wished to set sail for England, returned immediately, saying, that they had been as far as the ridge of rocks mentioned by the savages, and could not go a step farther. Now this was sufficient to persuade Scroggs to return home, and to give out, that he had himself been to the ridge of rocks, though the fact was quite otherwise.

This voyage which, like all the rest, miscarried, had many original defects. Scroggs was by no means fit for conducting an expedition of this kind, being destitute as well of the previous knowledge, as also of that active and enterprising spirit, necessary on these occasions. Neither were the people employed in the voyage inclined to pursue these researches with constancy and ardor, their voyage home to England being their chief object, an object which made them lose sight of every other; and finally, they did not go the right way to profit by the information given them by the savages, or to make it worth while for these people to go farther with them. And here I cannot help making some observations on the multiplicity of appellations given to one and the same place, and on the confusion it causes in geography. But this confusion becomes still greater, when the same name is given to two different places or countries. In Wager Straits, which we shall have occasion to mention hereafter, is a haven named Douglas's Harbour; and the place sometimes called Rankin's Inlet, is by others called Pistol Bay, and also Mr. James Douglas's Bay. Now it must certainly be allowed that the man who first introduces such appellations, as tend
to create confusion, is not very solicitous about the perspicuity and exactness of geographical description; and we are sorry to find that, in consequence of assuming, besides the Cook's Strait between the two islands of which New Zealand is composed, another Cook's Strait in the North, between Asia and America, the greatest geographer of the age should come under this description.

XXXIII. The accounts given by Button and Fox, together with the report of the last navigator, Capt. Scraggs, excited in the year 1733, the attention of Mr. Arthur Dobbs to all these circumstances, and particularly to the high tide in the Welcome. He also received some information respecting these points from Capt. Christopher Middleton, who had navigated those seas many years in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. Accordingly he applied to the Company, and by dint of importunity obtained, in the year 1737, a sloop, together with a shallop, which, however, went only to 62 deg. 30 min. N. lat. where they found a great number of islands, and some white whales; and in a cove where they anchored, the tide flowed 10 or 12 feet, and came from the north. The above imperfect account is all that is known at present of this voyage of discovery.

XXXIV. Mr. Dobbs finding that this voyage, made by order of the Hudson's Bay Company, had been performed in a very slow, tedious manner, with very little ardor, and indeed with a wilful negligence, applied to Government, which ordered a bombketch or sloop, called the Furnace, to be fitted out, the conduct of which was entrusted to Capt. Christopher Middleton, who till then had been in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. To this was added the Pink Discovery, commanded by Capt. William Moor. Both ships went out in 1741, and came to Churchill River, where they spent the winter; and having got everything ready, set sail again on the 1st of July, 1742. Middleton, according to the instructions given him, was to steer to the N. W. after having gone through Hudson's Straits, and passed by Carey's Swans Nest, and
and to pursue the fame course till he should fall in with the north-west land, at Sir Thomas Roe's Welcome, in 65 degrees N. lat. On the 4th he saw Brook Cobham, or Marble Island, covered with snow, in 63 deg. N. lat. and in 93 deg. 40 min. W. long. from London. The variation of the compass he found to be 21 deg. 10 min. westward. On the 13th he saw a very high cape or headland on the north-west side of the Welcome, in 65 deg. 12 min. N. lat. and 86 deg. 6 min. W. long, which he named Cape Dobbs, and behind it he discovered an opening bearing N. W. which he entered. This he named Wager River, after Sir Charles Wager. The northern promontory upon this river was afterwards named Cape Smith. The entrance into Wager River is in 65 deg. 24. min. N. lat. and 88 deg. 37 min. W. long, from London. Within this vast body of water they found great quantities of ice, and behind some islands on the north side of it was an inlet which they called Savage Sound, in consequence of having seen some Eskimaux Indians there; on the same north side also there was another inlet, where the Eskimaux, which were come along with them from Churchill, shot some reindeer, and thence it was named Deer Sound. (These Eskimaux having never been here before, had not the least knowledge of the country.) Having spent some weeks in this strait, they went at length farther to the north-eastward along the coast, on which they at last discovered a very fair headland, and behind this headland the coast trended to the westward; this they took for the most northern point of America, and named it Cape Hope. Having worked during the whole night through a great quantity of ice, in the morning after the sun had dispersed the fog, they saw land all around them, and also a large bay, which they entered, and went to the very end of it. The tide came from the east, and flowed slowly, as it does in a place where it has no passage. The variation of the compass was 50 deg. Nothing being to be expected here, he called it Repulse Bay, and ascended a very high mountain, from whence he
saw the whole strait, which was about 18 or 20 leagues in length, lying in the direction of S. E. by S. At a distance he saw high land, which he took to be Cape Comfort, on the land now made out to be an island, on which Carey's Swans Nest is, and opposite to which, in an oblique direction, is Lord Weston's Portland, discovered by Fox. Middleton having visited all these parts, bore away to the southward again, in order to explore, agreeably to his instructions, the western coast of the Welcome from Cape Dobbs to the island of Brook Cobham, but found no opening there. Near this island he sent the two Esquimaux he had with him afloat, after making them handsome presents, and immediately afterwards set sail for England. The strait from Repulse Bay eastward, towards Cape Comfort, lies nearly in 67 deg. N. lat. and had no anchoring ground close to the shore, but was very deep, and consequently very dangerous for the ships, which were without a harbour or any place of security, in case of a storm. Concerning this voyage, there arose a very warm dispute between Mr. Dobbs and Capt. Middleton. The first was of opinion, that the latter had wilfully concealed or at least misrepresented some discoveries, in order to curry favour with the Hudson's Bay Company, who had always been displeased whenever any voyages of discovery, or expeditions for finding out a passage into the South Sea, had been undertaken in Hudson's Bay, which had been ceded to them by Government.

XXXV. This dispute was carried on with much acrimony on both sides. The arguments adduced by Mr. Dobbs, which were founded on facts, mentioned by Middleton himself, were examined, and it was the general opinion, that Mr. Dobbs was in the right. The sum of 10,000l. sterling was raised in shares of 100l. each, for the purpose of undertaking a new voyage of discovery, and at length two ships were sent out, viz. the Dobbs galley, commanded by Mr. William Moor, and the California, under the command of Mr. Fra. Smith, which set sail together from Gravesend on the 20th of May, 1746. Being arrived at no great
great distance from Cape Farewell, they passed for some time through a great quantity of drift-wood, which Mr. Henry Ellis describes as being pretty large timber. He is of opinion, that as Egede had seen in Greenland, in 67 deg. N. lat. birch-trees, elms, and other kinds of wood, about 18 feet high, and as thick as a man's leg, this drift-wood must probably have come from thence; and that as the western coasts, as well of Norway as of Greenland, are colder than the eastern, so the timber growing on the eastern might surpass in size that growing on the western coasts. But the quantity of wood growing in Greenland, and even in the still warmer country of Iceland, is so small, that if for ten years together only as much of it should be converted into drift-wood, as is actually seen floating about, not a flick of it would have been left in the end. Besides, the wood never grows so near the sea as that it could be easily washed into it. Finally, an enormous quantity of drift-wood is found in the sea between Kamtschatka and America, and along the northern coast of Siberia. Near Bear's Island, off Spitzbergen, as also off Iceland, we find drift-wood in abundance, as well as on all the islands extending from Kamtschatka to America. Is this, too, to be deduced from the few trees which grow in Greenland, far from the sea, in a valley, sheltered from the cold winds? This, it must be owned, is far from probable; but the great rivers in Siberia, which pass through regions quite overgrown with wood, to the distance of many miles, and into which other large streams discharged themselves, which streams also come out of woody countries; the Petchora, for instance, the Ob, the Jenisea, the Lena, the Chatanga, the Anabar-a, the Jen, the Kolyma, the Indigirka, the Anadyr, and the Amur, are all large and considerable rivers, which, at the thawing of the ice in the spring, carry from their overflowed or undermined banks an inconceivable quantity of trees along with them into the
the sea. What vast quantities of wood the rivers of the American continent, in King George's Sound, Sandwich Sound, and Turnagain River, in the Cheuwenen, which empties itself into Norton's Sound, and in Gygy, carry along with them into the sea, we shall not find it difficult to conceive, if we do but consider the size of the rivers, the closeness of the trees in the forests, and the great floods which constantly take place in the spring. The river St. Lawrence, and many other North American rivers, carry vast quantities of wood along with them into the sea, as well as those in Newfoundland and Labrador, as I have been assured by people who had been upon the spot, and even spent the winter there, and consequently had seen the breaking up of the ice, and the thawing of the rivers. To this must be added, that the rivers in Hudson's Bay, but chiefly the Churchill, Hayes, Port Nelson, Albany, and Moose Rivers, together with many others in like manner carry wood into the sea from the innermost parts of the country, where also grows timber of a considerable size. From all these considerations taken together, we are likely to form a better conjecture from whence all the drift-wood found in the northern seas, proceeds, than by having recourse to the trifling and scanty woods of Greenland.

On occasion of the first large ice which they found in the neighbourhood of Hudson's Straits, Mr. Ellis supposes the fact to be, as Middleton says, viz. that it proceeds from a quantity of ice and snow accumulated for many years back, which is detached every six or seven years only, and carried into the sea by a great inundation; at the same time, however, he endeavours to combine this with the opinion of Egede, who expressly afferts, that it is nothing but large pieces broken off from the ice formed on shore. There may, however, be still other causes besides the foregoing; e.g. In the beginning of winter the ice on the whole sea in Baffin's Bay, Davis's Straits,
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.

Strait, and Hudson's Bay, let in still calm weather some inches thick; now, when by storms and high tides, this ice is broken into flakes, these flakes are driven over each other, and freeze together, so as to form thicker masses than before, and at length accumulate, so as to make entire mountains of ice. I have myself, in the Polar Seas, seen mountains of ice, composed of regular layers lying over each other, and each of them nearly of an equal thickness. But some of these masses would have one layer of ice quite transparent, and over it another quite opaque, which occasioned me to conclude, that the ice before its being broken into flakes by the wind or tide, must have been quite covered over with snow, and that the sea washing over the snow, had converted it into a thick opaque ice, till the winds drove the flakes over each other, and thus formed a mass, composed of alternate layers of transparent and opaque ice. It is, however, also possible for a mass of snow to be blown, by storms, over a high promontory, on to the frozen sea lying beneath it, and there compose a very high mountain of snow, which in the spring, being moistened by the rains, by rivulets formed of melted snow, and by the sea itself, freezes in this state to a solid and compact body. Now this huge mass is a mountain of ice, which the storms and high tides detach from the shore, and drive to and fro in the sea; and who can take upon him to enumerate all the different modes in which ice is generated? But to return, the adventurers made fast to a large piece of ice, and filled their empty casks with fresh water from the ponds they found on the ice. On the 18th of July they had a violent storm, with thunder and lightning, which all those, who were used to navigate to those parts, looked upon to be something exceedingly rare and extraordinary. Ellis is of opinion, that the northern lights kindle and disperse the vapours, requisite to the formation of thunder and lightning. But though this may be one reason for the deficiency here spoken of, it should also be considered, that where the earth is covered with snow for so long...
long a time, as it is in this case, no such electric vapours can ascend from it. But if these electric vapours come, in great abundance, as they do for instance from the volcanoes in Iceland and East Greenland, they will then likewise cause thunderstorms.

The breaking asunder of their flake of ice obliged them to make fast to another, till they got more room, and by good fortune were able to proceed in their voyages.

On the 11th of August they discovered land to the west of the *Welcome*, and came to *Marble Island*. Here they made observations on the time, direction, velocity, and height of the tide; and found that the tide came from the north-east, and consequently followed the course of the coast; and farther, that at the full and new moon they had high-water at four o'clock; and that the tide rose to the height of 10 feet. They then went immediately to their winter quarters at *Port Nelson*, where they met with but little assistance from the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company. On the 1st of July, 1747, they again set out in order to make fresh discoveries, for which purpose they had made their long-boat particularly convenient, by raising, lengthening, and adding a deck to it; this being done, they named it the *Resolution*. Not far from *Knight's Island* the needles of their compasses lost their magnetic quality; after many trials they found it necessary to keep the compasses warm, when their magnetic power began again to shew itself. They saw several *Esquimaux*, one of whom, an old man shewed their little ship, which had struck once already, the best way; which is certainly a proof of the good disposition of these people, when they are treated humanely and with kindness. Their boats, which they sent out, discovered a very large and broad inlet, but which has never been explored quite to the end; by some it was named *Cawden's Inlet*, after the second pilot, mate of the *California*; but others named it *Cochterfield's Inlet*. In *Wager Water* they failed in boats quite to the end of it, where it terminates in rivers and
and in a fresh-water lake, so that there is certainly no passage to be expected in that water. The Eskimaux told them fresh buffaloes flesh (probably flesh of the musk ox of these parts, a kind of bastard ox, not mentioned by Linnaeus) and also furnished them with dried deers flesh and dried salmons. In this water they saw seals and black whales in abundance. Having made some more fruitless attempts, they failed again for England, and besides Chesterfield's Inlet, and another inlet that is situated beyond Knight's Island, there is no farther hopes for a passage in these places, so carefully explored by them.

XXXVI. After this last voyage of discovery, all farther attempts to find a passage in the north were suspended for a long time. The arguments adduced by that great navigator and commander, Admiral Anson, had rendered the English nation attentive to the settling of Falkland's Islands in the Pacific Ocean. Accordingly the late Admiral, at that time Commodore Byron, was sent in 1764, to Falkland's Islands, and returned in 1766. Directly upon this, the Captains Wallis and Carteret set out on another voyage round the world in 1766, and returned in 1768. In this same year 1768, Lieutenant Cook was sent out with a single ship, accompanied by Mr. (now Sir Joseph) Banks and Dr. Solander, to observe at O-Tabeite the Transit of Venus through the sun; and having fulfilled his commission, went out on discoveries; and besides discovering many islands in the neighbourhood of O-Tabeite, found also, that New Zealand consisted of two islands, which are separated from each other by the genuine Cook's Straits. After this he discovered on New Holland a coast of more than 600 leagues in extent, and, after failing through the Endeavour Straits to the Molucca Islands, and Batavia, at length, in 1771, arrived safe again in England.—Now the grand question still remained to be decided, whether there are any large tracts of land situated in the southern hemisphere?
Cook was sent out also on this important and extremely difficult undertaking, in which my son and I accompanied him. He set out in 1772, and was the first who failed eastward round the globe, all the other twenty circumnavigators having made the voyage westward. From this expedition he returned in 1775, crowned with honour and immortal fame. But whilst we were navigating round the South Pole, seas choked up with ice, his Britannic Majesty was graciously pleased to gratify the wishes of the Royal Society, by sending two ships out in 1775 for the purpose of exploring the Frozen Sea near Spitzbergen. The one was called the Race-horse, commanded by Capt. Constantine John Phillip, now Lord Mulgrave; the second was the Carcass, under the command of Captain Skeffington Lutwidge. They set sail on the 4th of June from the Nore. On the 19th they were in 66 deg. 54 min. N. lat. and in 0 deg. 58 min. west longitude from Greenwich. The variation of the needle was 19 deg. 11 min. W. The next day there being a calm almost the whole day throughout, they found with a very heavy lead the depth of 780 fathoms, without getting ground. At this depth Fahrenheit's thermometer was at 26 deg. and in open air at 48 deg. On the 28th, about midnight, they saw land to the east. On the 29th they were in N. lat. 77 deg. 59 min. pretty near Black Point, on Prince Charles's Island, which the Dutch call Zuydhoek van het Voorland. One of the mountains on Spitzbergen, in 78 deg. 22 min. they found to be 1503 yards, or 4509 feet high. On a low island opposite the Wygatts, or Hinlopen Straits, they saw two reindeer, the one of which they killed, and found it very fat. They also saw there a light grey-coloured fox, and an animal somewhat larger than a weasel, with short ears, long tail, and its skin spotted white and black. The island abounded with small snipes; the ducks were now hatching their eggs, and a great number of wild-geese were feeding along the shore. The middle
middle of the island was covered with mofs, scurvy-grass, and sorrel, and a few ranunculusse then in flower. Soon after they were beset by the ice; at length, however, they disengaged themselves from it, after having been to the south-west of the seven islands. They tried also how far they could go to the westward; but the ice lay there very close, and as immovable as a wall. During a hard gale, they tried the temperature of the sea in that state of agitation, and found it considerably warmer than that of the air; an observation which had been made already by Plutarch. Finding now, that on account of the ice it would be impossible to proceed any farther, they resolved to sail homeward.

XXXVII. Capt. Cook being returned, in 1775, from his southern voyage, without having made the discovery of any large continent, it still seemed necessary to learn the situation of the lands in the sea between Asia and America, and for this expedition Cook again was chosen. The Resolution, on board of which he had before made the voyage round the Southern Pole, was given him again, together with the Discovery, the command of which was given to Capt. Charles Clerke, who had already, once with Byron and twice with Cook, made the voyage round the world. Both ships left the Thames in the year 1776; but Cook set out on his voyage to the Cape on the 12th of July. Clerke, a man of a noble disinterested spirit, had been security for the debts of his brother Sir John Clerke, at the time that he went on board a King's ship to the Indies. He having died in India, his creditors would have come upon Capt. Charles Clerke for payment. Some people of rank, who wished him well, advised him to go into the King's-Bench, as the sum that Sir John owed was pretty considerable, and much more than his brother Charles was able to pay. An act of grace which came out soon after, let many thousands of prisoners at liberty, and, amongst others, Captain Clerke regained his freedom towards the end of July, and set sail in the Discovery from Plymouth on the 1st of
of August. They arrived in Table Bay on the 10th of November, where the Resolution had been already three weeks before them. Cook now explored the islands discovered by Marion and Kerguelen, went to Van Diemen's Land, from thence to New Zealand, and losing the advantage of the wind, was obliged, instead of going strait to O-Tabeite, to sail first to the Friendly Islands, and in going along, discovered a few more islands not seen before. From thence he went to O-Tabeite, and the neighbouring Society Islands, and having left Omai there, went into the South Sea, in order to explore the northern hemisphere. Here he descried, not far from the Equator, an uninhabited low island, abounding with turtles, which he thence named Turtle Island. After this he went to the Tropic of Cancer, in the vicinity of which he discovered a group of islands, where the inhabitants received him with great kindness, and where he procured very good refreshments for his crew. On the 7th of March, 1778, in 43 deg. 10 min. N., 120 and 235 deg. 50 min. E. long. from Greenwich, they discovered Cape Blanco, on the coast of North-America. On the 30th, with a view to repair their ships, they went into a harbour which they named King George's Sound, but which is now generally called Nootka Sound, and which is in 49 deg. 38 min. N. lat. and 233 deg. 12 min. E. long. from Greenwich. Capt. Cook, having taken in water and refreshments, and got new masts for his ship, set sail again. On the 12th of May both ships ran into an inlet, which they named Sandwich Sound, now called Prince William's Sound; it was situated in about 60 deg. N. lat. and 120 deg. W. long. from Greenwich. Farther to the westward he found another found, and a considerable river that emptied itself into it, which he named Turnagain River. As the coast began to trend to the south-west, and they met with many rocky islands along the coast, they were obliged to take every precaution possible to avoid being shipwrecked. Once, in a very thick fog, the Resolution was alarmed with a great noise; they threw out the lead, and immediately after anchored,
as did the *Discovery* likewise; and a few hours after, the fog clearing up, they found themselves in a deep harbour quite surrounded with rocks, between which they had passed in the dark: this they named Providence Bay; and found that it was in the island of Oonanalaska, an island discovered by the Russians, and situated in 54 deg. 18 min. N. lat. After a short stay, Cook pursued his course along the coast of America, and gave names to many points of land and bays, though for a great part of this track he was not able to get near the coast, on account of the shallowness of the sea. The halibuts (*Pleuroneutes Hippoglossus*) and cod (*Gadus morrhua*) which they caught in such quantities, that they not only were enabled to provide an agreeable fresh food for the whole crew, but could also salt down several thousand pounds, served considerably to increase their stock of provisions, which began to diminish very fast, and visibly to decay. At length Capt. Cook arrived on the coast of Asia in 66 deg. 28 min. N. lat. and 188 deg. 3 min. E. long. from Greenwich, and then stood along this coast into the straits not far from thence, which separate Asia from America. These straits on the Asiatic side are inhabited by the Tschuktschi, who very frequently go over to the American coast, though they are likewise often at war with the inhabitants of those parts. As probably the North-Americans, when they peopled this part of the world, crossed the straits before the Tschuktschi did, these straits ought to be called after them; but as we are ignorant of the name of the tribe which crossed them first, and as besides the Tschuktschi are a savage and barbarous nation, these straits should perhaps be named after Semen Dejebew, a Cossack Chief (or Kasatschia Goulowa) who in 1648 first went out of the Kolyma with two Siberian Kebschi (a kind of ship) to the Anadyr and the Olutora, and consequently was the first who failed through these straits: or perhaps after the Geodachi Gustowew, who, in 1730, failed between 65 and 66 deg. from the coast of the Tschucktschi to a foreign coast opposite to it. Nevertheless it would be still more proper to make this strait a kind of monument.
monument to the very deferving and truly great navigator Veit Bering, by naming it; after him Bering's Straits. And here again, in spite of the enmity with which I am falsely charged against my friend, the immortal Cook, I cannot refrain from putting in my caveat against the naming of this strait after him. His name will never be forgotten even though there were not already a strait called after him in the south. He knew perfectly well what was most suitable for himself. The straits he discovered in New Zealand he named after himself, Cook's Straits, as being the fruits of his own researches and perseverance. He was never used to reap where he had not sown, and consequently, had he lived, would have earnestly declined this honour so very officiously bestowed on him, which moreover belonged to a deferving predecessor of his; and indeed it is possible that he himself had determined to give the name of Bering to these straits. This digression I owe to myself. Had certain persons been satisfied with simply asserting, that they considered the name of Cook's Straits as preferable to that of Bering's Straits, by me proposed, I should, on my part, have contented myself with adducing the reasons for my conduct in this place, and left it to the public to judge which of us was in the right. But as my enemies still continue warmly to insinuate that it was my differences with Capt. Cook which determined my choice in the adoption of this name, I could not prevail on myself to pass this matter over in silence; and still less, as I have already explained myself concerning it many years ago, and nevertheless an opportunity seems to have been anxiously sought for again to obtrude this falsehood on the public.—But, to return to our subject. In the middle of the straits are three small islands. Cook ranged along the coast of America as far as 70 deg. 45 min. N. lat. and 168 deg. E. long. from Greenwich, when he found himself entirely surrounded by the ice, and prevented from either proceeding farther on to the northward, or even following the course of the coast; for
for the ice closed almost everywhere on a low desert point of land, which from this circumstance he called Ice Cape. After sailing for a few days along the edge of the ice, he came again to the Asiatic Coast, following the course of which, he soon got into the straits again. The whole sea in these straits, and beyond them, was far from being deep; neither was the land in that part very high, but more to the southward both the height of the land and the depth of the sea increased. Cook again came to Oonaljekha, in Providence Bay, which the inhabitants call Samganoobha; here he spoke with some Russians, whom he charged with letters for England, to Mr. Stephens, Secretary to the Board of Admiralty, and to Sir James Harris, at that time the English Ambassador at the Court of Russia. At this place also they caught abundance of salmon trout and halibuts, of which latter kind of fish they caught one that weighed 254 lbs. Afterwards he made the best of his way back again to the Sandwich Islands, which he had discovered just before his arrival on this coast. Having explored these islands for the space of six weeks, he found them to be 15 in number*. Here they got every kind of refreshment necessary, and were extremely well received by the inhabitants, who almost paid divine honours to Capt. Cook. The Captain, after he had taken in refreshments, set sail again in the beginning of February; but the foresail of the Resolution having given way, he returned to the island of Owhyhee. But the reception they now met with from the inhabitants was quite different from what it had been before. At length the Discovery’s cutter was stolen, which in such a voyage as that they were engaged in, they could not well do without. In consequence of this, Capt. Cook went to King Terrecibus, in order to persuade him to go on board

* Capt. Cook himself, however, leaves this number undetermined. It will be sufficiently obvious to every reader that the above account of Capt. Cook’s third voyage was written before the publication of the narrative written by himself and Capt. King.
his ship, intending to keep him there till the cutter should be restored. But the King being rather averse to go, and moreover one of their Chiefs having been shot by some of the people that had been sent out in the other boats, they began to pelt Capt. Cook with stones, who endeavoured to revenge the insult, but killed the wrong man. He now saw his danger, and began to hasten towards the boats; but one of the Chiefs stabbed him from behind between the shoulders with a large iron dagger, of which Cook himself had made him a present. Cook had, however, still strength enough left to push forward, but was beat to the ground with stones and tomahawks, and at last killed. Thus fell this truly glorious and justly-admired navigator.—If we consider his extreme abilities, both natural and acquired, the firmness and constancy of his mind, his true, maternal care for the crew entrusted to him, the amiable manner with which he knew how to gain the friendship of all the savage and uncultivated nations, and even his conduct towards his friends and acquaintance, we must acknowledge him to have been one of the greatest men of his age, and that Reason justifies the tear which Friendship pays to his memory. He was not free from faults, but these were more than counterbalanced by his superior qualities; and it is very unfortunate that on this last voyage he should have had no friend with him, who by his wisdom and prudence might have with-held and prevented him from giving vent to his passions, which in fact became so detrimental to him, as to occasion his destruction. The young men that were with him must have been in some measure undisciplined and disorderly, otherwise he would not have lost his life. For the young officers in the boats having fired perhaps unnecessarily and prematurely, and thereby killed one of the Eries (or Chiefs) of these people, the death of this man stirred up in them the spirit of revenge which they vented on Cook in preference to another, imagining they had performed a very great action when they killed him.—Capt. Clerke now became the first in command, and Lieut. Gore second. Their first care was
was for the security of such of their people as were at the observatory, as well as of those who were buil-
ed in repairing the masts, and others that were filling the water-casks. Being prevented from filling their casks by the throwing of stones and other acts of vio-
ience, they took vengeance on the natives for these outrages, and at the same time for the death of their great Commander; and, having provided themselves with every necessary, as also taken in more fresh pro-
visions at the other islands, they failed at first for some time westward, and then strait to Kamtschatka, where, on the 30th of April, they entered the harbour of Awatiska, or St. Peter and Paul, the Resolution being arrived there some days before. Here they got refreshments and stores of every kind, and got under sail again on the 12th of June, but could not get out of the bay on account of the wind being con-
trary. On the 15th they were surprized by the erup-
tion of a volcano at the distance of about 8 leagues W. S. W. from them, but which nevertheless filled the whole atmosphere with ashes, that lay about an inch thick on their decks, and, after a dreadful noise, there fell a shower of pumice-stones, of the size of hazel nuts. In the evening they had thunder and lightning, and the next day they proceeded on their voyage. In their course they were never far from the shore; and they frequently saw drift-wood and whales. They failed again through Bering's Straits, and fell in with the ice on the American side of them, beyond the 70th degree. It was solid and extended in large fields in a shallow sea, which was from 25 to 27 fathoms deep. They again saw a great number of sea-horses, some of which they killed, and to the eastward saw several white bears running on the ice. They saw also some albatrosses, and the ivory gull (Larus eburneus) which Capt. Phipps had also obser-
ved near Spitzbergen, as also the grey phalarope (Tringa lobata). They now went to the coast of Asia, and followed the course of it up to the straits, where they saw the islands that lie in them; and the weather growing clear, they descried also the shores of both Continents.
Continents, which are only at about 28 leagues asunder. Their ships being very leaky, and many of the crew on board both of them sickly, they resolved once more to run into the harbour of St. Peter and Paul, in Kamischatcha. Just in sight of this harbour died Captain Clerke, in the 38th year of his age. He was a man of great abilities. Having been bred up in the naval academy at Portsmouth, he was a midshipman in the war which began in 1756; and being in an engagement stationed in the mizen-top, the mast was shot away, and he fell overboard; the sailors were drowned, and he was the only one who escaped, having saved himself by the rigging and the sides of the ship. His first voyage round the world, he made with Commodore Byron, from the year 1764 to 1766; the second he made with Lieut. Cook, as master's mate, from 1768 to 1771. In his third voyage he went out as second Lieutenant with Cook, from the year 1772 to 1775; and this last voyage he made in the capacity of Captain. In his second voyage he calculated the tables for the Ephemerides for two years; he was also a very experienced and intrepid sea officer, of a sprightly disposition, almost bordering on levity, but blended with much benevolence and magnanimity. His juvenile extravagances had enervated him to such a degree, that at length, in those cold regions, he sunk under manifold attacks of misery. Mr. Gore now took the command of the Resolution, and stationed Mr. King as Captain on board the Discovery. They took care of the sick on shore, repaired the ships, and having well refreshed themselves, set sail again on the 9th of October, 1779, and following the course of the coast, passed by the Kurile Islands, descried Japan; after which they failed through a considerable quantity of pumice-stone, and indeed between 25 deg. 56 min. and 23 deg. 56 min. saw a volcano, which to all appearance had thrown out these pumice stones. On the 1st of Dec. they arrived at Macao, where they procured some present refreshments, and also took some on board for their future occasions, and then set sail again on the 13th of January, 1780.
the 12th of April they reached Simon's Bay at the Cape of Good Hope. On the 9th of May, proceeding on their voyage, they arrived on the 22d of August at the Orkneys, and at length, on the 4th of October, at the Nore, after an absence of four years, two months, and twenty-two days.

XXXVIII. At the same time that this voyage was undertaken for the discovery of a passage to the northward between Asia and America, the Board of Admiralty sent Lieut. Richard Piggergill in the brig Lion, to Davis's Straits, in order to try also on that side how far it might be possible to discover a passage there. But on this occasion the Admiralty committed more than one fault in the choice of their measures. Lieut. Piggergill had made the voyage round the world in the capacity of midshipman under Capt. Wallis, from 1766 to 1768; afterwards he had been twice round the world with Cook, from 1769 to 1771, and 1772 to 1775; The first time as master's mate, and the second time as Lieutenant. He was well skilled in his profession; and, like Cook, Clerke, and many other officers of the British navy, was capable of making astronomical observations, and could, besides, lay down charts with great accuracy and exactness; but on two or three different occasions, when Cook, hurried away by his passion, had treated the Lieutenants and Midshipmen rather too harshly, and in a manner hardly fit for a gentleman to bear with, he had happened to express his opinion on the impropriety of such treatment. This, together with Piggergill's being too fond of strong liquors, seems to be the reason of his never having been promoted, like his two first Lieutenants, to the post of Captain of the third rank, or Master and Commander. This soured Piggergill's temper, and rendered him less zealous and attentive to the service, and induced him to seek oftener than ever to drown his cares in the bottle. The ship entrusted to his command had already been used by the Admiralty for several years for surveying the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador. The name of the person to whom this business
business was committed was Michael Lane; this office having been given him, when Cook, who till then had been employed to explore and make drawings of the coasts of Newfoundland, was sent to the South Sea. This Lane had consequentially for many years the chief command of the Lion, and was now as master in the same ship, subordinate to Lieut. Pickersgill. This must naturally hurt Lane; two such dissatisfied and fretful shipmates must necessarily be torments and burthens to themselves; and the superior officer being withal of an open disposition, was very much exposed to his full-as-much dissatisfied but more close and circumspect subaltern, Lane. Diffusions happened frequently; Pickersgill made the other sensible that he was his Commander. Lane submitted in silence, but collected together a number of trifling circumstances, which afterwards when he made his complaints, subjected Pickersgill to a trial. The next year the command was taken from the latter and given to Lane. At length Pickersgill was entirely neglected by the Admiralty: in consequence of which he accepted the command of a privateer, and once, going on board his ship late in the evening, his foot slipped, and falling into the Thames, he was drowned. On the 10th of June, 1776, Pickersgill passed by the Scilly Islands. On the 29th of June, with 320 and 290 fathoms line, he found a sandy bottom in 56 deg. 38 min. N. lat. and 17 deg. 44 min. W. of Greenwich, which induced him to call that spot the Lion’s Bank, and particularly so, as he found there, what is usually seen on all banks at sea, a vast quantity of sea-fowl, such as gulls, dun divers, &c. &c. Soon after this, he could no longer get any soundings, nor were there any more fowls to be seen. On the 7th of July he was off Cape Farewell, and on the 12th, off Cape Desolation. He now ranged along the coast of Greenland. On the 17th he entered an inlet, which he named Mosquito Cove, situated in 64 deg. 57 min. N. lat. and 52 deg. 56½ min. W. long. from Greenwich. In 59 deg. 30 min. W. long. and 65 deg. 38 min. N. lat. he found himself near a very large field of ice, and

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behind it saw something that had the appearance of land. On the 4th of August, at midnight, he was in 68 deg. 14 min. N. lat. and 58 deg. 50 min. W. long. and saw everywhere great quantities of ice, which made him by degrees tack about and stand to the southward. On the 18th he saw land appearing like islands, in 65 deg. 3 min. N. lat. and 54 deg. 2 min. W. long. and they caught a considerable quantity of halibuts. After this he went to the coast of Labrador, from whence he set sail on the 26th of September, and at last arrived safe in England.

XXXIX. Pickersgill having, in consequence of his dispute with Lane, lost the command of the Lion, Lord Sandwich was pleased to give it to the latter *, who in 1777, was sent out on the same discovery, and came back without having discovered, as far as I know, a passage or any thing like it †. The history of these voyages being on the eve of being published under the inspection of the Board of Admiralty, we shall probably obtain more particular information concerning the expeditions of Pickersgill and Lane. The object of Government in these two expeditions was, that if by good fortune a passage should be discovered on one side, the two expeditions might possibly meet, and co-operate with each other.

Although the English have for these last 200 years expended considerable sums upon these discoveries, they have nevertheless not been fortunate in their undertakings. To the British nation this passage, in case it be possible to bring it about, would be of infinite advantage, and would be alone sufficient, provided they could keep it entirely to themselves, to extend their trade far beyond that of all Europe besides.

* We know from better authority, that it was given to Capt. Young. Vide Introduction to Cook's last Voyage.
† This again is a mistake; for we are assured that "Pickersgill was not to attempt then the discovery of the passage, being directed only to explore the coasts of Baffin's Bay." Ibid.

CHAP.
PHILIP II. of Spain, having cruelly oppressed his subjects in the Netherlands, with respect to their religious and civil liberties, these poor oppressed people, who had no other choice left but death or slavery, were inspired with the resolution of defending their rights and liberties, which in this case were the rights of mankind in general, to the utmost of their power. At the same time they saw very plainly that the surest means of resisting the power of Spain, which was at that time so formidable and extensive, and likewise of procuring themselves the means and force requisite for so very expensive an opposition, would be to discover a way to the Indies, where they might not only have it in their power to attack their enemies, but likewise to enrich themselves. The usual way to the Indies round the Cape of Good Hope, was on the one hand very long, and on the other, the Spanish and Portuguese, both of whom were at that time subject to the same master, had got possession of all the places in which it was possible to find refreshments and water, or where, in case of need, there was a good harbour. Consequendy there were no other means left to go to the Indies, according to the way of thinking of those times, than to discover a new route that would lead thither. Now the English having already made many attempts since the year 1553 to find a passage by the north to Cathay and India, it was natural for the Dutch, too, considering the zeal, activity, and courage they were at that time possessed of, to think at an early period of seeking for this passage. So that interest and the powerful
ERFUL motive of revenge were the principal inducements with those merchants of the United Provinces, who first set on foot these voyages of discovery; and though none of the voyages were successful, as the Dutch soon after went to the Indies by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, and acquired advantages there far beyond their expectations, yet it cannot be denied, that the Dutch have in former times contributed, next to the English, more than any other nation, to the knowledge of the different countries and nations of the north.

I. Baltazar Mouberon, a merchant of Middleburg, in Zealand, proposed, that a new passage should be attempted to Cathay and Japan by the north. So early as in 1593 some merchants formed an association for the purpose of fitting out a ship from Zealand. To this association acceded some more merchants from Enkhuizen and Amsterdam, who all together, with the concurrence of their High Mightinesses the States General, and of Maurice, Prince of Orange and Nassau, as High Admiral, fitted out three ships. The vessel sent from Zealand was called the Swan, that from Enkhuizen the Mercury, and that from Amsterdam the Boot, or Messenger. The command of the first was given to Cornelis Cornelijson Ney, who likewise was appointed Admiral on this expedition; Brand Tibrands, or Teigales, was Captain of the Enkhuizen vessel; and Wilhelm Barentz, of Schelling, was Captain of the ship from Amsterdam. This last is described as being a very sensible and active man, who had a perfect knowledge of navigation, Gerard (Gerrit) de Veere wrote the history of Barentz's voyage, and John Hugh van Linshoten gave the relation of the adventures of the Zealand and Enkhuizen ships. Barentz had, besides his own vessel, a fishing yacht with him from Schelling, which was to accompany him, in case he should part from the other ships. On the 5th of June, 1594, these ships, the Amsterdammer excepted, set sail together. On the 23d of June they arrived at Kilduyrn, in Finmark, or the Russian Lapland. By the 29th Barentz had got under sail, and it
was agreed that they should meet again at Kildewyn, in case they did not see each other near Waigats. At Kildewyn there is a good cod-fishery. The other ships left sail on the 20th of July. On the 26th they were 6 leagues from Kolgow, where there was a great quantity of ice and of seals. All over this part of the sea they had 50, 60, and 65 fathoms depth of water. On the 14th of July they chased a young whale until they had driven it on shore. The length of it was 34 feet, the tail 8 feet broad, and it had 268 rays in the breast fins. The weather was as warm as it usually is in Holland in the dog-days, and they were much tormented by the gnats. From Swartboch to the Petchbora the water of the sea is thick and muddy, and but little salt, on account of the great quantity of melted snow which it contains. They met with drift-wood in abundance. On the coast of the island of Waigats there are great heaps of wood, and large trees, and some even with their roots on, lying one upon the other, as if they had been piled up on purpose. Seeing no trees grow here, they concluded that this large collection of them must have come from the continent. They observed that the face of the country was covered with a fine verdure, and embellished with all sorts of herbs, flowers, and abundance of leeks. The weather was hot, and the gnats very troublesome. They had passed between the island of Waigats and the southern island, and now sought for a passage also to the southward of the island. They found a land, which they took for an island, and on it upwards of 3 or 400 Idols: some were male, others female, others represented children, on others again appeared from four to eight faces, both male and female. These Idols all stood with their faces towards the east, and at their feet lay a great quantity of the horns of reindeer. Some of these Idols were old and quite rotten; others had been newly carved, whence it appears probable to me that the Samojedcs, who used to rove about these parts, had carved the images above-mentioned, in remembrance of their parents, wives, and children, but not with any intent to worship them as Idols. The nations
tions in the South Sea we found had on the sepulchral monuments of their princes the same kind of carved images of both sexes, in memory of the deceased, which they called Tihbi, or Souls; and also used to set viéuals before them. The Dutch thought these images were Idols, and thence named the promontory on which they found them, Afgoden-boek, or the Cape of Idols. But the Russians do not seem to have considered them in so serious a light; for the appellation of Waijati-nafs, the Promontory of Images, or Carved Promontory, plainly shews, that they did not take them for Idols: and upon the whole, a period of more than 228 years having elapsed since the Russians first saw these images, (viz. in 1556) and named the promontory after them, may easily have caused some alteration in the manners of these people. At present they have one supreme God, who is good, and one subaltern bad one. The Koedefincts, or Tadebes, a kind of Priests or favourites of the evil spirit, advise them, to carry about them a certain kind of small idols, of which, however, they otherwise take but little notice. Perhaps the Russians, who first discovered the Samojedes, may have shewn their dislike of these supposed Idols, and may even have expressed this dislike very emphatically; for religious zeal is sometimes apt to break out into threats, and even violence: and hence the Koedefincts may have advised them no longer to have such large images, to avoid giving offence to the Russians; but rather small ones, which they might carry about them, and which consequently not being so easily seen by the Russians, they would not be so liable to incur their displeasure. Thus far is certain, that when Burrough explored Nova Zembla in 1556, he then heard the name of Waijat, or Waigate, from Laebak, who was a native of Russia; consequently the Dutch were not the first who discovered it*. The ice here gave the Dutch not a little trouble.

* The real Waigat Strait, which is also called Hinlopen, is near Spitzbergen, and is situated between the real Spitzbergen and the eastern part of it (which is also called New Frisland, and Sdyterland) and the
ble. The Dutch landed on the southern shore of the strait, but had nearly been cut off by some savages. Afterwards they conversed again with some other Samojedes, who, however, understood the Russian tongue. The sea beyond the strait was, in quality, colour, and taste, like the ocean. They sailed along the coast of Nova Zembla, and saw neither inlet nor harbour. The great quantity of ice here obliged them to turn back; but when it was somewhat dispersed, they sailed on again, and by the time that they had got to the distance of 40 leagues from Waigatz, they met with a deep blue sea and but little ice; they also saw the coast, beyond a certain point, trending more towards the south-east, and consequently towards China. Having discovered this, they sailed back in order to be the first to carry this good news to Holland. They sailed again through Waigatz, which they named Nassau Strait, and to an island that lay just before Waigatz they gave the name of Staaten Island. Dolgoi-Ojrof they called Mauritius; to a small island near it they gave the name of Orange Island, and to the continent that of New Walcheren. They then crossed over the gulph which leads to the White Sea, passed by Kilduyn, and ran into Wardhuyz, from whence they finally made the best of their way to Holland, and the Admiral turning off towards Zealand, they ran into the Texel, and arrived on the 26th of September at Enkhuyzen.

Barentz, who had taken quite a different course, arrived off the coast of Nova Zembla on the 4th of July, near a point of land to which they gave the name of Langenes, and which is somewhat to the westward of that body of water, which divides the whole island of Nova Zembla. They ranged along the coast, and gave to a bay there the name of Loms Bay, from the great quantity of birds they saw there of this island called the Nordfjordland. This name has, in fact, been given to the strait by Spitsbergen, on account of the violence with which the north wind blows there; for vad den, means to blow violently, and gat, means a strait, gap, or hole; consequently it might be translated, wind-hole. But the Russian Wajus has another origin. Vide Note to page 273.
name. The bodies of these birds are of a considerable size, and their wings very small: they build their nests on very high and steep mountains, in order to secure themselves against the wild beasts; and lay but one egg, which you may take from them, without the parent’s offering to fly away. Then they came to an island, which they named the Admiralcy Island. In 75 deg. 20 min. N. lat. there was a promontory which they called Zwartenboek (Black Point) and in 75 deg. 55 min. was William’s Island. Here they found drift-wood and sea-horses in abundance. The harbour beyond William’s Island, where they killed a white bear, was named Berenfort. On a certain island they found two large croffes, a circumstance which occasioned them to name it Crois Island. A point of land in 76 deg. 30 min. they named Cape Nassau. From thence they went on to Troostboek (Comfort Point) and Yboek (Icy Point) and to the Orange Islands. Here turning back again, they failed past all the before-named places, till they came to an island lying beyond Langenes to the south-west, to which, on account of its colour, they gave the name of the Black Island. From hence Barentz proceeded to an inlet, which he supposed to be the same place at which Oliver Bennel had been before, and to which he had given the name of Constant Search *. On a promontory somewhat farther on, they saw a cross, and thence named it Crayboek (Cros Point). Then he came to an inlet named St. Laurenzboek, and 3 miles farther to another named Schansboek (Sconce, or Fort Point). Proceeding still farther, they discovered a fine safe

* It is evident that the navigators mentioned here, who had been in Nova Zembla previous to Barentz’s arrival there, were Englishmen; for the name Oliver Bennel is entirely English, and the name of the inlet, which Barentz calls Constant Search, can hardly be supposed to have been any other than Constant Search; but in which of the known voyages of the English into these parts, this place was thus named, or whether Oliver Bennel made a voyage for the sole purpose of making discoveries, or was cast away here in his way to other regions, cannot easily be determined for want of proper information on this subject.
harbour, where they found some meal or flour on shore; and thence named it Meelhaven (Flour-haven). At length they saw two small islands, to which they gave the name of the Islands of St. Clare: Being come to the islands of Matresi and Dolgoj, they saw the Zeelandi and Enkhuysen ships which were just returned from Waigats; and the people on board of which imagined, that Barentz had failed round Nova Zembla. After rejoicing with each other at their happy meeting, they sailed home together.

II. A. D. 1595, seven ships were fitted out; viz: two at Amsterdam, two at Zealand, two at Enkhuysen, and one at Rotterdam. On the 2d of July they sailed out of the Downs: On the 17th of August they found ice in large flakes. On the 18th they saw Mauritius Island (or Dolgoj Ostrof). On the 19th they were opposite Waigats Straits, but found them blocked up by the ice. They waited in some inlets in and before the straits; but the ice continued for a long time, and on the 2d and 3d of September, being arrived off Staaten Island, they were obliged, on account of the ice and fogs, to run in at the back of the island. In a general council it was resolved, that they should make another attempt to get forward. Every night the ice froze at least an inch thick. They saw two hares on the island, which they killed; but a white bear, which they also saw, escaped. The tide came from the east, for which reason they imagined there was a large sea that way. On Staaten Island they found small transparent crystals; but, in seeking for them, two of their people were devoured by a white bear. By reason of the ice they were obliged to go within the straits as far as Twijfheek: On the 11th they resolved to make one more trial, but in a few hours found it necessary to tack about again, on account of the ice which obstructed their course. On the 15th it was determined in a general council to return, it being impossible to get through the straits on account of the ice. Having suffered much from storms and bad weather, they had seen the ice did not suddenly they failed to compensate the Andere. At length they were native of the City of Heemskerk, aumer, and, secondly, a Hundreds of them failed out of Staaten Island; they saw two hares, A dispute concerning the country was of eastward course, Waigats; they saw ice, but they saw no ice, they examined it, they met with a thing of snow, They left two of them two feet deep, 12 feet long, but it disappeared, called Be, and they saw a great quantity of it. On the 15th they were
bad weather, they were by the 1oth of October to the south-west of Waardhuys. It was but seldom that they saw the moon. The light of the stars nearly compensated for the want of the sun; and besides that, the Aurora Borealis contributed much to light them. At length, on the 26th, they arrived again in their native country.

III. Notwithstanding that the States General had refused to advance the money requisite for defraying the expenses of another voyage, this did not deter the City of Amsterdam from fitting out two ships in 1596. The chief command of them was given to Jacob van Heemskerk, and the place of first pilot to William Barentz. In the second ship Jan Cornelis Ryp was master, and, at the same time, supercargo of the merchandise on board of her. On the 18th of May they sailed out of the Ylie, and on the 22d saw the Shetland Islands and Fayerhill. On the 20th of June they saw two parahelia, or mock suns, in 71 deg. N. lat.

A dispute now arose between Barentz and Ryp, concerning the course the ships were to take. The first was of opinion that they ought to sail more to the eastward; but Ryp maintained that they were in the right course; for all along he was against sailing to Waigatza Straits. On the 5th, they for the first time saw ice, and passed safely through it. On the 9th they saw an island in 74 deg. 30 min., which they conjectured might be about 15 miles in length. Here they met with a great number of gulls, and brought away their eggs. They ascended a steep mountain of snow, and were obliged to slide down it again. They likewise saw a large white bear, which it took them two hours to kill. The skin of this animal was 12 feet long; some of the crew ate part of the flesh, but it did not agree with them. This island they called Bear Island. On the 17th and 18th they saw a great quantity of ice, and sailed along it till they came to a point of land that lay to the southward of it. On the 19th they saw land again, and found that they were in 80 deg. 11 min. It was an extensive...
country, and they failed along the western coast of it to 79 deg. 30 min. where they found a good road, but were prevented by the ice from going nearer to the land, they anchored, however, in a bay that stretched right north and south into the sea. Here again they killed a large bear which was 13 feet long. On one island they found a great many barnacles (Anas Bernicla) one of which they killed with a stone, and got upwards of 60 eggs. On this island they observed in the 80th deg. of N. lat. grass and clover growing, and reindeer feeding on it, while, on the contrary, all the animals in Nova Zembla, which is situated far more to the southward, were of the carnivorous kind, because no grass grows there. The variation here was 16 degrees. They failed along the land to 79 degrees, and discovered a large inlet, 30 miles long at least, but were obliged to tack about. On the 28th they came to the point which is on the west side, where they found so great a number of birds, that these latter even flew against their sails. On the 1st of July they again saw Bear Island. Jan Cornelis Ryp came on board their ship, and told them that he intended to fail along the east side of the land to the 80th deg. Barentz, on the contrary, went to the southward on account of the ice. On the 17th of July they discovered Nova Zembla, not far from the shores of Loms Bay. On the 20th they went ashore on Crofs Island, where they found two crows erected. They went up to the crows in order to examine them; but being without arms, this curiosity had nearly cost them their lives, for two bears had taken a fancy to them, and it was with the greatest difficulty that they escaped these voracious animals. On the 17th of August they were near Troshbeck, about which there was a great quantity of ice. On the 19th they failed round Cape Desire, where they plainly saw the land trending to the southward. This ship was in great danger from the ice, being, in fact, quite encompassed by it; and they were obliged to carry provisions on shore, and prepare for the winter. They shot at a bear, but the cold was so intense, that the shot did not take place. They found
found a river, and a great quantity of drift-wood. On the 15th of September the sea froze two inches-thick. On the 16th the same, and they fetched wood upon fledges for the purpose of building up their habitation. On the 2d of October the materials for the hut were ready, but they could not get into the ground, which was frozen so hard, that they could not even thaw it by means of fire. They therefore heaped snow round about their house, in order to make it tolerably warm, as also to secure it against the wind. Their beer, too, was frozen, even the strong Dantzick "poppen beer". They suffered greatly from the cold, and were continually at war with the bears. They roasted a white fox, which tasted like a rabbit. On the 3d of November they lost sight of the sun; the bears kept away likewise, but the foxes began to make their appearance. Neither did the bears return till the sun appeared again. The foxes they caught in traps. On the 7th of December they had nearly all been choked by the smoke of pit-coal. The cold now increased to a dreadful degree. On the 24th of January they saw for the first time the face of the sun again, which, for more than a fortnight before this, had been ushered in by a kind of twilight. They were astonished at this phenomenon: as, according to their calculations, it should have happened about 16 days later. But, in fact, it ought to have been just so as it was. In those regions the refraction of the rays of the sun is so considerable on account of the air containing such a great quantity of vapours, that this phenomenon is very possible. Not being provided with a sufficient flock of wood, they were obliged to get in more with incredible pains and labour, the drift-wood being all covered with snow. About this time they saw the sea open, and began to entertain some hopes of their deliverance. But on the 14th of February the east north-east winds brought on another frost, which depressed the spirits of these poor people, and drove them almost to despair. On the 8th and 9th of March, the wind blowing
blowing from the south-west, drove the ice away; but on the 10th a very strong north-east wind brought back again enormous fields, and mountains of ice. In the months of April and May the sea was at length entirely clear of the ice, and they began to think on their voyage home. In the month of June they fitted out the boats for their return, and were frequently visited by the bears, many of which they killed. Some of crew having eaten part of the liver of a bear, it made them very ill, and after they recovered from their disorder, the skin all over their bodies fell off in scales. Having brought away all the stores and provisions they could convey on board their two little vessels, they set sail on the 14th of June, having Barentz and one of the crew sick on board. They were again encompassed by the ice, and Barentz, together with one Nicholas Andreis, died on the 10th. They came often into great danger between the ice. They also lost a considerable quantity of provisions and merchandise; nevertheless they got their vessels over the ice into the water, though not without great difficulty, and begun to sail on a sea tolerably clear of it. They landed now and then to look for birds and eggs, as also for fuel to dress them by. Not far from Waigatz they found two small vessels with Russians, some of whom remembered several of the crew, having met with them on their former voyages. With great difficulty they arrived at length at Kandnoes (Kanyn nofs) and also got some provisions from some Russian vessels, but were separated from the small boat by a storm. In the meantime they failed with their small open boat in 30 hours across the mouth of the White Sea, which is 120 miles broad: here they lighted on a Russian bark and some fishermen, from whom they got provisions, and immediately after, met with their comrades again in the other boat. They arrived at Kilduyn, where they learned that three Dutch ships were then at Kola, two of which were just ready to sail. They sent
sent two sailors there with a Laplander, and in three days received a letter from Capt. Jan Cornelis Ryp, informing them, that they had long ago been given up as lost. Cornelis Ryp went to them with refreshments, and took them to Kola to his ship, when they went with him, to the number of 12, back to Holland, and reached Amsterdam on the 1st of November, 1597.

From the relation of this voyage it is evident that Heemskerk, Carentz, and Ryp, had so early as in the year 1595 discovered Bear Island, which was since seen by the English in 1603, who gave it the name of Cherry Island, and afterwards frequently visited it. In like manner Hudson, in 1607, saw Spitzbergen, which had been discovered 11 years before by the Dutch, and which he erroneously took for part of Greenland. Hence is manifest the difficulty of getting on in the shallow sea that lies to the northward of Siberia, on account of the ice; as well as the effects of an intense degree of cold (which are very evidently such, that even the water of the sea will freeze over in one night) as also the extreme coldness and long duration of the easterly winds within the Polar Circle. The wonderful effect of the refraction of the sun's rays, by means of which the image of the sun appears above the horizon, even whole weeks sooner than it otherwise would according to the ordinary course of nature, may be considered as another of the many instances of the tender care of the Almighty over all his creatures, in thus restoring the light of the day as early as possible to the inhabitants of these regions; a kindness of which we in this part of the world cannot be so sensible, having never experienced the privation of the day-light, and of the all-enlivening light of the sun.

IV. In the year 1609 Henry Hudson set sail with a yacht, fitted out at the expence of the Dutch East-India Company. He left the Texel on the 6th of April. By the 5th of May he was off the North Cape, and
and soon reached Nova Zembla, where he found the whole country blocked up with firm and solid ice. He therefore left this coast on the 14th of May, and discovered on the coast of America a river, which is still named after him, Hudson's River, on the mouth of which is New York; and somewhat higher up used to be New Belgium, which the Dutch had formerly actually colonized. But with regard to discoveries in the north, Hudson's voyage was entirely fruitless.

V. The island of Jan Mayen was discovered in 1611 by a man of this name. It is situated about 71 deg. N. lat. and 8 deg. 15 min. E. long. from Ferro. It is long and narrow, and stretches from north-east to south-west. As the whales used sometimes to come from Old Greenland near the coast of this island, there were formerly a whale-fishery and a manufactory for train-oil upon it; likewise a great number of white bears, sea-horses, and other marine animals, together with some foxes. But the island being rather small, and the bait on it, or the whale carrion, but scarce, the five soon found out their enemies, and withdrew to the ice, where they enjoy more security. Accordingly this fishery was chiefly used from 1611 to 1633, but since that time the island has been gradually neglected. At present it is seen or visited only by mere chance. It was once in honour to Prince Maurice of Nassau, named Mauritius Island, in Greenland; but then we must be careful to distinguish it from another Mauritius Island on the north-west point of Spitzbergen, which also bears the name of Amsterdammer Island, and is by the English called, Hackley's Headland. On this Mauritius Island, in Greenland, or Jan Mayen Island, seven sailors were left to winter, from 1633 to 1634, all of whom, however, died, chiefly of the scurvy. Their journal was brought down to the 30th of April, soon after which period probably they died; for the people who arrived there from Holland, on the 7th of June, 1634, found them already dead.

VI. In
VI. In the Philosophical Transactions, No. 118, we find an account of some merchants in Holland having sent out ships, which had sailed on to 79 and 80 deg. N. lat. 100 leagues to the eastward of and beyond Nova Zembla, and had met with an open sea, clear of any ice. Now at the 80th deg. one degree of longitude is only 10 geographical miles. But one hundred leagues are 300 common English sea miles; consequently the Dutch were not at the farthest, quite 30 degrees to the eastward of the most easterly point of Nova Zembla, perhaps about Chatanga, in 125 deg. E. long. from Ferro, which is in fact no great matter, and did not render it necessary for this discovery to be concealed with such care as we are informed it was.

VII. Some individuals, who were desirous of continuing the navigations to the north, presented in 1614 a petition to their High Mightinesses the States General, praying to be established in a free navigation to the northward of Davis's Straits, Greenland, Spitzbergen, and Nova Zembla; which privilege was accordingly conferred upon them by a charter bearing date the 27th of January, 1614; and from that time there has subsisted the Northern, or, as it is otherwise called, Spitzbergen or Greenland Company, which used yearly to send ships out to the Polar regions, employed in the whale-fishery and killing seals. It cannot, however, be asserted, that any important discoveries have been made in the north by this Greenland Company; for these associated merchants were satisfied with the moderate profits arising to them from the whale-fishery and the killing of seals.

VIII. In 1633 the Dutch Northern Company sent their ships out as usual to Spitzbergen, but gave orders withal, that some volunteer sailors should be left by their own consent at Spitzbergen, to winter there; for which purpose likewise several offered themselves, who passed the winter there, but suffered greatly by the cold. They had many skirmishes with the bears, shot
that some reindeer, caught and ate several foxes, killed a sea-horse or two, prepared some whalebone that had been cast on shore by the tide, but did not kill one whale, and returned safe to Holland in 1634. They had wintered in the north bay on Mauritius Island (or Hacklyt's Headland) near Spitzbergen. That same year again seven more sailors were left on the island, by their own consent, but died of the fever in 1635. Their journal was brought down to the 26th of February only, and in 1635 they were all found dead. Since that time no more men have been left to winter there.

IX. A. D. 1640, or 1645, Ryke Yss, from Vlieland, an old Greenland trader, came, on the east side of Spitzbergen, to a group of very small islands, which had never yet been seen nor frequented by any of the former navigators to Greenland, and having always been very fond of shooting sea-horses, the immense number of these animals that lay here on the shore, furnished him with an opportunity of displaying his own skill in the disposition and arrangement of the business, as well as the dexterity of his people. In a short space of time, many hundreds of them were killed, and great profit was made of the fat and the teeth.

X. In the year 1643, the Dutch East-India Company gave orders for two ships to be sent from India to the north, in order to explore the route from Japan northward, and even to go as far as to North-America, and to seek for the passage there. In consequence of these orders, two ships set sail together on the 3d of February, 1644, from the harbour of the island of Ternate; these were the Castricum, commanded by Capt. Martin Hermann van Vriez; and the Breskese, under the command of Capt. Hendrick Cornelis Schaej. On the 14th of May the two ships were separated by a storm at the distance of 56 leagues from Jeddo, the capital of Japan; and both of them saw the land of Yesso. The Breskese sailed through the strait between Yesso and Japan, in 41 deg. 50 min. N. lat. and in long. 164 deg. 18 min. east of Teneriffe. They saw land again in 43 deg. 4 min. N. lat. In 44 deg. 4 min. some vessels came off to their ship from the shore.
In 43 deg. 45 min. they descried land again, as also in the latitude of 44 deg. 12 min. and longitude 167 deg. 21 min. In lat. 45 deg. 12 min. and long. 169 deg. 30 min. the land appeared at a distance like a great number of islands; but on coming nearer to it, it seemed to be one continued tract of country. In lat. 46 deg. 15 min. and long. 172 deg. 36 min. as also in long. 173 deg. 53 min. they had sight of some high mountains. They also saw still more land in lat. 47 deg. 3 min. and long. 173 deg. 53 min. 

We see from this relation, as well as from that of the Cajri-com, that the island Jefo contains, in fact, a quantity of islands, at present known to the Russians under the name of the Kurils. The Dutch imagined they had discovered in Jefo, a large extensive country, and, in the latest accounts we have from the Russians, this description likewise is given of the land of Matmai, in which the Dutch mention that there is a place named Acquis, which the Russians call Atki. The strait between Matmai and Japan is about 60 werst (or 34 geographical miles) broad; and has a very strong current, as have almost all the straits between the Kurile Islands. Matmai is a town in the possession of the Japanese; the Chinese trade also to the land of Matmai; but the hairy Kuriles are a free people. It is also still uncertain whether Matmai is an island or not. But there is a probability that it is, as the inhabitants have not yet been made tributary by the Chinese; which is also confirmed by Father Hieronymus de Angelis, who mentions the strait of Jefoi, which separates Matmai from the continent, and has also a strong, rapid current. This country seems to have got the name of Jefo, or Efo, from the people who inhabit it. The Japanese call the Kuriles Jefo, and it is thence that the land of Matmai has obtained this appellation from the Portuguese and Dutch. The land with the St. Anthony's Peak, described in the journal of Cajri-com, seems to be the island Iterpu, or Etorpu, which, according to the latest accounts (Vid. Pallas's New Northern Collections, Vol. IV, page 136. (German.)
Palla’s Northern Collections, Vol. IV. page 133) consists entirely of a high ridge of mountains with many heads. In this case Urup must be the Staaten Island of the Dutch; in like manner, Tschirpo-oï will answer to Company Land, and the strait between Urup and Tschirpo-oï will be the Straits of Van Vries. On the Kurile Islands there are many volcanos, some of which are still burning, others are already extinct, while others, quite new ones, are frequently bursting forth into flames, like that which made an eruption on the 8th of January, 1780, on the island of Rachkofe, or Rackebokhi, the effects of which caused likewise a dreadful earthquake, and which occasioned great ravages and devastations in the islands of Keiti, Schimyshib, Tschirpo-oï, and Urup. Now, though we should allow the authenticity of the accounts of the Dutch, who in the Castricum and Brejkes, imagined that they saw here one continued and extensive tract of land, it cannot nevertheless be denied, that these numerous volcanos give one room to suppose, that many an entire and undivided tract of country may have been torn asunder by earthquakes, and parcelled out into small islands. So that what we read in the relations of the Castricum and the Brejkes does not appear to me so very incredible.

XI. At the time when the Northern Company in Holland was still in the fullness of her splendor, (viz. from 1614 to 1641) a ship was dispatched to Greenland for the purpose of fetching train-oil, which used to be manufactured in Sweeneyberge; but there being not a sufficient quantity ready to complete the full lading, the Captain finding the sea quite open, failed strait on to the northward, and at the distance of two degrees from it, went twice round it. This he used to relate publicly, and to refer to his crew as witnesses of the fact. Vid. Zorgdrager’s Greenland Whale-Fishery (German) Vol. II. chap. 10, page 162.—Wood also, as he himself informs us, was told by Mr. Joseph Moxon, in 1676, that being in Holland about 20 years before, (consequently in 1656) he had heard a very respectable creditable Dutch Captain
Captain of a ship say, that he had navigated under the very Pole, where he found the weather as warm as it used to be at Amsterdam in summer. In fine, Capt. Goulden likewise, who had made upwards of 20 voyages to Greenland, told King Charles the Second that, being about 20 years before in Greenland, he found himself with two Dutch Greenland navigators near Eges Island*, to the eastward of that country, when no whales appearing near the shore, the two Dutch Captains resolved to sail farther on towards the north; which in fact they did, and a fortnight afterwards returned, and related that they had been as far as the 89th degree, and had met with no ice, but with a free and open sea, with large and hollow waves, as in the bay of Biscay. The variation of the compass there was 5 degrees. One of these Captains afterwards happened to go to England, when Captain Gould took him to some of the Members of the Northern Company, whom he fully convinced of the truth of his relation. Vide An Account of several late Voyages and Discoveries. Lond. 1711, p. 145; as also the Hon. Mr. Boyle's History of Cold.

XII. It is the lamentable fate of the learned not to be able, with all their pains, to obtain the information they would with respect to all the objects of their researches. In the best charts we find some accounts, or rather hints, relative to countries pretended to be discovered by the Dutch; but it is a very difficult matter to determine where more particular and circumstantial accounts concerning them are to be met with. I shall now mention four or five countries discovered by the Dutch in the North,
concerning which I can communicate little more than their names. I possess a collection of about 700 volumes of voyages, written in various languages, nevertheless I must confess, that in all these I have not been able to find out any thing that has the least relation to these discoveries: perhaps this my acknowledgment may induce some learned man or other to favour me with some information concerning them, to whom I shall, in that case, be infinitely obliged, for having thereby furnished me not only with the means of adding to the stock of my own knowledge, but also of rendering my History of the Discoveries in the North, much more complete than it is at present; for I readily confess, that even in my own opinion, my work has not attained to that state of perfection to which I had purposed to bring it, but from the accomplishment of which I have been hindered by a thousand difficulties, impossible for me to overcome in my present situation. In 75 deg. N. lat. and about 5 deg. E. long. from Ferro, we find on the eastward coast of Greenland, Gale Hamkens Land, which is said to have been seen in 1654. Gale Hamkens was a Dutch Greenland trader, who as early as the year 1639 had the command of the first-rate ship, the Oranjeboom, and who, when Capt. Dirck Alberts Raven had lost his ship the Spitbergen, in the ice near Spitbergen, took up the said Captain and the few people remaining of his crew; and this is all I know about him. So that whether he discovered this point of land himself, or any other navigator who has given it this name in honour of him, I confess I am not able to determine. In 78 deg. N. lat. and 10 deg. E. long. from Ferro, a land is laid down on the eastward coast of Greenland, which is called the Land of Edam. It was discovered in 1655, but by whom, as also whether it was named thus, after a man, a ship, or after the town of Edam, in North Holland, I cannot pretend to say. Farther we find, in 73 deg. and 65 deg. of the meridian of Ferro, it is written that in the year 1666, an unacquainted man discovered it, but I question whether he discovered it. Finally, the graphical representation of the Nordenfjeld is probably the most northward coast of Greenland, in the 81st degree of N. lat. and the 70th degree of E. long. Therefore it is true that there is a land called the Land of Edam, which is situated near the town of Edam in North Holland, in the 57th degree of N. lat., which is mentioned in some of my voyages, and which I have found to be true from the observations that were made there, but whether all their names are correct, I am not able to determine. In the 9th degree of the meridian of Ferro, a land is laid down, which is called the Land of Keulen, which is situated in the 70th degree of N. lat. and the 78th degree of E. long. from Ferro. This land is known to be the coast of Spitsbergen, and whether it was named after a ship, or after the town of Spitsbergen, I am not able to determine. In the 78th degree of N. lat. and 90 deg. E. long. from Ferro, a land is laid down, which is called the Land of Keulen, and which is situated in the 55th degree of N. lat. and the 70th degree of E. long. from Ferro. This land is known to be the coast of Spitsbergen, and whether it was named after a ship, or after the town of Spitsbergen, I am not able to determine. In the 78th degree of N. lat. and 90 deg. E. long. from Ferro, a land is laid down, which is called the Land of Keulen, and which is situated in the 55th degree of N. lat. and the 70th degree of E. long. from Ferro. This land is known to be the coast of Spitsbergen, and whether it was named after a ship, or after the town of Spitsbergen, I am not able to determine. In the 78th degree of N. lat. and 90 deg. E. long. from Ferro, a land is laid down, which is called the Land of Keulen, and which is situated in the 55th degree of N. lat. and the 70th degree of E. long. from Ferro. This land is known to be the coast of Spitsbergen, and whether it was named after a ship, or after the town of Spitsbergen, I am not able to determine.
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH.

in '73 deg. 30 min. N. lat: not far from the first meridian drawn through Ferro, an island over which is written the name of Bontekoe, with the date of the year 1665; the first discoverer of which I am likewise unacquainted with; neither can I determine the question, whether it was named Bontekoe, after its discoverer, or after a ship, or any man of that country. Again, there is in 79 deg. N. lat. and 10 deg. E. long. from Ferro, a land marked with the date of 1670; but this is all that I know concerning it. Finally, precisely in 80 deg. N. lat. and 100 geographical miles to the east of Northeastland in Spitzbergen there is to be seen the mark of a high land. This land was discovered in 1707 by an experienced and skilful Greenland trader, by name Cornelis Gillis. He had failed, without seeing any ice at all, to the northward of the Seven Islands, a great way beyond the 81st deg. then he failed eastward, and at last south-eastward, so that he always kept to the east of Northeastland, and at length at 25 leagues from thence in 80 deg. descried a very high land, which probably nobody had ever seen before him. Van Keulen has laid down this land in his map of Spitzbergen, merely on the strength of the account given of it by Capt. Gillis. Vide Barrington's Miscellaneae. Lond. 1781. 4to. pages 80 and 85.

These are all the accounts of the discoveries made in the north by the Dutch, that have ever come to my knowledge. That active public spirit, by means of which the Republic of the United Netherlands rose to its present pitch of grandeur, and by which all their enterprises in the 16th and 17th centuries were so strongly characterized, is by degrees evaporated and spent. They have begun to pursue a system diametrically opposite to that which led them to fame, dignity, and honour. That contemptible spirit of party in matters of religion and politics which occupies itself only with trifling objects, thereby neglecting
gleeting those that are truly grand and important; that false system, in pursuance of which, sacrificing every thing to commerce, the Republic has endeavoured to remain neuter, and, in defiance of the most solemn treaties and conventions, has frequently refused that assistance to her allies for which she had previously stipulated, carrying on her trade in peace, without putting her land and sea forces on a respectable footing, and thereby exposing herself to the just clamours of her neighbours, so that at length she has been under the necessity of depending entirely on the protection and favour of a power, which, if not endowed with the greatest magnanimity, might have made itself master of the best and most important possessions: this mode, I say, of acting and thinking, has entirely suppressed in individuals all inclination for great enterprises or for any undertakings for the good of their country. Thus circumstanced, no farther discoveries are to be expected from that quarter. Perhaps, indeed, there, are but few remaining to be made in the northern hemisphere.

CHAP. III.

Of the Discoveries made in the North by the French.

The discovery of America by the Spaniards, and that of the route to the East-Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, by the Portuguese, do not appear to have had so much effect on the French as to excite them to similar enterprises. A shadow of false grandeur had fascinated her Kings and Nobles. The alluring baits which engrossed her whole attention
tion were the crown of Naples and the duchy of Milan. For the sake of conquering these countries, both of which nevertheless at length escaped her grasp, France lavished her treasures and the blood of her heroes. Hence her navy was neglected, and the romantic spirit of Chivalry which the sons of France acquired in these wars, inspired them at the same time with a contempt for everything relative to trade and commerce; till Henry the Great, with his favourite Sully, and Lewis XIV. with his great Minister, Colbert, did all in their power to procure to merchants and manufacturers, as useful members of society, that respect to which these professions, inasmuch as they enrich the state, are in fact entitled. In the mean time it was these prejudices chiefly which prevented France from paying that attention to voyages of discovery which they deserved. The whole of North-America and Brazil would at this time be the property of France, had the Kings of this country and their Ministers better supported the first voyagers, had they given greater encouragement to the population of these new lands, and had they in general paid more attention to navigation than they in actual did. It is not therefore surprising to find, that France has contributed but very little towards the discoveries made in the North.

I. Already, since the discovery of Newfoundland by Sebastian Cabot, in 1496, the Europeans had begun to make advantage of the land of Bacallao, and of the great quantity of fish in the vicinity of it. In the year 1502, some Bristol merchants had already obtained grants for establishing colonies there. As early as the year 1504 the Biscayners, the Normans from Normandy, and the Bretons from Brittany in France, visited the southern coast of it, for the sake of fishing. It is even supposed, that the island of Cape Breton, which lies near the continent, had its name from these very Bretons. In 1506 Jean Denis failed with his pilot Camart, a passenger of Rouen, from Honfleur to Newfoundland. He is said to have been the first who laid down and published a chart of the
the coast of this country. In 1568, a navigator, by name Thomas Aubert (according to Ramusio, Vol. III. page 423, but Prévost, in his Histoire des Voyages, calls him Hubert) went with a ship called the Penfée, from Dieppe to Newfoundland, and brought the first savage native from thence to Paris. The ship belonged to the Captain's Father, Jean Aubert, Viscount of Dieppe. But all these are rather loose hints than regular accounts of the empires and places explored by the French; neither has anything more than what we have mentioned, been handed down to our times, and that only by the means of Ramusio.

II. The first who actually made a voyage, of which the history is preferred to us, was John Verazzani, by birth a Florentine, who, in the service of Francis the First, set out with four ships on a cruise against the Spaniards; but was compelled, by a storm, to run with two of his ships, the Normandy and the Dauphine, into a harbour in Brittany. He continued to cruise against the Spaniards with success, and at length resolved to undertake a voyage with the Dauphine merely for the purpose of discovering new countries.

On the 17th of January, 1524, Verazzani sailed from the uninhabited rocks near Madeira*, 500 leagues to the westward, in 25 days. After weathering a dangerous storm, he continued his voyage twenty-five days longer, in which space of time he made 400 leagues more, and then saw before him a low land, on which he discovered many fires. But his fears preventing him from landing, he sailed 50 leagues to the southward along the coast, without finding a harbour. He therefore returned again to the northward, but, meeting with as little success as before, he anchored in the open sea, and sent his boat on shore, upon which great numbers of the inhabitants appeared on the coast, running backwards and forwards, and exhibiting at once marks of astonishment, joy, and fear. The signs which the French made induced

* These uninhabited rocks are called by the Portuguese Ilhas Desertas; the English call them the Deserters. They are situated to the east of Madeira.
...some to stay, and having by degrees recovered from their fright, they at length brought some provisions. They were naked, but wore aprons of fine furs, and bunches of feathers on their heads. They were well shaped, had fine black eyes, long and straight black hair, and were very swift of foot. The country here and there was watered with small rivers. Our navigators saw fine plains and considerable forests, as also thickets and groves of cypresses, laurels, and palm-trees, and of some trees entirely unknown in Europe. It is difficult to determine where Verazzani landed first; but it would appear, that he first arrived on the coast of America, in that part of Georgia, where at present the town of Savannah is, and that afterwards he failed southwards as far as to the 30th degree of latitude. What induces me to think so, is that Verazzani mentions his having seen palm-trees on the spot where he landed: now these, as far as I know, grow only in Florida; nor would it have been possible to sail from any other place on the American coast, 50 leagues to the southward; as the coast from 40 deg. to 33 deg. stretches from northeast to south-west. Upon this he shaped his course again to the northward. Having proceeded in this direction for some time, he found himself in lat. 34 deg. and saw the coast trending eastward. It is true, that the coast is flat, and has no harbour, but then there are no rocks. The climate and air are wholesome. Being come to the spot, where the coast trends to the east, they saw many fires, and placing some degrees of confidence in the savages, sent their boat on shore; but the sea was so rough that they could not land. A young sailor, trusting to his skill as a swimmer, and the invitations of the savages, ventured to swim ashore with some trifling presents. He approached so near the shore, that the water reached no higher than his waist; but his fears predominated so, that he flung the presents on shore, and threw himself again into the sea with an intention of swimming to his boat. But now a wave cast him back on shore with such a force, that he
lay quite stupefied and senseless on the strand. The savages ran immediately to his assistance, and carried him a little way off from the sea. At the first outset he could not collect himself, and great was his terror on recovering, to find himself entirely in their power! He set up a loud cry, and they re-echoed it with violence in order to encourage him; then, placing him at the foot of a hill, they turned him towards the sun, kindled a fire, and stripped him naked. He now no longer doubted but that they were going to offer him upon it as a sacrifice to the sun. They were of the same opinion on board the ship, and in the boat, though unable to afford him any assistance. But he found himself mistaken in his apprehensions, for they only dried his clothes, and did not even take him nearer to the fire than was necessary to warm him. Still, however, he trembled; but the savages cared for him in the most friendly manner, admiring the whiteness of his complexion, and the hair on those parts of the body, where, as it is known, the American savages have none. They restored his clothes, and set victuals before him. Having shewn an eager desire to return to his friends, they conducted him to the shore, and after having embraced him with great tenderness, withdrew a little to shew him, that he was entirely at liberty, following him with their eyes until they had seen him again in his boat, and on board the ship. Now all this must have passed somewhere about New Jersey or Staten Island, or perhaps on Long-Island. They now sailed further on, and saw the coast trend again to the northward. After a run of 50 leagues, Verazzani anchored off a delightful country, full of the finest forests. Here 20 of his men landed, and went about two leagues up into the country. The inhabitants fled before them, but they caught an old woman who had hid herself in the high grass, with a young woman about 18 years of age. The old woman carried a child on her back, and had besides, two little boys with her. The young woman, too, carried three children of her own.
own sex. Seeing themselves discovered, they began to shriek, and the old one gave them to understand, by signs, that the men were fled to the woods. They offered her something to eat, which she accepted, but the maiden refused it. This girl, who was tall and well shaped, they were desirous of taking along with them, but as she made a violent outcry, they contented themselves with taking a boy away with them. These people were half clothed with a tissue, composed of grass and reeds. They had nets. Their arrows had bone points. Their boats were hollowed out of one piece of timber. The trees were not so fragrant as those that grew on the places where they landed before; many of them, however, had vines climbing up to their very tops. No houses were to be seen. After having lain at anchor here three days, they sailed farther on along the coast; where they discovered a very fine country, and at the same time found the mouth of a large river.

The savages pointed out to them the deep places in this river; but a storm coming on at sudden, obliged them to sail away to the eastward, where they found a well-cultivated island (the isle of Nantucket, or else that of Martha's Vineyard) and a little further on a good harbour, in which they saw more than 20 canoes belonging to the savages. Here they found a very fine race of people, who at the same time were very pleasing; however, the men were extremely jealous. The women wore ornaments of wrought copper. Their houses were round, made of wood, and covered over with straw. The mouth of the river was in 41 deg. Here they laid in a large stock of provisions, and on the 5th of May, sailed farther on to the northward. After a run of 150 leagues (equal to 7½ deg.) they discovered a high land, quite over-grown with forests. The inhabitants of this country were very savage; they were covered with the skins of animals, and lived on roots, which grew in the earth spontaneously. Twenty-five of the crew who landed here, were received by the inhabitants with a volley of ar-
436  

VOYAGES AND

rows. Here they found also ornaments made of copper. Then sailing farther on, they came, after a run of 150 leagues more, to 56 deg. N. lat. near a country where the Bretons had already been before. This country, along the coast of which they had already sailed upwards of 700 leagues, was called New France*. Verazzani's provisions beginning to diminish very fast, he sailed straight on to France, whence he dated his to King Francis I. on the 8th of July, 1524.

It is said, that Verazzani undertook another voyage to the new-discovered country of New France; but it is absolutely impossible to say in what year this last voyage was made. Ramusio, however, very positively affirms us, that when Verazzani landed, he and the people who went ashore with him, were cut to pieces and devoured by the savages, in the very sight of the rest of the crew, who had remained on board the ship, and who were unable to come to their rescue. Before I conclude this article, I must beg leave to add two very short observations: the first respects the similarity of the fates attending Verazzani and the immortal Cook, both of whom were killed, cut into pieces, and devoured by a rude, uncultivated people; both also were possessed of an extensive knowledge of navigation, intrepid courage, and the greatest perseverance. The second has already been made before me by others, but is nevertheless as true as it is remarkable. It is as follows: The three great empires of those times, Spain, England, and France, made each of them use of an Italian to conduct the voyages of discovery set on foot by them. Spain em-

* In an old map I have seen the land de Narumbege laid down jut where Nova Scotia is at present. At page 250 I freely confessed that I could not rightly comprehend the name of Arambege, which was given there to the coast of the land, afterwards named Nova Scotia; it is, however, without doubt, no other than this same land de Narumbege, or Narumbege. Nevertheles the origin of this appellation remains still unknown to me: unless it be, indeed, that some of the toys, which were presented to the savages, consisting of looking-glasses, bells, &c. &c. were of Narumbege manufacture, and that thus, by the name given to the country, they meant to preserve the memory of this fact.

ployed

played

Florence, or rather that in point of knowledge and experience America was the true inheritors of the spirit of discovery. Pisa, and the other Italian cities,矜 paled over the new discov-erings and voyages that were made to the great extent of the details, and the navigational expeditions were the glory of private persons, and not only to the nation of their place of birth.

III. That of little note is the story of a voyage made by the Flegen, but in which, as presented to us, they were derived from the discovery of St. Malo. The first year they were accredited to St. Malo, they went for the roth of July, and went in two, but the landing of the two vessels, the shore is only 300 degrees from the harbour, the 15th of Newfound
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH. 437

ployed Christopher Colom, a Genoese; England, Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian; and France, Verazzani, a Florentine. A circumstance which sufficiently proves, that in those times no nation was equal to the Italians in point of maritime knowledge and extensive experience in navigation. But notwithstanding all their knowledge and experience, the Italians have not been able to acquire one inch of ground for themselves in America: all the discoveries made by these Italians devolved to the share of those nations which had sent them out on these errands. The penurious mercantile spirit of the Republics of Venice, Genoa, Florence, Pisa, and other free states, part of whom had already passed under the yoke of a master, their mutual bickerings and petty wars, and their short-sighted selfishness, made them overlook the benefits resulting from such great enterprizes, and attach themselves to mere trifling details, which rendered them unfit for carrying on expeditions of such importance to the state, though private persons had courage and magnanimity enough not only to plan these important voyages, but also to put their plans into execution.

III. The discoveries made by Verazzani having been of little or no advantage to the realm, all thoughts of a voyage of discovery were for some time laid aside: but in the year 1534, the Admiral Philip Chabot represented to the King, how advantageous it would be to establish a colony in a country from whence Spain derived so much wealth. Accordingly James Cartier, of St. Malo, was presented to the King, and his proposals were accepted. On the 20th of April he set sail from St. Malo, with two ships and 122 men, and on the 10th of May he saw Bona Vista, in Newfoundland; but the land was as yet covered with snow, and towards the shore there were great quantities of ice. Six degrees farther to the southward, or S.S. E. he saw a harbour, to which he gave the name of St. Catharine's Harbour. He then returned to the northward, and near the Isle of Birds, at the distance of 14 leagues from Newfoundland, he saw a great white bear. After this
VOYAGES AND

he failed almost quite round Newfoundland, where he found fine harbours, but a bad soil. The inhabitants were of a good size, tolerably well shaped, and wore their hair tied in a bunch on the crown of their head, which they likewise adorned with feathers. Then he went to the continent, where he stood in to a deep bay. In this bay he suffered great heat, and thence named it Baye des Chaleurs. In some old maps, it is likewise called Spanish Bay. In fact, Velasco is said to have been here before Cartier, when he found no metals of any kind, he cried out, Aca nada, Here is NOTHING!; from which expression was formed Canada, the name by which this country was afterwards known. In the Bay des Chaleurs there was a great number of seals. Cartier now visited the coasts of the bay of St. Lawrence, and having let sail again on the 15th of August, he arrived on the 5th of September at St. Malo.

IV. Cartier gave an account of his voyage, and this induced the Vice-Admiral, Charles de Mouy Sieur de Mellevoye, to procure him more respect and authority from the King, as also three ships well rigged and manned. On the 6th of May, 1535, Cartier with his whole crew, repairing to the cathedral Church at St. Malo, prayed for the blessing of God on their undertaking, and with it received likewise that of the Bishop. On the 19th he put to sea, having on board a number of young men of distinction, who were desirous of making their fortunes under him. The ships were soon after dispersed by a storm. On the 26th of June

of Juno, at the shore. On the 1st of July, when Cartier, as a refuge, took his station in a gulph, he was again driven up against the shore, and on the 2nd of July he got to St. Malo.

The Malayan Gulph has in time opened again that of the St. Lawrence and several others, and united between the two rivers till the old channel was extend beyond the head of the gulf, on which the name he came by the name of Avalon.

One of the vines was the grape vine, and the others, the wild and larger vines.

*This derivation of the name of Canada from the Spanish Aca nada, having been so often recurred to, I cannot help naming some objections against it. The Spanish word Aca nada is not ace, but aci, and the formation of Canada from Aquinada, appears forced and unnatural. It cannot, however, be denied, that this appellation has by many been derived from thence: for in ancient maps we often find Ica da Nada, or Præsensium Nili. But, from a Canadian vocabulary, annexed to the original edition of the second voyage of Jacques Cartier, Paris, 1545, it appears, that an assemblage of houses, or habitations, i.e. a town, was by the natives called Canada. Cartier says, Il a appelé une Ville, Canada; and nothing seems more natural than that when the French asked him how they called such a place, viz. a certain assemblage of habitations or huts, or the town, the savages should answer them, Canada, a town. Now this was imagined to be the particular and proper name of the country itself, and thence the whole country obtained the name of Canada.
of June they met together again at their general place of rendezvous, in the bay of Newfoundland. On the 11th of August he was obliged, by a storm, to take refuge in the harbour of St. Nicholas, on the northern coast of the mouth of the river St. Lawrence, which is in 49 deg. 25 min. N. lat. On the 10th, Cartier bore up again into the great bay, which he named the bay of St. Lawrence; and though the river which runs into it was at first called the river of Canada, yet it has in the course of time changed this appellation for that of the River of St. Lawrence, after the bay or gulph of that name. The name of St. Lawrence was also in the beginning only given to an inlet, situated between the island of Anticosti and the northern coast of the main land, but in the course of time has been extended to the whole of this large bay. On the 15th he came to the island which he named Assumption (or Aflumption Island) but which by the savages was called Natiscetes, whence the English have made the name Anticosti, a name by which it is known at this very day. After this they sailed up the river, and, on the 1st of September, ran into the river Seguency. Then he sailed farther, and named an island which he saw covered with hazel-trees, Ile aux Coudres (Hazel or Filberd Island). Here, seeing land on both sides of the river, he looked about for a harbour to pass the winter in. Higher up he found a still finer and larger island, covered with an infinite number of vines *, growing spontaneously in the groves and forests,

* One of the chief and strongest objections that has been made against the opinion that Newfoundland was the Wyland of the ancient Normans (vide page 83) is, that no vines grew there spontaneously: but Cartier's Buctis Island, or the Ile of Orleans, having been found covered with vines, and the latitude of this island being exactly the same with that of Newfoundland, and indeed of the most southern parts of that country, and moreover, the climate of Newfoundland being, on account of its vicinity to the ocean, rather milder than that of the Ile of Orleans, I can no longer doubt but that several sorts of wild vines grew also on Newfoundland, and chiefly the species before mentioned: Vitis vulpina, labrusca et arborea. But as we have not as yet any Flora of Newfoundland, we cannot affirm this with absolute certainty; however it is highly probable that this is the case.
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and hence named it *Bachus Island*: this name, however, is now forgotten, it being now called the *Isle of Orleans*. Cartier went still higher up the great river, and saw a river coming from the north, which he named *St. Croix*, having discovered it on the day of the *Elevation of the Holy Cross*; but at present this river is known by the appellation of *Jaques Cartier's River*. Here he conversed with *Donacaco*, a Chief of the savages, who was desirous of keeping all the advantages arising from Cartier and his crew to himself, and accordingly advised him not to go to *Hochelaga*, a large settlement of the savages. But Cartier left two ships in the river of *St. Croix*, and went with the third, *la grande Hermine*, higher up. In lake *St. Pierre*, he, not having depth of water sufficient, could not proceed any farther with his ship. He therefore armed his two boats, and went with them up to *Hochelaga*. This place contained about 50 dwellings, each of which was 50 paces long, and 14 or 15 broad. All these habitations were encompassed with paliades. There was but one gate or entrance to it; all around the fortifications there was an elevated stage, which was to be ascended by a ladder. On this stage lay a great quantity of stones, both large and small, for the defence of the fortification. The Europeans were well received here: but it was not long before inactivity, the confined and putrid air in the close and dirty habitations of the savages, the salted and poor provision they were obliged to put up with, together with the want of change of clothing, occasioned the scurvy amongst Cartier's people; and 25 of them died of this disease, till at length they learned from the savages the best remedy for it, and began to use it. This remedy consists in a decoction of the leaves and innermost bark of the white North-American pine-tree (*Pinus Canadensis* Linn).

*At present this place is no longer called *Hochelaga*, but *Montreal*. This name is entirely forgotten. This *Montreal* is the second place in *Canada*, being next to *Quebec*. The island on which it is situated is highly cultivated and pretty populous, in comparison with the rest of *Canada*. Epinette*
Epinette Blanche). By means of this, Cartier and his crew were perfectly recovered within eight days; nay, even those, too, were cured, who laboured under venereal complaints. In the next spring Cartier returned with what remained of his crew to France; and having, partly by stratagem and partly by force, carried off Donnacona from the river of St. Croix, presented him to the King, and expatiated largely on the advantages which were likely to result from a settlement in that country, and chiefly by means of the fur-trade; shewing, at the same time, that from the mildness of the climate and the fertility of the soil, every production of the earth might be expected. But the bulky prejudice at that time prevailing amongst all the nations of Europe, that only such countries as produced gold and silver were in any wise valuable and worth taking possession of, had also at this juncture so great an influence on the French, that they lighted the salutary advice of Cartier, and would hear no more of the establishment of a colony in Canada.

V. Nevertheless there were some people found, and those even at Court, who formed more just conceptions of the matter. A certain Nobleman of Picardy, by name Francois de la Roque, Lord of Roberval, who was of great weight in his own province, and whom, on this account, Francis I, frequently used to call the Little King of Vimeu, was more zealous than the rest for pursuing these discoveries. The King, therefore, on the 15th of January, 1540, created him Lord in Norimbega, and his Lieutenant-General and Viceroy in Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, Newfoundland, Belle-Isle, Carpon, Labrador, the Great Bay, and Bacallauz. By these great titles Roberval was induced to appear in the countries here mentioned, with a grandeur and magnificence suitable to his dignity. Accordingly he sent for canons from Normandy, and even from Champagne, and fitted out two ships at his own expense. Cartier was to go before as Captain, as he himself could
could not be ready with his two ships so soon. Cartier, therefore, set sail with five ships on the 23rd of May, 1640. After meeting with many storms, he landed at length in Newfoundland, in the harbour of Cape (probably Niopon, or Kirpon, on the northern point of the island). Roberval not arriving, Cartier went straight on to Canada, where he spoke with Agona, the successor of Donnacona, who had died in France. Having made presents to each other, Cartier went to the distance of four leagues from St. Croix into a small river, which seemed more convenient to him than the river of St. Croix itself. Here they saw a great quantity of black grapes; and found different sorts of garden seeds, such as cabbage, navew, and lettuce, which immediately sprang up. They likewise erected here a small citadel, to which they gave the name of Charlebourg.* The country was pleasant, and was furnished with a spring: it contained iron, and was full of chrysolites, and even of gold-dust. Cartier armed two boats with a design to go over the water-falls to Sagueney, but found it impossible, and, having discovered the perfidiousness of the natives, became doubly watchful. Having waited in vain till 1542, for the arrival of the Viceroy M. de Roberval, and consumed all his provisios, besides that he had great reason to fear an attack from the savages, he set out on his return to France; but quite unexpectedly found Roberval at Newfoundland, who had left France only in the month of April 1542, and had arrived in the road of St. John, in Newfoundland, just before him; with three ships full of men, women, and children. Roberval, indeed, wanted to oblige Cartier to return with him to America; but this latter gave him the slip with his squadron in the night, and sailed to Brittany.

* Hence it would seem that this first settlement of the French must have been at no great distance from Quebec and the little river of Charles; and, in fact, there is still a place called Charlebourg, about this spot.
VI. Roberval went with his three ships to the coast of Saguenay, built a fort on a mountain near the river of St. Lawrence, and sent his first pilot, Jean Alphonse de Xaintoigne, a native either of Portugal or Gallicia, to the northward, to discover a passage to the East Indies. But he did not go beyond 52 deg. N. lat. Roberval must have returned to France, for we find mention is made of many more voyages having been undertaken by him. The war between Francis I. and Charles V. prevented Roberval from attempting any other voyage till the year 1549. But in that year he set sail again, together with his brother, one of the bravest men of those times, and they were both reported to have perished, though no farther information concerning the particular circumstances attending their destruction has been handed down to us.

VII. For some time after this, people did not care to undertake any more voyages to America, as they could procure no gold from the newly-discovered northern part of it, not considering, that the real value of the fur trade and of the fishery surpassed by far that of all the gold in Peru, and secured to the state more permanent advantages. In 1568, the Marquis de la Roche went in the quality of Lord Lieutenant to these countries, and 40 of the people sent out with him, having been taken out of the prisons, he landed them on the miserable island called Ile de Sable, and fled away for Acadia, which since has obtained the name of Nova Scotia, from whence, after having made, in different parts of it, such researches as he thought necessary, he returned to France, without having had it in his power to take back with him the poor wretches from the Ile de Sable. In France many misfortunes befell him, which prevented him from returning to America; and this affected him so much that he died of vexation. Henry IV. hearing of the unfortunate wretches left on Ile de Sable, sent Chetod:el to bring them away. After seven years stay on this miserable island,
island, only 12 of them were alive, whom the King desired to see, just as they wore when they left the place, in their seal-skin clothes, and with their long beards; and afterwards made each of them a present of 50 dollars, and remitted them the punishment of the crimes for which they had formerly been put into prison.

Immediately after this man, Pontgrave de Chauvin went with a grant from the King for an exclusive trade to Tadoussak, on the mouth of the Saguenay, where he bartered for furs, and returning the next year, continued to trade, and had also determined to go there a third time, but was prevented by death. After this we find some accounts of the voyages of Samuel de Champlain, a man of a noble family, to Canada; but the discoveries made by him are very insignificant, and a great many of them do not come within the limits of our plan. What the savage Otchagah (perhaps one of the Otchagras nation) has laid of the passage from Lake Superior into Lake Bourdon, and to the two Ouinipiques, which are joined to Hudson's Bay by means of the river Nelson, is equally uncertain. None of these relations, any more than those of certain French officers, are sufficiently authentic to serve as a foundation on which a map might be laid down, or for a circumstantial description of these countries, and one that may be depended on.

VIII. Philip Buache, in his Considerations Géographiques et Physiques, Paris, 4to. 1753, mentions the voyage of a Captain Fromont, who, in the year 1709, sailed from China to Spanish North-America. This is the only ship that ever crossed the South Sea in so high a latitude. In 165 deg. E. long, from Ferro, he found a strong current setting from the north, and in the month of May met with heavy rains and violent flaws of wind. Being come to 188 deg. E. long, and 45 deg. N. lat. he found a sea as calm as a pond, which made him suppose that to the windward of him there must be a land which obstructed the current. Before he came to lat. 44 deg. and long.: 197 deg.
east of Ferro, he met with dreadful weather, violent flaws from N. N. E. and from the east, and strong currents setting to the north and north-westward. Here likewise he saw a great number of whales. In 40 deg. N. lat. the sea was green. Farther on, currents were to the south-east. At length, on the 24th of July, he reached the coast of California, having had, through the whole course of the voyage, variable weather and winds, violent showers of rain, heavy seas, and sometimes dead calms.

This is all that I have been able to collect concerning the voyages of the French, and the discoveries made by them in the north. Upon the whole, it is to be observed, that this nation has but lately begun to bestow that attention on voyages to distant regions which they deserve. What has been formerly undertaken in this respect has been chiefly done by private persons at their own expense. Government has seldom given its support to enterprises of this nature, or if it has, it has not done it with that zeal and ardour these objects deserve. It cannot be denied, however, that Government has also set on foot some very considerable voyages of discovery, and those at a considerable expense; voyages, too, in which observations have been made of great importance and general utility.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Discoveries made by the Spaniards in the North.

It was to a concurrence of many fortunate circumstances that Spain was indebted for the discovery of the West-Indian islands being made for her in the year
VOYAGES AND

year 1492, by the immortal Genoese, Christopher Columbus. The important advantages which they reaped from this discovery, emboldened all the high-spirited and resolute men of the nation to proceed in this career with almost inconceivable activity. The riches thus acquired served for fitting out a great number of ships, and for the execution of fresh enterprises. The great discoveries made by the Portuguese in Africa, the circumnavigation of the Cape of Good Hope in 1498, and the finding out of a passage by sea to the East-Indies, rendered the Spaniards still more and more intent upon new discoveries. Each of these nations endeavored to extend its discoveries, and to profit by them as much as possible. Ships were sent out everywhere on voyages of this nature. Vincent le Blanc affirms, that at the time when Thomas Aubert (or Hubert) went to Canada, viz. in 1508, the Spaniard, Velasco, went thither also, and that he sailed up the river, which was afterwards called St. Lawrence, for about 200 leagues, and then coasting along Labrador, came again to the river Nevada, which Cortereal had already discovered before him. But so little credit is to be given to the relations of Vincent le Blanc in general, that we likewise cannot place much dependance on this story of his with respect of the voyage of discovery made by the Spaniard Velasco and consequently cannot determine whether and how far it is founded in truth.

1. Alexander VI. Bishop of Rome, agreeably to the prejudices of those times, in 1493, divided the discovery of new lands between the Spanish and the Portuguese, by the famous Linea de Demarcation, which in fact began at 36 deg. to the westward of Lisbon, or at 27 deg. 29 min. westward from the first meridian, viz. that which passes through Ferro, or 332 deg. 31 min. eastward from Ferro; but which, for the greater convenience of both powers, was altered in 1494, by the treaty of Tordeillas, in such a manner that Portugal might be enabled to conquer the kingdom of Fez, and Spain, on the other hand, might have it in her power to do the same by Algiers, Bugis, Tunis, and

and
and Telefin; and consequently the Linea de Demarcation was now to be drawn at 370 leagues to the westward of the Cape Verd Islands. The Spaniards having moreover found their way westward to the Molucca Islands, by means of Magelhaen’s first voyage round the world, and both parties extending their 180 degrees from the line of demarcation very unjustly with a view to enlarge their dominions, attempts were made in 1524 to settle these disputes by Commissioners at Badojox and Elvas; but nothing was determined upon till the Emperor Charles V. in 1529, happening to be in want of money, by the treaty of Saragossa gave up his pretensions to the Molucca Islands, in lieu of which he accepted of 350,000 ducats from King John III. of Portugal. In the mean time the Spaniards continued to have a very difficult, and, on account of the storms usually experienced there, likewise a dangerous route, to go through the Straits of Magellan into the South Sea and to Peru and Chili, as also to the Philippine Islands; they therefore naturally wished to find a nearer way. The attempts made by the English and French to find a passage by the north to China and Kathay, and into the South-Sea, made them somewhat uneasy; lest it should be discovered and occupied by a foreign nation, and thus they themselves remain excluded from it; they, too, therefore, were desirous of trying to find a passage from the South-Sea into the Atlantic. But before this enterprise could be brought to bear, the Emperor Charles V. in the year 1524, sent Esevun Gomez from Corunna, to find out a passage to the Molucca Islands by the North of America. But finding it impossible to do this, he brought some Indians from these islands along with him, and, in 1525, arrived at Toledo. Vide Miguel Venega’s History of California, p. 124. Cortez, the Conqueror of Mexico, had received intelligence of the attempt of the Portuguese Caspar Cortereal, to find a passage, and of his having already discovered a strait, and named it Anian. In consequence of this intelligence
intelligence he sent out 3 ships, well manned, under the command of Francisco Ulloa, for the purpose of finding out this passage. This event seems to have happened in 1537, though very little has been handed down to us concerning the result of this expedition, as Cortés being willing to appropriate to himself the advantage which might arise from this discovery, if made, took the command of the expedition upon himself, but returned without having done any thing.

After him, the Viceroy Mendoza, sent people out in 1540, as well by land, under the command of Francisco Vásquez Coronado, as also by sea, under that of Francisco Alarcón, for the purpose of finding out the straits known by the name of Anian, and of exploring the coast to 53 deg. N. lat. Alarcón went no farther than to 36 deg. when his ships being in bad condition, and his crew sickly, the coast moreover beginning to trend to the northward (probably to the north-west) in which case he must have removed still farther from the land troops, who were even then at the distance of 10 days march from him, he returned. Vide Antonio Herrera's Description de las Indias, Amberes, fol. 1728; which has also been published in Latin at Amsterdam, in folio, 1622; as also in Jo. de Lact, novus Orbis seu Americae universalis Descriptio; Antwerp et Lugd. Bat. ap. Elzevir, fol. 1633.

II. The news of Alarcón's ill success having reached Spain, orders were given for another expedition. Juan Rodriguez de Cabrillo, a Portuguese in the service of Spain, was appointed to command it, in the year 1542, but he went no farther than to 44 deg. N. lat., where he found it very cold. The sickness of the crew, the want of provisions, and the circumstance of the ship's being too weak to stand the turbulence of the sea in those parts, obliged Cabrillo to return, without proceeding as far as he had been instructed to do. However, they saw land in 42 deg. N. lat. on the coast of North-America, which land they named Capo Mendocino, by way of compliment to the Viceroy; and they found that from thence to the harbour de la Natividad, the whole was
was one continued land, without the intervention of a
strait, or any other separation.

III. Besides what was done by these ships, it has
been advanced, that in the year 1568, a Spanish no-
bleman of the name of Salvatierra, on his return
home from the West-Indies, accidentally landed in
Ireland, and related to the Lord Lieutenant, that
Andreas Urdanietta had, about the year 1556, or 1557,
actually found a passage, and had shewn him, eight
years before his arrival in Ireland, a map of Mexico,
on which he had laid down this passage. Urdanietta com-
ing from the South-Sea to Germany, and afterwards
speaking with the King of Portugal, had related to his
Majesty the discovery he had made, who earnestly en-
treated him to observe a profound silence with re-
spect to this affair; as, if the English should get to
the knowledge of it, they would become extremely
troublesome to the King of Spain, as well as to him-
self, viz. the King of Portugal. This Urdanietta was,
in fact, no more than a Monk, but had an extraordi-
narily extensive knowledge of mathematics and navi-
gation; in consequence of which he was employed on
many voyages and expeditions, particularly on that
undertaken to the Philippines in 1564, under the com-
mand of Andreas Miguel Lopez Legaspi.

IV. A. D. 1582, Francisco Gualle had orders from
the King of Spain to examine if it was true that
there existed a passage to the east and north-east of
Japan, by means of which the South-Sea was con-
ected with that situated to the north of Asia. His
own report on this subject is as follows:—"Shaping
my course (viz. eastward from Japan, from 32 deg.
N. lat.) to the E. N. E. about 300 leagues from
Japan, I found a very hollow sea, with currents set-
ing from the north and north-west, till I had failed
above 700 leagues, and was at the distance of 200
leagues only from the coast of New Spain (or Cali-
ifornia); and it was not till then that I lopt the
- currents
currents and the hollow sea. Whence I am firmly of opinion, and steadfastly believe, that a channel or strait is to be found between the continent of New Spain and Tartary or Asia. During this whole run of 700 leagues we saw a great number of whales, and of those fish which the Spaniards call *Atuns* (Tunnies, *Scobom Thynnus*) a great number of which are caught near Gibraltar in Spain; as also *Albacoras* (*Scobom Hippos*) and *Bonitos* (*Scobom Pelamys*); all which are fish that usually haunt channels, straits, and currents of the sea; and all these circumstances, taken together induce me to believe, that there must be a channel or strait here."

*Juan de Fuca* was, strictly speaking, a Greek, from the island of Cephalenia, his real name was *Apostolos Valerianos*. He had been upwards of 40 years in the service of Spain as mariner and pilot, and had also lost a considerable fortune on board the Acapulco ship, which was taken from the Spaniards by Cavendish; which, however, he certainly over-rated in valuing it at 60,000 ducats (perhaps he meant dollars). At Venice he became acquainted with *John Dowlas*, an English pilot, and an excellent mariner, to whom he related his adventures, and at the same time informed him that he had discovered a passage. He likewise offered to go to England, and, in the service of Queen Elizabeth, to shew this passage, on condition of being indemnified for the loss he had sustained in the Acapulco ship. For he, *Juan de Fuca*, had been sent out by the Viceroy of Mexico, as

* For my part, I cannot say that all these kind of fish are so particularly fond of channels and straits; for, in the course of my voyage round the world, I have more than once seen these species of mackerel, and particularly the *Bonitos*, in great quantities (nay, we even caught some of them) in the middle of the Atlantic, at a great distance from any land. Whales we saw in the high southern latitudes, and that chiefly near the ice, far from any land. However, the greatest quantity of them that I saw was in a strait which has a very strong current, viz. the Straits of le Moine.

† Vide de Ciato Decad. 10, lb. 5. cap. 3. and Raziier de Linfchen, cap. 54.
pilot to 3 ships under the command of a Spaniard, to discover the straits of Anian; but the soldiers that were on board, to the number of 100, having mutinied, and besides that, the Captain having conducted himself improperly, the whole voyage had been frustrated. But in 1592, the Viceroy had sent him out, with a small caravel and pinnace, to discover these straits. Now, having seen, between 47 and 48 deg. N. lat. that the land trended to the north and northeast, with a large inlet, he had sailed into this inlet and continued sailing in it for the space of 20 days. The land stretched sometimes north-westward, and sometimes north-eastward, and even at other times, south-eastward, and the sea grew much wider than it was at the entrance, and contained many islands. He landed several times, saw several people clothed in the skins of animals, and found the country very fertile, and abounding in gold, silver, and pearls. Being now already come into the North-Sea, and having also found the sea wide enough every where, and near 30 or 40 leagues wide in the mouth of the strait where he entered, he at length resolved to return, having, on the one hand, actually accomplished the discovery, but, on the other, being too weak to be able to defend himself against the savages, in case there had been a necessity for so doing. Accordingly he arrived at Acapulco in 1592, and was in hopes of receiving a considerable reward from the Viceroy, for which purpose he waited two years in vain. He therefore went to Spain, where the King received him as kindly as the Viceroy had done; but obtaining no reward after a long attendance, he set out by stealth for Italy, intending to go from thence to Cephalonia, and pass the remainder of his days in peace amongst his relations in his native country. This relation of Fuca's in many instances seems to be rather fabulous, which renders the remaining part of it very suspicious.*

* Vide Lucas Fox's North-west Fox, London, 4to. 1635, p. 163, 165; and Purchas Pilgrims Book IV. Part 3.
The great achievements of Sir Francis Drake, who, in the year 1578, took possession, in a harbour beyond California, of a land in 38 deg. 30 min. N. lat. and named it New Albion, as also the expeditions of Sir Thomas Cavendish, became in the highest degree obnoxious and troublesome to the Spaniards in the beginning of their trade to the Manillas; add to this, that the report still subsisted respecting the straits of Asia, and increased the uneasiness of the Spaniards, as the whole coast, from Culhuacon (Culiacan) to Acapulco, was without fortifications or defence. On this account the Court commissioned Sebastian Vizcaino, a man of great courage and understanding, to explore the northern coast. Accordingly he sailed from Acapulco, in the year 1596, with three ships, to the island of Mazatlan, in new Galicia, and to Port San Sebastian, where they took in water, and investigated the coast for more than 160 leagues to the northward. In one place they lost 17 men, and were obliged for want of provisions, to return to New Spain.

After this fruitless voyage, King Philip III. ordered his Viceroy, Don Gaspar de Zuniga, Count of Monterey, that as the ships going from the Philippines to New Spain, usually came first in sight of Capo Mendezino, search should be made in those parts for a good harbour, where the ships might, in case of necessity, find shelter, and take in water and other refreshments; the high north winds raging so furiously on that coast, that such a place of refuge was very necessary; particularly for ships that sailed quite across the South-Sea. All possible preparations were immediately made for this voyage. Sebastian Vizcaino set sail from Acapulco on the 5th of May, 1602, with two ships, one frigate, and a small long-boat. Keeping along the coast, they described all the harbours, islands, and rocks on it, and at the same time suffered greatly from the terrible north-west winds that prevailed there. At length, in about 36 deg. 44 min. N. lat. they found a very convenient and secure harbour, affording...
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH. 453

fording excellent wood for the masts and yards of a
ship, as also very fine oaks for the planks and timber.
They likewise found pines, willows, and poplars; to-
together with beautiful lakes, fine pasturage, and excelle-
ent land for ploughing. Here were bears and wild
oxen of two different sizes; the one as large as a buf-
falo, and the other of the size of a wolf, yet made
like a flag, with a long neck and large horns like a
flag’s horns, and a tail of 3 feet long, and 1½
foot broad. Their hoofs were cloven, like those of
our oxen.

Add to this, there were flags, rabbits, hares, wild
cats, geese, ducks, pigeons, partridges, blackbirds,
kites, and cranes in abundance; of various sorts of
mussles there was great plenty, as also of lobsters;
and besides that, there were seals and whales. The
harbour was surrounded by Indian habitations (Rancho-
rias) the inhabitants of which were a well-made,
good-natured people. This harbour they named Men-
terey, in honour of the Viceroy. They also saw
Cape Mendocino in 41 deg. 30 min. N. lat. and as
they had a great many sick people on board, they re-
turned to the coast of New Spain. The small boat
saw a promontory in lat. 43 deg. which they named
Cabo Blanco. Ensign Martin Aguilar, who commanded
the boat, and the pilot Flores, were now of opinion,
that having made Cape Mendocino, as they had been
ordered to do, it would be necessary to turn back and
look for the coast of New Spain; but their report,
which is to be found in Torquemadas Memoria Indi-
ana, contains not a single word concerning an inlet,
creek, or harbour; much less is there a description
given of any strait. Consequently the whole history of
Martin Aguilar’s strait, which is mentioned in so
many charts, is founded on a mere fable. In fine,
having suffered greatly from the scurvy, and lost many
of the crew, they returned to Acapulco in the begin-
ing of the year 1603.

VIII. Now we are coming to a very famous expedi-
tion which, if it was to be depended upon in every
respect, would leave us not the least doubt about the
real existence of a passage. In the months of April and June, A. D. 1708, in an English monthly publication, intitled, Memoirs of the Curious, there was inserted an account of a voyage of discovery made by a Spanish Admiral, Bartolomeo de Fonte, which he himself describes in a letter. By what means this letter came into the hands of the editor, is not mentioned. Some have pretended that it was genuine, while others have insisted on the contrary. Amongst the former is undoubtedly to be reckoned the author of a work, intitled, The great probability of a North-west Passage, deduced from Observations on the Letter of Admiral de Fonte. London, 4to. 1761. The author was Theodore Swaine Darge, the lame person, who, when clerk of the ship California, had published an account of the voyage to Hudson's Bay in the year 1748. We shall not refer to any of his opponents, but only observe, that it is difficult to conceive, since the Spaniards have so carefully explored the coast of North-America in 1775; since the immortal Cook has navigated this same coast; since the Russian adventurers have begun, more than ever to frequent and accurately investigate this coast; since the Hudson's Bay Company has, very lately only, caused a journey to be made by land to the Frozen Sea; it is difficult, I say, after all this, to conceive where we are to infer the Archipelagos of San Lazaro, the Rio de los Reyes, the Lago Bello, the river Parmentire, the Lago de Fuente, the Estrecho de Ronguiello, the river Har, the river Bernardo, the Lago Velasco, and the peninsula of Cenibas finite; all which, however, are found in the narrative or rather reverie of de Fonte. None of the Spanish authors, who in other respects set so high a value on the discoveries of their countrymen, know any thing at all of this voyage, which appears to be the production of some idle visionary. Indeed this author has in general a very improbable way of writing; for he speaks of the salt water of the lakes, and of a flux and reflux in these lakes, and nevertheless finds it necessary, in order to proceed farther, to have
have recourse to boats, as he is obliged to go over some water-falls or cataracts; but, in the name of common sense and reason, how is it possible for the tide to get over a cataract? and how does he contrive to find salt water even beyond a cataract? But a man must have a great deal of idle time on his hands, or else be very strongly infected with the Cacoethes Scribendi, to undertake a serious refutation of such absurd and incongruous dreams. Indeed they would make such a figure in this work as an extract of 20 pages from the well-known Daniel de Foe's New Voyage round the World, by a course never failed before would, when blended with the genuine materials for history gathered from state-papers, or with a collection of authentic records.

IX. The last of the Spanish voyages, which was made in 1775, by order of the Viceroy of Mexico, Don Antonio Maria de Bukarell y Orsua, for the purpose of making discoveries to the northward on the western coast of America in the South-Sea, has to all appearance been preceded by some earlier voyages, of which the public has never had the slightest intelligence, it being well known that Spain keeps all her American affairs and transactions as close and as secret as possible. For it appears, that the Spaniards have not only missionaries, but also a harbour and a Commandant at Monterey. There are likewise regular packet-boats to this place; and they say themselves, that as far as this port, there is no occasion for any instructions with respect to the navigation the route that leads thither having been failed in so often since the establishment of the colony, and the most advantageous manner of making this voyage being so well known already. The longitude of it is 17 deg. westward from the harbour of San Blas, and the lat. 36 deg. 44 min. N. The two ships were commanded by Bruno Heceta, and the command of the galley was given to Lieut. Don Juan de Ayala, and Lieut. Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega.

In company with them sailed the Monterey packet-boat, called the San Carlos, commanded by Don Miguel
The author of this relation was Don Antonio Maurielle, second pilot on board of the galley Sonora. But already before this voyage of discovery, viz. in 1774, some ships had been sent out to 55 deg. N. lat. The frequent voyages of the English to the South-Sea, under Byron, Wallis, and twice under Cook, had roused the attention of the Spaniards; as well as the many discoveries of the Russians in the eastern ocean, which were chiefly made between the years 1767 and 1773. In consequence of this, they twice, if not three times, sent out ships from Callao to O-Tahiti, and in 1774 to the northward along the western coast of North-America, as far as to 55 deg. N. lat. and now again in 1775, in which year the ships set sail in company with the packet-boat on the 16th of March. The Commander of the Don Carlos having betrayed evident marks of insubordination, was set on shore, and the command of the packet-boat was entrusted to Don Juan d' Ayala, and Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra remained sole Commander on board the Sonora. On their very first outset they met with strong currents. On their passage they saw man of war birds (Pelecanus Aquilus) Gannets (Pelecanus Baillanus) and Tropic-Birds (Phaeton Æthereus) as also Boobies (Bobos, Serna Stolida). They had contrary winds and currents to strive against. They did not, however, run into Monterey, but resolved rather to fail to 43 deg. N. lat. and there to repair their ships, and to take in fresh water. In their way thither they saw a very extraordinary species of rockweed. The stalk by which the plant was fastened to the rock, was a long tube, with the upper part shaped like an orange, from the top of which shot forth great broad leaves, whence they called it Cabeza de Naranja, or the orange head. Immediately after, they saw a species of rock-weed with long-leaves like ribbons, which is usually called Zanate del Mare. They saw also seals, ducks, and fish. The lat. was 38 deg. 14 min. On the 8th of June they saw the coast...
coast pretty distinctly, and the current very strong to the south. On the 9th they ran into a harbour in 41 deg. 7 min. which they named de la Trinidad, after the feast of the Holy Trinity. The inhabitants pretty much resembled those whom Cook discovered about nine degrees farther to the northward. Their arrows were armed with points of flint, copper, or iron, which latter was perhaps obtained by barter either from the English in Hudson’s Bay, or from the Russians. The country thereabouts is fertile, and capable of great improvement. Continuing their course, they came into the vicinity of the island de Dolores, very near the land, and anchored there, purposed to take in water; but by this step they lost their boat and the best of their people, who were killed by the savages. Some of these who, with perfidious dissimulation, were coming to invite them on shore, they likewise shot in return; after which they went farther on towards the north. On the 17th of August they saw land again in N. lat. 57 deg. 2 min. Here they saw a mountain, to which they gave the name of St. Hyacintho, and the promontory they called Cabo del Enganno. The top of the mountain was covered with Inow, and the remaining part with wood, as was the country near the harbour de la Trinidad. At length they entered the port of Guadaluppe, in 57 deg. 11 min. and 34 deg. 12 min. to the west of San Blas. However, they soon got under sail again, and on the 18th, came to an anchor in the harbour of Remedios, in 57 deg. 18 min. N. lat. and 34 deg. 12 min. to the west of San Blas. Here they erected a cross, and took possession of this country—a country which the Russians had discovered and frequented long before. They got but one mast, some wood, and a little water, and then proceeded to the southward. In 55 deg. 17 min. they saw the harbour of Bukarelli, and took in wood and water. By this time they had many of their people ill of the scurvy; on which account they were obliged to hasten to Monterey. In 38 deg. 18 min, they entered
VOYAGES AND

tered a harbour, which they called de la Bodega, after the Lieutenant of that name; here they left their boat by a high tide, and afterwards went to Monterey. At this time they were almost all of them afflicted with the scurvy. Being recovered, and having refreshed themselves, they set sail again, and on the 16th of November came again to the harbour of San Blas.

The Spaniards have in former times undertaken very considerable voyages of discovery; but, in the last century, superstition, indolence, and the decline of their manufactures and trade, together with a false system of politics and other causes, threw them into a kind of lethargy, out of which, however, they begin to awake, under the present Government.

C H A P. V.

Of the Discoveries and Voyages made by the Portuguese in the North.

UNDER the spirited and patriotic direction of the Infant Don Henry, of glorious memory, the Portuguese were become the discoverers of a great many different countries. The science of Geography, and the art of Navigation, were more indebted in the 15th century to this nation than to any other. The renowned name of Vasco Gama, fired the men and youth of Portugal to emulation and glorious exploits; and heroes, without number, were seen treading in the steps of their predecessors. Immense riches resulting from the commerce with the Indies, were continually navigated up the Tagus. The advantages resulting from this wealthy commerce
DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH. 459

merce brought with them in their train luxury, pride, and all the vices incident to prosperity, which serve to relax the sinews of industry, virtue and true religion, and thereby gradually to undermine the well-being of the state. The loss of its ancient Royal Family, together with the circumstance of the crown having passed into the hands of Philip II. of Spain; the conquests made by the Dutch in India and Brazil, and the daily-increasing oppression on freedom of thought, by the growing power of the Monks and of the Inquisition, chiefly contributed to degrade this nation, once so active and renowned for noble enterprizes, to a state of ignoble idleness and forlorn insensibility. For some time indeed, they resumed their wonted spirit, in consequence of the revolution and of the accession of the family of Braganza, to the throne. But the new source of riches opened in the gold and diamond mines of Brazil, served only still more to degrade this nation, which was already quite in its wane. Her commerce with the English drained her of her riches, and in lieu thereof furnished her with the fruits of their industry; agriculture, the liberal arts, trade, tactics, and navigation, were neglected to such a degree, that of each of them nothing remained, but a mere shadow. These evils, it is true, Pombal endeavoured to remedy; but he was too odious, his measures too cruel and unjust, and the nation fallen too low for it to be possible for him to revive her spirit. This land, however favoured by nature, is still too deeply enveloped in the darkness of superstition. Its lazy, greedy, and too-numerous Monks are too much disposed to suck the fat and very marrow out of it. The Government is too little acquainted with the true principles of political economy, and is not solicitous enough to render its indolent citizens active and industrious. Arts and sciences, trade and agriculture, the true pillars of every state, are sunk too low, a circumstance which increases daily the weakness and feebleness of the state. She is consequently
in great danger of being swallowed up the first opportunity that may offer by her neighbour, Spain, who daily increases in power and greatness.

But at the period when Portugal was still in her glory, while her sons were still animated with the spirit of enterprise and action, and when the Government attended to every object of importance that presented itself; at this time Portugal looked upon all the discoveries made by Spain in the new world, as upon so many encroachments made on her own rights and property, maugre the donation made by an usurping Pope, and of the compromise for half the world, which she had reluctantly agreed to. It was a similar kind of jealousy that inspired Cofpar de Cortereal, a man of birth and family, with the resolutions of discovering new countries, and a new route to India. He set sail from Lisbon in 1500, or as, others affirm, in 1501. In the course of his navigation he arrived at Newfoundland in a bay, which he thence named Conception Bay, an appellation it still retains. He explored the whole eastern coast of the island, and went at length to the mouth of the great river of Canada. After this, he discovered a land, which he at first named Terra Verde, but which, in remembrance of the discoverer, was afterwards called Terra de Cortereal. That part of it which, being on this side of the 50th deg. of N. lat. he thought was still fit for tillage and cultivation, he named Terra de Labrador, a tract which Sebastian Munster, in his Cosmography, has called Terra Agriculta. It is highly probable that Cortereal, being come to Button's Islands and Cape Chidley, did, bona fide, suppose this to be the strait that leads into the Indian Sea. It is likewise said, that this strait obtained at that time from Cortereal, the name of Anian, after two brothers of that name. After making this important discovery, Cortereal hastened to communicate the interesting news of it to his native country, and he had scarcely delivered his intelligence before he hastened back again to visit the coast of Labrador, and to go to India through the straits of Anian, which he imagined he had just discovered. But nothing
thing farther was ever heard of him; so that he must either have been murdered by the Eskimaux savages, or have perished in the ice. Upon this, his brother, Michael de Cartereal, undertook the same voyage with two ships, and probably met with the same fate as his brother. No intelligence having been heard of either of the two brothers, their eldest brother, J o a n Vasquez de Cartereal, who was Chamberlain to the King, resolved to undertake the same voyage, in hopes of finding his brothers; but the King would not by any means allow him to expose himself to so imminent a danger.

II. Amongst the nations who carried on a considerable fishery off the banks of Newfoundland, we find at a very early period the Biscayners, Spaniards, and Portuguese; for so early as the year 1578, Capt. Anthony Parkhurst counted 50 Portuguese ships off the coast of Newfoundland, which all together carried at least 3000 tons burden. Here we must observe that so considerable a fishery never springs up all at once, but is established by degrees only; consequently it must have been carried on a good while before it could have risen to the height at which it then was. Now the French having fished on this coast so far back as in the year 1504, it is very probable that the Portuguese either at the same period, or at least not long after, must have fished there also. This evidently shews the great extent of the navigation, as well as the active and industrious disposition of the Portuguese at that time, since they carried on the fishery on the banks and coast of Newfoundland with such spirit as to employ upwards of 50 sail on this business, at a time when as yet there were but very few English ships that followed the fishery.

III. In Lucas Fox's Book, called The North-west Fox, London, 4to. 1635, page 162, we find an affidavit made by one Thomas Cowles, an English sailor, of Badminster in Somersetshire. This affidavit was made in the year 1579, in an age when an oath

* This relation is taken by Fox, from Parke's Pilgrims. Part III. page 849. E. T.
was still universally considered as a most serious and religious act. The contents of it are, that Cowles being six years before (consequently in 1573) at Lisbon, in Portugal, I heard one Martin Chacke, or Chaque, a Portuguese mariner, read a book, which he, Martin Chacke, had written and published in the Portuguese language 6 years before (viz. in 1567). In this book he affirmed, that 12 years before (viz. in 1555) he had set sail from India for Portugal, in a small vessel of about 80 tuns, accompanied by four very large ships of great burthen, but was separated from the other four in a storm with a westerly wind. He had passed by many islands, and at length failed through a gulph near Newfoundland, according to his reckoning in 59° N. lat. and after having shot the said gulph, he had seen no more land till he fell in with the north-west part of Ireland, from whence he had shaped his course for Lisbon, where he arrived a month or five weeks sooner than the other four ships. Were this relation of such a nature as to be in any wise depended upon, it would be a strange proof of a passage having been actually discovered. But the single unsupported testimony of a sailor, who had heard the description of a voyage like this read in a book, which perhaps was only a romance, carries not the least weight with it; and consequently it would be as absurd to place any dependence on it, as it would be, after having read Mr. Busching's Extract from De Foe's Romance, intitled, "A New Voyage round the World, by a course never failed before," to conclude, that such a voyage had been actually undertaken in the years 1713 and 1715, and that a rich gold country, together with a pearl island, such as are there described, had been really and bona fide discovered. Besides, we are sure at present, in consequence of Hudson's Bay having been so often explored, that we need not seek any more for a passage in those parts. The voyages of the Spaniards, English, and Russians, along the western coast of America, have also at present rendered it pretty probable...
table that no passage is to be expected there; and that
the imaginary strait of Anjoy, or Anian, can only exist
in the weak brains of idle visionaries, supposing by
this name to be meant a strait, leading from the
South-Sea into Hudson's Bay. For in other respects
the strait between Asia and America, which I have
named Beering's, and others, Cook's, and others again,
Dolboeff's Straits, might likewise just as well be cal-
l the Straits of Anian.

IV. The Jeluit de Angelis, a native of Portugal,
got in the years 1620 and 1621, to the coast of
Matsumai, as did also Father Jacob Caravalho. Both
of them relate, that on the island of Efo, or Yedje,
in the vicinity of the town of Matsumai, there are
very rich silver mines, in which there are about
50,000 Japanese at work, some of them voluntarily
and by their own choice, but the others are crimi-
nals condemned by the laws to labour, among
whom there were at that time many Christians; and
in a river that runs close by the town of Matsumai, or
Matsumai, there is collected a great quantity of gold-
dust. The inhabitants of the eastern parts bring to
market the skins of a fish (the sea-otter) which they
buy from some of the neighbouring islands, which
are three in number. The animal to which these
skins appertain is called a racoon, and a skin costs
about 20 crowns. Every inhabitant of Matsumai is
his own master; they are a strong, well-made, good-
natured people; they wear their beards long, and
large ear-rings, either of silver or silk. Their wea-
pons consist of bows and arrows (which latter are
poisoned) of spears, and of short swords or daggers.
They wear Cuirasses, composed of small wooden
boards. In Matsumai they get wine in exchange for
furs, birds' feathers, and different kinds of fihes;
they also barter for rice, together with silk, cotton,
and linen clothes. They worship the sun, the moon,
and the Gods of the mountains and seas; and have
at the best but a very imperfect idea of a future state;
they, however, are a very humane, sociable, and good
fort of people. These few particulars are all that
is known of the nature of the land of Efo and Mat-
sumai.

V. In
V. In a map of India, published for the first time at Lisbon, in 1649, by Peter Texeira, Cosmographer to the King of Portugal; and which, as well as many other of his works, proves him to be a very skilful and accurate geographer; we find first, a group of islands laid down at 10 or 12 degrees to the north-east of Japan, in 44 and 45 deg. N. lat. and then a coast stretches from west to east, with the following words annexed: "Land of João da Gama, the Indian, seen by him in sailing from China to New Spain*. In what year this voyage happened is not known. Neither is it possible to determine with any certainty, who this João da Gama was. He seems, however to have been a seafaring man, born in India, but of Portuguese extraction. This land, laid down by Texeira, is probably no other than the isle of Urup, or the island Samusifir, or Schimusifir, the latter of which is about 130 werits, i.e. 76 geographical miles in length. It is true, Texeira has laid down the coast, stretching out in one continued line quite to the straits of Anian (Estreito de Anian) which lie between Asia and America; but one may plainly perceive from this very draught, that he had no exact information with respect to the continuation of the Asiatic coast; for, according to him, the straits of Anian are in 50 deg. N. lat. which is certainly very far from being the case.

VI. Lastly, I find in Mr. Buache's Considerations Geographiques et Physiques, Paris, 4to. 1753, page 138, an account which says, that in 1701, a sailor from Havre de Grace had seen, 28 years before, at Oporto, in Portugal, a ship called la Padre eterno, commanded by Capt. David Melguer, who died just at that time, and at whose funeral he was present. This Melguer is said to have left Japan with his ship La

* Terra qu. vis De Joao da Gama Inde, da China para Nova Espana.

Padre
Padre eterno, on the 16th of March, 1660, and to have failed along the coast of Tartary, till he came to the 84th deg. of N. lat. and then to have shaped his course between Spitzbergen and Old Greenland, and so failing to the west of Scotland and Ireland, to have at length entered the harbour of Oporto. This is the most material part of this relation, which, however, deserves no credit; for, ever since the years 1637 and 1638, the Portuguese and Spaniards have been absolutely banished from Japan, and that forever. How then was it possible for a Portuguese ship, 22 years after that period, to fail from Japan, a place where this nation was no longer admitted nor suffered? This consideration alone is sufficient to prove, that the whole account is a mere rumour, and a story trumped up by some sailors, devoid even of the least shadow of probability arising from internal evidence.

At present we have no farther accounts concerning the navigations of the Portuguese to the North. They content themselves with navigating to their possessions in the Brasils, to the coast of Africa, the Azores, the Cape Verd Islands, and Madeira. It is but seldom that any of their ships go to Goa, Macao, and Timor. The present wretched state of the whole of their trade and navigation, together with the profound ignorance in which they are plunged, make it very difficult for them to pursue these navigations; consequently no more voyages to the north are to be expected from this nation, since it cannot reap any benefit from them.
Of the Discoveries and Voyages of the Danes in the North.

The descendants of the ancient Normans, who had been used to cross the most distant seas, with an intrepidity which has never yet been surpassed, not even in the present improved state of navigation; these people, whose far-extending shores are for the greatest part surrounded by the sea, and part of them indeed gain their whole subsistence out of the sea by fishing, must undoubtedly understand more of navigation, and be more habituated to the coldness of the climate than any other nation. Neither can it be denied that, to this very day, the Norwegians and Danes are excellent sailors. Towards the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century, the chief of their navigation consisted in their voyages to Iceland and Greenland. But even those to Greenland were at length entirely neglected.

I. In the year 1564, in the convent of Helgaafjöll in Iceland, the Governor of the island having confiscated all the revenues of the convent for the use of the King, there was found a blind Monk, who lived there in indigence and misery. This man the Governor sent for, and learned from him, that in his younger years he had been thrown into a convent by his parents, and that in the 30th year of his age, the Bishop of Greenland had taken him along with him to Drøntheim in Norway, to the Archbishop: but, on their return, the Bishop had left him in this convent of Helgaafjöll, in Iceland: all this passed in 1546. He next gives a description of Greenland, and of the convent of St. Thomas, in which he had formerly lived, which in every point is like that given by the Zinos, except that he had added some more fables
fables to it. And, as from what he told them, it was concluded that it was an easy matter to sail to China through the frozen sea, the Governor gave orders for one of the King's ships that had wintered in Iceland, to be provided with every necessary, and sent to Greenland. Accordingly they set sail on the 31st of March, 1564, and made Greenland on the 20th of April, but were prevented from landing by the ice, neither could they come to an anchor on account of the great depth of the sea. They went a-shore therefore in the boat, clambering over the ice as well as they could. Near the shore they found a dead Greenland in his little boat. Soon after their landing they were attacked by a white bear, which, however, they got the better of, and killed. A storm arising in the mean time, they went on board the ship again, and sailed eastward from Iceland to the northward, with the purpose of going through the White Sea into the sea of Tartary, and so on to Cathay; but they were prevented by the ice from proceeding farther, and therefore returned to Iceland on the 16th of June. This relation is to be found in Dithmar Blaschke's Islandia, seu populorum, et mirabilium quæ in ea Insula reperitur, accuratior Descriptio. Lugd. Bat. 8vo. 1607.

II. Christian IV. King of Denmark, too, was desirous of reviving the knowledge of Old Greenland, which had made part of the dominions of his ancestors, and with this view gave orders for a voyage of discovery to be made to that country. For this purpose he sent for some skilful pilots from England and Scotland, viz. John Cunningham, James Hall, and John Knight. He likewise fitted out three ships, and appointed as Admiral, to command the expedition, Gotske Lindenau, a Danish nobleman, who, for his information, took with him the ancient Icelandic accounts of Greenland, together with the journal of David von Nelle's Voyage to Greenland, made by order of King Frederick II. On the 2d of May, 1605, they stretched out of the sound to sea. As they came near the ice, Hall shaped his course south-west;
Gotjke Lindenaë, on the other hand, directed his north-east, and arrived on the eastern coast of Greenland. The natives came on board his ship. They drank train-oil, and were very eager after iron and steel. Lindenaë, after staying here three days, obtained two of them forcibly on board his ship, who, however, made a stout resistance, to procure them their liberty, the other savages shot off their arrows, and threw stones at the Europeans' legs, but were soon dispersed by the firing off of a gun. Gotjke Lindenaë then hastened to Copenhagen, where he arrived safe by himself.

James Hall went to the western coast of Greenland, where he found a great many harbours, very fine land, and good pasturage. The inhabitants here were more shy. They found many places flaming with burning brimstone; they likewise found a silver ore in the form of a black powder (silver malm) every hundred weight of which yielded at Copenhagen 26 ounces of silver. Cape Farewell, in 59 deg. 50 min. N. lat. he named Christianus, after the King his master. Five leagues farther on, the needle varied 12 deg. 15 min. to the west. A strong current drove him northward against the ice on the American coast; but on the coast of Greenland the current sets to the south. In exchange for iron, nails, knives, &c. he got seal-skins, sea unicorns horns (narwhal) sea-horse teeth, and whale-bone. Having stayed some time in a harbour in 66 deg. 33 min. and traded with the inhabitants, they attacked him once on a sudden with stones and arrows; but, by firing a falcon among them, they were quickly dispersed. He was again attacked twice in the same manner. He then went into a harbour near Mount Cunningham, which he named Denmark's Haven. On this spot there were about 300 of the natives. The deep creeks in this part of the sea abound with salmon, herrings, whales, and seals. They saw there ravens, crows, pheasants, partridges (i.e. ptarmigans) gulls, and other kinds of fowl. There were black foxes in this country, and they saw the
the dung of stags, as also the horns of these animals. He then sailed farther on to 69 deg. The savages having behaved in a very hostile manner, he seized three of them, and found himself under the necessity of killing others. His captives he treated with great kindness, and took them to the King. 

In pursuance of express orders from the Stadtholder of Denmark, he put on shore two malefactors, condemned to die, having previously furnished them with provisions and other necessaries. On the 15th of July he was in 57 deg. and the next day, amongst some loose ice, he met with a large shoal of whales; the current set to the N. W. On the 15th of August, he fell in with an incredible quantity of herrings, which led him to suppose, that he was in the vicinity of the Orkneys. On the 10th he came to an anchor in Hol- 

III. The good success of this voyage encouraged the King to enter upon a second enterprize of this kind, which was undertaken in 1606, in which year, on the 27th of May, five ships set sail from Copenhagen, under the command of Gotthke Lindenau and James Hall. On the 4th of August they reached Greenland with four ships, the fifth having been separated from them in a storm. They sailed along the coast, entered the several harbours, and saw some rein- 

IV. Though nothing new had been discovered by this voyage, and no advantage had accrued from it, yet the King resolved once more to send out two ships, which he did in 1607, under the command of a Holsteiner, by name Karsten Richards. One of these vessels was commanded by James Hall. They left the Sound on the 13th of May, and got sight of Greenland on the 8th of June. Endeavouring to force their way
way to the land through the great quantity of ice, by which it was surrounded, the ships were separated. Richards, after making several fruitless attempts, was obliged to return home, without having done anything; and while Hall was in like manner using his best endeavours to get through the ice, the Danish crew, under his command, mutinying, forced him to tack about, and make the best of his way to Iceland. Consequently this expedition proved abortive.

V. It being known that in the year 1610, Henry Hudson had discovered a new strait, and beyond it a great sea, Christia IV. King of Denmark, imagined, that in this sea there might possibly be a passage to the East-Indies, which would be productive of great advantages; he therefore ordered two ships to be fitted out in 1619, and gave the command of them to Jens Munck. Munck sailed from the Sound on the 16th of May, in the same year, and on the 20th of June, saw Cape Farewell. He passed through Hudson's Straits, which he named after his King, Fretum Christiani, or Christian's Straits. On an island in the first strait they found deer (viz. reindeer) one of which they shot, and thence named the place Rehe-or Deer Island; it is in 61 deg. 20 min. N. lat. The sea near America (viz. the coast of Labrador) he called Mare Novum (or the New Sea) and to that next to Greenland (if indeed it be Greenland) he gave the name of Mare Christianum (or Christian's Sea). In 63 deg. 20 min. he met with so much ice, that it was absolutely impossible for him to proceed any farther; this made him stand over to the southward, when he put into Churchill's River. Here on shore he saw a stone with an image upon it, which had claws and horns. They also found some dogs that wore muzzles, and the fire-places and remains of the huts of savages. They ate white bear's flesh, hares, and partridges, and caught four black foxes, and some rabbits. Their beer, wine, and brandy, were frozen, and burst the casks. The ice was from 300 to 360 feet thick. The greatest part of them fell sick of the scurvy, which was followed by a flux. On the 4th of June, Munck
Munk fell ill himself, and lay four days without either eating or drinking, for their provisions were nearly exhausted. Notwithstanding this, he recovered, and, crawling out of his hut, out of 64 persons, of which his crew at first consisted, found but two alive. These two were overjoyed to see their Captain, and they all three endeavoured to comfort each other, seeking for food amongst the snow. They dug up some roots, which they ate, and which proved a powerful restorative to them. On the 18th, the waters being open, they began to fish for salmons and trouts, and soon after entirely recovered their healths. At length they left the larger ship in the river, which he named Munk's Harbour, and set sail with the smaller vessel. They now lost their boat, and the ice broke their rudder, which they repaired with great difficulty; however, when the ice broke up, they found their boat again, which they had lost 10 days before. After weathering a very dangerous storm, which had broke their mast, and had nearly carried away their sail, they at length landed safe in a harbour in Norway, and, a few days after, arrived at Copenhagen, where the King, who had long given them up for lost, received them with great astonishment. This Munk was afterwards employed by the King in the years 1624, 1625, and 1627, on the northern sea, and on the Elbe, and died on the 3d of June, 1628, in the course of a naval expedition. The King had in the year 1620 established a new Greenland Company, which was to have sent out two ships every year on the whale-fishery; but this Company was dissolved again in 1624, on account of their being so poor, that they could not follow the whale-fishery any longer; and the King gave leave to any Danish burgher, whatever, to go to Greenland.

VI. In 1636 the King again established a new Greenland Company, which accordingly sent out the first ships on the 6th of April; but, agreeably to the stupid prejudices of those times, did not pay the least attention to the killing of seals, or the cod-falmon-
and whale-fisheries, nor to any other useful production of the country; but confined their search to gold and silver only. A great quantity of glittering sand was brought over from Greenland, which, however, proved to be mere rubbish. By this incident the proprietors were quite disheartened, and the Company dissolved itself.

VII. In the month of November, 1773, a letter from M. de la Lande, was inserted in the Journal des Savans, setting forth, that on the 1st of June, 1769, a Danish King's ship, called the Northern Crown, and commanded by the Baron von Uhlefeldt, had set sail from Bornholm in Norway, (where, by the bye, there is no such place as Bornholm) furnished with provisions for 18 months, and provided with astronomers, draughtsmen, and every necessary. This ship, it seems, had found in Hudson's Bay, a passage into the American sea, above California. In the straits they found a great number of buffaloes and wild beasts, and, after having suffered great hardships, they arrived on the 11th of February, 1773, through the straits of Le Maire, near the Isle of Rofs in Ireland, and went into Bremen, because of the Sound being frozen, and at length, after an absence of 3 years, 7 months, and 11 days, arrived at Copenhagen.

It is easy to perceive, that the whole of the preceding relation is the invention of some genius of more leisure than veracity, who, knowing the world to be extremely solicitous concerning the result of Capt. Cook's expedition, has endeavoured by this fictitious voyage, to divert their attention and expectations from it. Indeed the particular aim of the author seems to have been, by pre-occupying the attention of the public, to make it indifferent with regard to Cook's discoveries, and take from the great merit of this immortal man: but the name of Cook will never fall into oblivion, though ten such fictitious
fictitious voyages as these were brought in opposition to him. Perhaps, too, a spirit of animosity and resentment, excited by the decisive steps which England took, in 1771, against Spain, on account of the Falkland's Islands, and against Denmark on account of the Queen Caroline Matilda, contributed not a little to the invention of this curious romance. In these days it would not be of the least advantage to Denmark, either to make new discoveries to the north, or to find a passage to the Indies; consequently there is no likelihood that they should be at any expense to carry into execution a plan from which they could reap so little benefit.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Discoveries and Voyages of the Russians in the North.

A GREAT part of the country, at present called Russia, was inhabited towards the north-east and north, from the most remote ages, by a people of Finnish origin, perhaps descended from the ancient Scythians. Towards the north-west were tribes, consisting of a mixture of Sauromates and Grecian colonists, and from them are descended the modern Lithuanians, Lettovians, Livonians, and Courlanders; as were also the ancient Prussians. The whole southern part of Russia, even to the Crimea, was for some time inhabited by Goths; and between the Wolga, the Don, and Mount Caucasus, dwelled a nation descended from the Medes, called Sauromates, i. e. the

Nordic.
Northern Medes. In process of time, when nations of barbarians issued one after the other, in swarms, from the east, and some of the different tribes of Goths had, since the middle of the third century, penetrated into the western regions of the Roman empire; part of the Sauromates found themselves under the necessity of retiring farther to the northward and westward. Even at that early period they had the same political constitution which we still see take place amongst them. Each individual of the nation was either master or slave. Hence those who were of distinction among them, called themselves tribes, Slav, and Slawne, or Noblemen; whence again all such as were either renowned for, or even capable only of performing great achievements, were in process of time in like manner called Slawne. Under this denomination it was that they became known to the Europeans, who were not till very lately acquainted with the particular tribes of those nations. These tribes had their appellation frequently from some river, town, or region. So the Polabes were named after the Lada, or Elbe. The Pomeranians dwelled on moru, or near the sea. The Havellaniæ, near the river Havel; the Maroaro, or Moravians, or Maharani, on the banks of the river Morava. The Warnabi had once their residence near the Warnow, and the Polotsani on the banks of the Polota. In the mountains (Chrebet) lived the Chrobates; the Tollenians were named after the river Tollensea in Pomerania superior, which empties itself into the Peene, near Demmin. From Sidin, or Sedin, the Stettin of the moderns, one tribe was named Sidiniæ; another from Brizan (Treunbrizen) Brizanians; from Kissen, a town subsisting in those early times, the Kiffinians took their name, the traces of whom are still to be found in a village near Rostock, called Kissen, or Kissen; and lastly, the Lutizians were named after Lottz, on the river Peine. But there are also some names of these tribes which are original; as for example, the Serbs, or Serbs, the Tschechs, or Bohemians,
the Lachs, Lecha, or Polatzes, i.e. the Poles; and from the more modern Waregian Roffi, the Russians, about the year 862, had their name. The storm which, in the train of Attila, from the year 435 to 456, spread terror and devastation over the earth, was but short and transient. In the mean time came the Turkish tribes, which till then had dwelled in Great Turkyl (i.e. Little Bukharia) and Turkistan (where is still subsisting on the banks of the Taras the town of Turkistan) and established new empires. The empire of the Vlachi, or Volochi, or Wologans, or Volgars, or Bulgarians, is in like manner called Great Bulgaria; it is situated beyond the Wolga, on the banks of the Kama, Bielaia, and Samara; the empire of Borkah or Ardu of the Afconian Turks extended on this side of the Wolga from Usiel, near Saratof, quite to Mount Caucasus. One part of these were called Kumani, or Komani, from the river Kuma, and their town was named Kumager*. Farther on resided the Madsherars, Maflchats, Pechatars, or Bashkirs, a tribe of Finnish origin, near the mountains of Usal and the Bilaia. Soon after this came more Turkish tribes, viz. the Chazars, the Petchenegs, the Uzians, and the Paleuzians, and even the Bulgarians advanced into the southern part of Russia, and into Moldavia, Bessarabia, and Crimea.—In the mean time Russia was governed by its Great Dukes, who, together with their Noblesse, were of the Waregian race. The division of the empire into a number of small principalities, the pretensions made by the lesser Princes to the sovereignty; together with the excessive power and wealth of the clergy, all contributed to weaken it; for the petty Princes were seldom entirely satisfied with their Great-Dukes, whence arose trifling contentions and destructive civil wars. But in the 13th

* The ruins which at present go under the name of the ruins of Madsherar, appear to be rather the remains of this town of Kumager on the banks of the Kuma and Bynara. The word Kumakir signifies, in the Turkish language, the plain of Kuma. In fact, there is round this very spot an extensive plain, and by this word Kumager, we must understand the town of the plain of Kuma.
VOYAGES AND

century, on the banks of the rivers Onon and Kerlun, there started up a new empire, which gave celebrity to the before-unknown nation of Mongols (or Moguls) under Temudjin, who in 1201, soon after his victories over the Taissu, and over the Naimans and Merkits, and several inroads made into the Land of Tangut, had the name of Zinghis Khan given him by all the hordes subject to his command. The victories of this great monarch were very rapid and extensive. He gave his sons the command of some Mogul tribes, together with some of the conquered nations; and they went forth to subdue the nations of Asia to the power of Zinghis Khan. Tufchi Khan, one of his sons, was, in the year 1211, to attack the inhabitants of Gete and Kaptschak, that is, of the southern part of Russia, from the Dniepr to the Emba, or Yenba, and all the nations that lived to the westward. The Komans, the Wiachts, the Bulgarians, and Hungarians, or Madfchiars, were conquered by Tufchi. His son, Batu Khan, attacked the Russians and Polowzians, and defeated them in a great battle near the river Kalta, which runs into the sea of Azof near the Don. The Mogul Chiefs, insolent, and elate with victory, often oppressed the Russians in various ways. On the other hand, the Russian Princes, induced by false ambition and petty contests amongst themselves, used to repair to the Golden Horde of the Khan, near the Wolga, there to purchase with shameful humiliations and lavish presents, the title of Great Duke. The Moguls, in the mean time, in consequence of their internal and civil disflections and wars, decreased in power, and the Russian Princes at length became ashamed to worship such a mere shadow of power and gran-

* Gete, according to Des Guignes, is a country situated to the west and south-west of the river Irtish; but Danville places it to the north of the country of Turfan, or to the south of the Upper Irtish.
deur, and to hold of these insolent invaders claim to the Great Dukedom, when it would be so much more honourable to derive it from their own valour. Iwan Wassilewitsch was the first Great-Duke, who, in the latter part of the 15th century, broke through this humiliating ceremony, refusing to pay the customary tribute, and defeating the Moguls at different times. Iwan Wassilewitsch, the first Czar, and Self-upholder of all the Russians, came to the throne in the year 1533. He made the conquest of Cañan and Astrachan, and extended the power and dominion of Russia to a great distance. He found that the Cossacks of the Don did great hurt to his subjects by their depredations, and disturbed the public peace. In the year 1577, therefore, he sent a considerable force to punish these depredators. Before this body of men arrived, some of them had the prudence to fly from the approaching storm. Yermak Temösteff, a valiant Cossack, very expert in the art of war, and held in great estimation among his brethren, as being a man of abilities and resolution, making his escape, went up the river Kama and the Tschulowaya, with 6 or 7000 men. Here he met with a nephew of the famous Anika Stroganoff, from whom the present Counts and Barons Stroganoff are descended. His name was Maximius Stroganoff, and he possessed part of the lands bequeathed to his ancestors by the crown. He received this troop of banditti kindly, in order to avoid being used ill by them. Here Yermak had intelligence that some barbarous nations, viz. the Bajch-kirs, Wotes, Oftiaks, and Tschermifés, bore very hard upon the Russian subjects near the Kama, and that they were secretly supported and their hands strengthened by Kutschum, Khan of Siberia. Determined to take vengeance for these depredations, he went up the rivers in the years 1578, 1579, and 1580, and at last reached Tura, where he conquered several petty Chiefs of the Tartars, and passed the winter at Chimi. His army, however, was now diminished to 1636 men. He defeated the Tartars once more in the year 1587; but
but the whole of his forces then consisted only of 1060 men. He was forced to fight many more battles, however, before he could reach the Irtysh and pursue his victories; at length, having totally routed Kutuchum Khan, and put him to flight, he made his public entry into Sibir. The Osfiah and Woguls, Kutuchum’s ancient subjects, now submitted to Yermak, and even great numbers of Tartars acknowledged his sovereignty. Yermak had made a considerable booty, and had, besides, received very valuable presents from his new subjects. He now regulated the tribute they should pay, and sent a Cossack, of the name of Ataman, to the Czar at Moscow, with the news of his victory. At the same time he craved the Czar’s pardon, sent him the choicest furs by way of tribute, and requested that some succours might be given him. The Czar, in return, sent him presents, granted him a pardon, and confirmed him in his new dignity. He likewise obtained the succours desired; but, in consequence of his extreme avidity to extend his victories, the too easy credit he gave to every false report, and of his neglect to lay in a stock of provisions, the greater part of his army was starved to death, and he himself perished, upon an expedition on the Irtysh. Sibir, and all the new conquests were lost for a time; but greater forces were soon sent, towns built, people, and fortified, and in a few years the victories and acquisitions of the Russians went in rapid progress from one river to another, from one wandering tribe to another, till in the year 1639, Dmitri Kopileff at length reached the eastern coast of Asia, not far from the spot where Ochotsk now stands. If we cast but a glance on the map, we shall see that in the space of 59 years, by means of a kind of undisciplined chasseurs and light troops, there was annexed to the Russian empire a tract of country which extends nearly 80 deg. in length, and in the north even reaches to the 185th deg. of long. east of Ferro, and consequently far beyond a 4th part of the globe; and in breadth extends above 25 deg. viz. from the 75th to the 50th deg. of northern latitude. We need only read the history of these conquests.
conquests in order to get an idea of the steadfast, undaunted, and resolute disposition of the Russian nation. Their bodies inured to bear the greatest hardships, their strength and the soundness of their constitutions are equal to the spirit with which they accomplished such vast conquests. But in the midst of this great success and accession of wealth and power, this mighty empire which had not kept pace with the western Europeans in the rapid progress made by these latter towards civilization, found it difficult to resist the power of the petty kingdom of Sweden. Very fortunately however for this empire, Providence bestowed upon it a man, who, though his education had been entirely neglected, though he was surrounded by such as used their best endeavours to give a false bias to all his talents and mental qualities; who, though he had prejudices to conquer, which might be thought insurmountable, yet possessed spirit and courage sufficient to give himself an education, and form himself, even at the age of maturity; and was besides endowed with penetration enough to know those who were about him, and their just value, and not to be mistaken in the choice of his new servants; a man, finally, who, well acquainted with the proper mode of informing the minds of his people, caused them to make almost instantaneously, hasty strides towards cultivation and refinement, and gave them weight in the political system of Europe. In short, a Prince, who, by his creative genius, prepared his people for the greatness and splendor in which they now appear, under the government of his great niece, to the admiration and astonishment of all Europe.

The discoveries of this nation in the North have met with very able historians. The conquest of Siberia has the pre-eminence over all the conquests of other Princes of the earth. By these countries have been laid waste and depopulated, and frequently a very inconsiderable tract of land is purchased with the blood of many thousands of men. The conquest of Siberia, on the other hand, cost hardly any blood at all; and since it has been conquered, this country is populated
VOYAGES AND

populated and cultivated, and is continually advancing in wealth, population, and happiness.

This History has been written at large by M. John Eberhard Fisher, of the Academy of Peterburgh, with great fidelity and exactness. The first discoveries of the Russians along the coasts of the northern ocean, the certainty that Asia does not join to America, the distance between the Russian dominions and Japan, and the distance of the same from America; all this has been set in the clearest light by the late learned Counsellor of State*, Geo. Fred. Muller, in the third volume of his Collection of Russian History. Finally, that great naturalist, Professor Pallas, has, with a laudable diligence and accuracy, continued in his New Northern Collection, the history of the latest discoveries made since M. Muller's history was published, and particularly since the commencement of the reign of the great Catherine II. It would therefore be highly improper to give here a history of the voyages of discovery made by the Russians in the North. This needs not, like the history of the discoveries made by other nations, to be collected, with great pains and labour, out of many different and extremely scarce works, but is in the hands of everyone, in works which are entirely new, very well known, and written with a truly philosophical spirit. I shall now only subjoin a few general observations.

The capacious mind of the immortal Peter, first chalked out the whole plan of these different voyages of discovery, and his Empress, and all the subsequent Monarchs, particularly Anne and Elizabeth, contributed every thing in their power towards carrying it into execution. They went from Archangel to the Ob, from the Ob to the Jenifei. From the Jenifei they reached the Lena, by travelling partly by water and partly by land. From the Lena they went to the eastward as far

* The English reader will find the want of these authors in a great measure compensated by Mr. Cox's elegant Account of the Russian Discoveries between Asia and America, 4to, 1786.
far as the Judigirka. From Ochotsk they went along by the Kurile Islands to Japan. Beering had already, previously to this, navigated the northern coast of Kamtschatka to the 76th deg. of northern latitude, and now they again undertook an extensive voyage, in order to discover the American continent from Kamtschatka, an enterprize in which Commodore Beering, as well as Captain Tschirikow, succceeded. Besides the particular objects of their researches, both saw some islands, and Beering was stranded upon one of them, not far from Kamtschatka. He died there; and his crew made a small vessel out of the wrecks of the ship, and stood into the harbour of Peter and Paul, in Kamtschatka. After this, some merchants and freebooters went, with permission of the Crown, to make discoveries, hunt, trade, and collect the tribute; and though the vessels, in which these first adventurers went, consisted of nothing but a few wretched boards fastened together with leathern thongs, discovered notwithstanding in the year 1745 and 1750, a group of islands, which were called the Aleutian Islands. Farther on, another group was found, which were called the Andreanoff Islands; and last of all they descried the Black-Fox Islands, which were near the American continent. This whole group composes a very remarkable archipelago, which certainly with great justice was called, in honour of the great Catherine II. the Catherine Archipelago. It extends from Kamtschatka to the point of land called Alafia, in North-America. From this very fame land of Kamtschatka a chain of islands extends to Japan. Kamtschatka, North-America, Japan, the Kuriles, and also the Catherine Islands, have all different volcanos, of which some are extinct, and some still continue burning. These volcanos daily occasion new and considerable revolutions in these regions. They form a chain of mountains, by which the two continents have been formerly connected, in like manner as they have also,
in all probability, been joined to each other in Beering's Straits. A flood that has come from the southwest, and taken its course to the north-eastward, has also formed here the point of Kamtchatka, called Lapatka, together with the bay of Ochotsk, and the Penfchiniyan Bay, and swept away with it in its course a great quantity of earth, which has remained there, lying on the bottom, and has caused the shelves upon which now the ice is so often lodged at present, and by which it is prevented from dissolving. It is not my province to determine when this great flood happened, nor by what means it was produced. We have occular evidence that a great and violent revolution of this kind has actually happened. The islands with the volcanos on them, are accessary proofs of the truth of my system, viz. that islands are formed from the continent being broken into a great many pieces.

Thefe Catherina Islands, and the adjacent continent of North-America, would afford to a diligent naturalist a thoufand subjects for interesting observations, should it at any time please the Great Catherina, for the advancement of science in general, and of geography and the knowledge of nations in particular, to give orders for the undertaking of a voyage, which would greatly contribute to extend human knowledge, prove extremely beneficial to the great empire the rules, and by which she would acquire eternal honour and fame from a grateful posterity.

Nos equimur probabilia, nec ultra id quod verisimile occurrit progrædi poßimus, ct reflere line pertinacia et refleri line iracundia, parati sumus.

GENERAL REMARKS ON THE
DISCOVERIES made in the NORTH;
TOGETHER WITH
Phyical, Anthropological, Zoological, Botanical, and Mineralogical Reflections on the Objects occurring in those Regions.

THE globe of this earth, as far as we hitherto know it, contains a much greater quantity of land elevated above the surface of the sea, in the northern part, than do the opposite polar regions in the south, which, to those who have explored them, have constantly exhibited nothing but a wide extensive sea. On this principle it is that I have endeavoured to demonstrate in a former work, that in all probability the northern regions, taken collectively, are warmer, particularly in summer, than the southern. See my Observations made during a Voyage round the World, page 99. In fact, the great depth of the sea absorbs the solar rays, which likewise are not capable of imparting warmth to the prodigiously extensive, and withal denser sea, so easily as they do to the much-more rarified fluid of the atmosphere. The land, on the contrary, reflects the rays of the sun in every direction; in consequence of which they cross each other, and observations have shewn, that it is by its collected beams only that the sun is capable of generating a considerable degree of warmth. This is confirmed by the experience of all navigators in the northern regions, who, when between the 70th and 80th degrees...
of latitude, frequently speak of a heat powerful enough to melt the pitch with which the ship is paid. On the other hand, in the south, the temperature of the air is much colder; and in those parts they never enjoy the comforts of a warm day.

In the cold countries there are a great many different species of tale and mica, as likewise a great quantity of the fleatites, and lapis ollaris, particularly in Greenland and Hudson's Bay, as likewise at Spitzbergen. Volcanic productions are found in great abundance in Greenland, Iceland, the western coast of North-America, the Catherine and Kurile Islands, and in Kamtschatka. Of metals there has been found native copper in Hudson's Bay, and in the Copper Island near Kamtschatka. Bear, or Cherry Island contains a considerable quantity of lead, and likewise some native silver. In Greenland a silver, and even gold earth are said to have been discovered.

The coast of Greenland consists entirely of high sharp-pointed rocks on both sides. In Hudson's Bay, however, these mountains begin to be less steep, and in some parts of it, there are even flat level shores. Iceland is throughout, as well as Spitzbergen, a high rocky country. Nova-Zembla has the same appearance. The whole northern coast of Siberia is flat and low. The eastern coast of Asia, as far as to the extreme point of Kamtschatka, is for the most part high and rocky. The American coast, on the contrary, is low and flat, but to the south of Alaska it begins to be higher.

Hudson's Bay, Baffin's Bay, and all the little seas from Labrador to Cape Farewell are evidently made by the sea having broken in upon the land. This likewise appears from the lofty top of Cape Farewell and the high rocks on the eastern side of Resolution and Salisbury Islands, and of all the islands in Hudson's Bay, which terminate in flats to the westward, as though the earth had been washed away from them by

by
by a flood rushing on them from the east. Greenland has an inlet to the eastward of it, and to the westward an island, viz. Iceland. Spitzbergen has a promontory in the south-west, and to the south-east an island. All the shores of the Icy Sea along Siberia are flat, and the seas that lie to the northwards of this country are very shallow. What we had to observe with respect to the physical influence of the situation of the sea between Asia and America, near Kamtchatka, has been already touched upon at page 482.

The seas in these regions are very cold, and partly covered with ice. The observation, that the ocean freezes here even so early as in August or September, and that in winter it is covered over in the space of one night with ice several inches thick, is now fully confirmed. The ice therefore is not the production of the rivers running into the ocean, but of the ocean itself. The large masses are impelled by the wind one over the other, and thus form thick and lofty clumps of ice. But various are the ways in which ice is formed. We can never say, this is the method which nature pursues in producing a certain effect; for she has a variety of means to accomplish her intentions, which man is not able to discover otherwise than by slow degrees. In the beginning of winter the ocean is not so cold as at the commencement of summer, subsequent to the tedious long winter in those parts. The winds in the Icy Sea are very boisterous, and, when they blow over the large fields of ice there, intolerably cold. Eafterly winds also are more common in the Arctic Circle than any other. The same too has been remarked before in the Antartic polar regions. Fogs are in these climates very common, and consequently render the navigation there very dangerous. These fogs by their pressure keep down all the vapours which would otherwise rise up into the atmosphere; for which reason they have frequently an offensive
Thunder and lightning are very rare in these parts; partly by reason that the northern lights, which often are very frequent, confume and wafte the electrical exhalations; and partly because in a region covered with eternal snow, from whence but a trifling quantity of snow melts away in the space of several days, the electric matter cannot possibly rise from the earth in any considerable quantity, and collect in order to form the matter of thunder and lightning. The trifling portion which appears in tempests, is thrown into the air from the volcanos in these regions.—The abundance of mists and vapours, which are in part frozen, and fill the whole atmosphere, serves likewise to make one phenomenon more frequent and common here than it is elsewhere. Parahelions and mock moons are seen very frequently in the north, so much that they have been remarked by many travelers. These very vapours, which in the atmosphere so greatly abound, serve also the beneficial purpose of exhibiting the joyous light of the sun in these dreary and melancholy regions almost a fortnight sooner above the horizon than could possibly be done, were the atmosphere in a different state: consequently they contribute to shorten the dismal nights in these countries, and to enliven nature, rendered absolutely torpid by the deadening blasts of winter.

It must be true, the animated organized creation is scattered with a sparing hand in these dreary climates. The surface of the earth is covered with but few plants, and even those which nature has in her bounty bestowed upon it, cling close to it, fearing, as it were, to raise their heads from the bosom of their mother into the air, totally deprived, as it is, of warmth, and shrinking from the deadly blasts of the north and east winds. Nay, the earth itself is unprepared and unfit to receive and harbour the plants committed
comitted to her care. Bare and naked rocks, with a calm intrepidity, present their callous fronts to the attacks of the all-ravaging frost; during the greatest part of the year, indeed, they are covered by a thick bed of snow. Consequently they are preserved for a long time without mouldering, and undestroyed. Rain, wind, and heat, alternating with frost; but above all, the effects of heat and the fixed air floating in the atmosphere, contribute to dissolve and destroy by degrees the hardest and most solid rocks in temperate and warm climates. The fixed air, accompanied by heat, penetrates deep into the substance of the stones, and dissolves small particles of them, which the rains and wind wash away and carry to a distance, and by this means make the surface of the earth continually more and more capable of receiving and harbouring plants, and all kinds of vegetables. In this earth, from a small feed brought to it by the wind, at first there is generated a diminutive moss, which spreading by degrees, with its tender and minute texture, which, however, resists the most intense cold, extends over the whole a verdant velvet carpet. In fact, these mosses are the midwives and nurse of the other inhabitants of the vegetable kingdom. The bottom parts of the mosses which perish and moulder away yearly, mingling with the dissolved but as yet crude particles of the earth, communicate to it organized particles, which contribute to the growth and nourishment of other plants: they likewise yield salts and unguinous phlogistic particles for the nourishment of future vegetable colonies. The seeds of other plants, which the sea and winds, or else the birds in their plumage, bring from distant shores, and scatter among the mosses, are kindly, and with a truly maternal care screened by them from the cold, imbued with the moisture which they have stored up for this very purpose, and nourished with their oily exhalations; so that they grow, increase, and at length bear seeds, and afterwards dying, add to the unguinos
nutritive particles of the earth, and at the same time diffuse over this new earth and mosses, more feeds, the earnest of a numerous posterity. Here let us stop for a moment to consider these productions of the vegetable world in a nearer point of view. They are, as we have already observed, planted with a sparing hand in these northern regions, not because nature acts the part of a step-mother by them, but because the severity of the cold in these climates disturbs and puts a stop to her operations, and consequently makes her employ ages to produce effects, for which she has scarcely a few years allowed her under the benign influence of the sun in milder regions. Yet even here is Nature the same indulgent parent. On the few dwarfish plants that are to be found in these regions the animals thrive astonishingly; even the liverworts (*lichen rangiferinus* & *islandicus*) possess uncommonly nutritive qualities, and make the animals which feed on them, fat in a short time. On the very shores scurvy-grafts, and other plants of this class, present themselves to feafering persons infected with putrid fevers, and with their invigorating juices, put a stop, in the space of a few days, to the ravages of the scurvy.

And however unpromising these regions may appear, yet neither the sea nor land are destitute of objects, which, besides an organic structure, have the power of voluntary motion and of consciousness. From the corals to the mammalia, every class of animals has its representative in this otherwise inhospitable climate. Nova Zembla, Spitzbergen, and Greenland, have even their reindeer, their white bears, and grey foxes; and the country lying to the northward of Hudson's Bay is inhabited by the bisam ox. Hares, mice, and gluttons, also are indigenous in some of these regions. The sea swarms with various sorts of whales and dolphins; while its shores and the dreary fields of ice that float upon it, serve as a habitation to the numerous species of seals, to which the depth of the ocean in the immense number of its inhabitants presents an abundance of food. Of all these northern regions the northern
The northern coast of Siberia alone is constantly inhabited by mankind, if we except America as far as Hudson's Bay and Greenland. The bodies of this race of men are contracted, as it were, by the cold. They are of a brownish-red complexion, their hair is lank, stiff, and black. Their food is fish, seals, and whales, and whale-oil is their greatest delicacy. Their ideas are, according to our way of thinking, very confined; yet they manifest in the formation of many of their implements, and articles of house-furniture, a skill, a dexterity, and capacity, which at first sight, one would not be apt to imagine they possessed. The complaints we frequently hear of their perfidiousness and cruelty, are entirely groundless. The Europeans, indeed, have often, by acts of violence, by murder, and the perpetration of the greatest cruelties, drawn upon themselves the vengeance of these kind-hearted, hospitable people, and, at length, taught them mistrust. They fulfil the duties of parents with tenderness, resolution, and care, and in circumstances in which thousands of Europeans would neglect their charge. Amidst dangers, amidst the most piercing frosts, snow, and winds, they venture out to sea in small leathern boats to provide food for their children. In short, the more we attend to these objects, the more evidently we shall perceive in all parts the traces of the providence, goodness, and wisdom of a supreme being, who dispenses his benefits over the whole universe, and manifests the utmost sagacity and intelligence in the accomplishment of his purposes; all which in persons of susceptible and feeling hearts excites the warmest sentiments of gratitude and adoration, and affecting them with the tenderest emotions, draws from their eyes tears of heart-felt joy and admiration. O that men would therefore praise the Lord for his goodness, and declare the wonders that be done for the children of men!
# Index

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>AARHUUS</strong>, its former and present situation</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abalus Island, described by Pytheas</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abulfeda, the summary of his information relative to the North</td>
<td>34, 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abubeke</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acre</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acridophagi, signification of the name and their place of abode</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adigas, the same as Circassia</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adiketi, neighbours of the Alanians</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adkofi, vid. Adiketi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Admiralty Island</td>
<td>415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Æfti or Eftihonians visited by the Carthaginians</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long unknown to the Romans</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their manners and government described by Alfred</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afgoden Hoek</td>
<td>413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa, original signification of the Word</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First discovery of its coast and circumnavigation of it at different times</td>
<td>6, 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricola fail quite round Britain and subjects the Orkneys to the Roman Empire</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajaffa al, harbour of</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akko, vid. Acre</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alanians ravage the Roman dominions</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their former place of residence</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their Religion</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alarçon, Francisco de, his attempt to find the Straits of Anian</td>
<td>448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alaric plunders the Romans</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ale, why the Eftihonians brewed none</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alfred, his generous behaviour to the conquered Danes</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His translation of Orofius</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Translation
## INDEX

**Translation of his geographical description of the North of Europe** 54

Whence he had his geographical knowledge 74

Aleutian Islands, the discoverer of them, and their situation 481

Alexander VI. bishop of Rome, portions out the newly discovered countries 446

**Allemannii, the origin of the name** 24

Confederacy of this people 32

All-Heath or All-Heide 69

Almalig, city of 152

**Amber imported by the Phoenicians and Greeks** 6

Described by Pliny 21

Known to the Romans 26

Amsterdam Island 349, 422

**Ancona, vid. Akko**

Audanicum, the same as Steel 135

Origin of this name 242

**Andreasoff Islands** 481

Angeli, his account of the land of Efo 463

Anglo Saxons, their piratical expeditions to Britain 44

The place of their residence 56

Anian, Straits of 447, 460, 463

Anjoy, vid. Anian Straits

Anticosti, Island of, its different denominations 439

Aral, River of 99

Arambee, an unknown coast 290, 436

Ardu, Empire of the Alconian Turks 475

Argonauts, fail to the country of the Hyperboreans 12

Argon, his embassy to Kublai Khan 124

A mixed race at Tenduc 141

Arinaprians, why they were supposed to have but one eye

Introduction

**Arrak, the Beverage of the ancient Northern nations and of the Chinese** 146

As, the same people as the Alanians 166

Ashurst, Thomas, undertakes to plant colonies in the North 289

Atof 151, 165, 168

Affam, John, King of Bulgaria 97, 99

Affara, the same as Saray

Assumption Island

Africani 439

Africana 151

Its trade in former times 171

Athel, or Athol, i.e. the Wolga 35, 38, 116

Attila, the extent of his Dominions 39

Aubert, Thomas, his Voyage to Newfoundland 432

Augustus Caesar, Discoveries in the North in his reign 26
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDEX</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baals River</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baccalao, the ancient name of Newfoundland, Whence derived</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visited by Gilbert</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baillie, William, his voyage to the North</td>
<td>348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His voyage with Bylot</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baghdad inhabited by the Bitermans</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balafgan or Balaxian the country of, its inhabitants and its productions</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balchafa Nor, a lake, its vast size</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baldach, vid. Bagdad</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balisn, a Chinele weight or coin</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balkh, city of</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balukelawa, its ancient names</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baltia, known to the Carthaginians Whence this name is derived</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbaro, Josaphat, his journey to Tana</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barentz, William, his voyages With Heemskerk</td>
<td>379, 411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrach, vid. Bereke Khan</td>
<td>417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barratier, his opinion of R. Benjamin de Indela's travels</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ba'chart</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balshkirians, their language and place of residence</td>
<td>100, 475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their origin</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their mode of writing</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bafcia, a country on the River Vafch, its inhabitants</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baftarkians</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baths, laws and literary anecdotes concerning them</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batu, Khan of the Moguls</td>
<td>102, 475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baulak or Bolak, the gold mines of</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bay of Exploits, first discovered by Leif</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bear Island</td>
<td>328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discovered by the Dutch</td>
<td>417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bay de Chaleurs</td>
<td>438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beentinae or Blekingen</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beerling, his voyage with Tschirikoff</td>
<td>481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beerling's Straits</td>
<td>402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behaim, Martin, his artificial globe</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgian Mountain, the primitive residence of the Moguls</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgorod</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belor Mountain</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benedict, a Mindorite, accompanies the Pope's ambassadors to the Moguls</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benjamin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX

Benjamin of Tudela, his observations relative to the North 91
Bennet, Stephen, his voyage to Cherry Island 328
Bermas 63
Berenfort Harbour 415
Bereke Khan 153
Bergos, its present name and situation 30
Bergu, a plain, its inhabitants described 138
Biarmians 63
Bilhan, vid. Belgian 82
Birn, carried by a storm to Newfoundland 94
Biermini 158
Bilbur, its situation 155
Its inhabitants and produce 155
Blachs or Balchians 100, 474
Black Point 398
Blekingen 70
Bokkain, the province and city of 1,19
Bolgar, the town of 39
Described likewise 119
Bontekoe, the island of 429
Borkash, vid. Ardu 28
Borkum Island, Amber formerly found there 61
Borsholm 169
Bosphorus 396
Bowdens Inlet 6
Bractain, the land of Tin 44
Bretagne colonized by fugitive Britons 365
Briggs’s Mathematic’s Islands 321, 44
Britain known to the Greeks, as being the tin country 15
Introduction and 6
Visited by the Phœnicians 11
Why it afterwards sunk into oblivion 26
Becomes subject to the Romans
Is visited by the Franks and Anglo-Saxons
Brizianians 474
Brook Cobham Islands 363, 388
Brutack 94
Bukareli Orfua, his voyage of discovery 455
Bulgari, Bulgaria 59, 100
Conquered by Yedighey Khan 155
Bulgarians, their origin 100
Burchana, vid. Borkum 32
Burgundias, the same as Bornholm 372
Burgundians, settled in Gaul 154
Burrough, Stephen, his voyage and discoveries 172
Bursal, the mountain of, a silk manufactury there
Bufa, an intoxicating liquor drank in Rullia
Busurmen
INDEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bufurmen, vid. Bifermini</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butan</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Button, Thomas, his voyage of discovery</td>
<td>345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remarks upon it</td>
<td>347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Button's Bay</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Button's Islands, by whom discovered</td>
<td>347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bylot, Robert, his first voyage of discovery</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His second voyage</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remarks upon it</td>
<td>357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabo or Cabot, John, with his sons, discovers Newfoundland</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structures with respect to him</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His endeavours to promote voyages of discovery</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabral, Pedro Alvarez, discovers the land of the Holy Cross or Brazil</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabrillo, Juan Rodriguez de, his voyage to North America</td>
<td>448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cadiz, founded by the Phœnicians, and when</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Phœnician store-houses there</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cæsar, how far he advanced in the North</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cailac, its inhabitants and manufactures</td>
<td>104, 149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calacia, vid. Cailac</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caliphs, the promoters of literature</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their Buffaloes</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambalu, the winter abode of KUBLAI KHAN, its situation and conveniences</td>
<td>145, 162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camexu, the same as Khamé</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada, origin of this appellation</td>
<td>438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canglo, are descended from the Cæmanians</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canary Islands, known to the Greeks by the name of the Fortunate Islands</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Breton, by whom thus named</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abounds in coals</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Barren</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bianco</td>
<td>453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chidley's</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christianus</td>
<td>468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comfort</td>
<td>357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deflation</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Del Enganno</td>
<td>457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diggers</td>
<td>335, 358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dobbs</td>
<td>391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dyers</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farewell</td>
<td>307, 468</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fuller ton
| INDEX |
|-------|---|
| Fullerton | 387 |
| Of God's Mercy | 301 |
| Henrietta Maria | 366 |
| By whom thus named | 369 |
| Hope | 391 |
| Icy | 493 |
| King James's | 335 |
| Langenes | 414 |
| Maria | 366 |
| Mendoza | 452 |
| Nassau | 415 |
| Pembroke | 347 |
| Prince Henry's | 335 |
| Salisbury | 336 |
| Southampton | 347 |
| Smith | 391 |
| Wallingford | 369 |
| Wollaston | 336 |
| Zwartenhoek | 415 |
| Caravallo, James, his description of Eso | 463 |
| Caragoran | 437 |
| Cary's Swans-neft | 345 |
| Carchan, province of, its inhabitants described | 129 |
| Carentarians | 58 |
| Carpini, John de Plano, a minorite, goes on an embassy to the Mogul Khans | 93 |
| Account of his journey | 94 |
| Carey's Islands | 355 |
| Carthage, origin of this name | 8 |
| Flourishing state of it, founded on the ruin of the Physicians | 9 |
| Carthaginians take long voyages and possess an extensive commerce | 10 |
| Cartier, Jacques, de St. Malo, his voyage | 437 |
| His second voyage | 438 |
| His voyage with Robert | 441 |
| Cefcar, the country of, its inhabitants described | 129 |
| Caspian Sea | 38, 116 |
| Caffeterides, the tin islands | 6 |
| Chadifcha | 33 |
| Chamul, the country and city of, its inhabitants and customs | 133, 160, 242 |
| Chamul, the town of, where situated, and by whom built | 94 |
| Chancellor, Richard, goes to Russia | 271 |
| His second voyage thither | 272 |
| Chaques, Martin, his fictitious voyage | 402 |

Charlebourg
## INDEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entry</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Charlebourg</td>
<td>442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charlton Island</td>
<td>369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chathians in Georgia</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chazaria, the province of</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chazarians</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The ancient inhabitants of Crimea</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chener thei, the province of</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cherry Island, the same as Bear Island</td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description of it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cherule, a country on the banks of the Kherlon</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheifuir, its inhabitants</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chesterfield's Inlet, vid. Bowden's Inlet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiacato, an Indian king, equips the Poli for their journey</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinchintalas, its situation, produce, and inhabitants</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chirimia</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chitalas Dalai, vid. Chinchintalas</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chogatal, sent to Rome with M. Polo</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chremuch, the country of, the-inhabitants, animals, and fertility of it</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christians Haab</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christians Straits, the same as Hudson's Straits</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chrobiani</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiangnor, the town and lake of, their situation and inhabitants</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciarcaim, the country of, its inhabitants and produce</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cicones, a northern people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cimbalo, Συμβαλυν λαος, the modern Baluklawa</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cimbris, their military expeditions, conquests, and settlements</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whether they were Germans</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cimmerians, inhabitants of the Crim</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circaftians</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Profes the christian religion</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerke, Charles, accompanies Capt. Cook</td>
<td>599</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continues the expedition after Cook's death</td>
<td>409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cocos, same as Mount Caucasus, its situation and produce</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cocking Sound</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cogatal, vid. Chogatal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coleburn, accompanies Hudson in his third voyage</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colom, Christopher, endeavours to set on foot a voyage of discovery</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discovers the Island of Haiti</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colomna, town-of, a description of it</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Companie Land</td>
<td>426</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comanians</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compaifs, description and use of</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kk</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# INDEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Its inventor</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The period of its more early and general use</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conception Bay</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By whom thus named</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant Search</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contomanians, researches into their origin</td>
<td>415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cook, James, his voyage of discovery to the North</td>
<td>397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His death</td>
<td>404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cook's Island</td>
<td>366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cook's Straits, vid. Beering's Straits</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coronado, Francisco Valquez de, goes to the Straits of Anian</td>
<td>448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cortereal, Caspar de, his voyage of discovery</td>
<td>460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His brothers attempt the same</td>
<td>461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotan, the province of, its cultivation</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cronium, the Icy Sea, origin of this name</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crusades, the occasion and consequence of</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cruys Hoek</td>
<td>415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumanianas, described by Haitho</td>
<td>115, 168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumberland's Islands</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumberland's Straits</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cwenland, fame as Finland</td>
<td>55, 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Its inhabitants described by Others</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cwenanas</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cwen Sea</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Currents in the North, remarks upon them</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cychians and Cythians</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are a free people</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daimir Khan</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalamenfans, their residence</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daleminizians, vid. Dalamenfans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danes, how far they carried their piracies</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduce Alfred to great straits, Erect various sovereignties in Ireland</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darcy's Island</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Datisa</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davis, John, his first voyage of discovery</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second voyage</td>
<td>302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remarks upon it</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third voyage</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remarks upon it</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davis's Straits</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deer Field</td>
<td>348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deer Sour 1</td>
<td>391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denis, Jean, fails to Newfoundland</td>
<td>431</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Derbent
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDEX</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Derbent</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Its situation</td>
<td>112, 154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deshneff, Semen, the first that failed through Beering</td>
<td>401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Straits</td>
<td>401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defire Provoked, a land so called by Hudson</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defolation</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dido plants a colony in Africa</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Di.trich of Bern, his atchievements</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dir, the companion of Olkold</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difco Road</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dobbs, Arthur, proposes a voyage of discovery</td>
<td>392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domitian reduces almost the whole of Britain under his dominion</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Douglas Harbour</td>
<td>391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drache Ufanaut, the ship so called</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drogio, the country of</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Its situation</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drauten Lake</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dumneey or Dumnoe, the island</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dun Fox Island</td>
<td>365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eaftland</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edam, land of</td>
<td>428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edges Island</td>
<td>427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edigi, the same as Yedighey Khan</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edom, the Progenitor of the Phœnicians</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edrefii, Scheriff ai, the geographer</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extract from his treatife, and strictures upon it</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eggaya, the same as Irganekon</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elibing, ri: of</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elifehe, the same as Kippie</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elifa, vid. Dido</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elliot, Hugh, his supposed voyage to the North</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enak, the children of, inhabitants of caves</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their manners</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spread along the coasts of the Mediterranean, where they are called Canaanites</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At first trade, and by the Greeks are called Phœnicians</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engern, not the country of the Engels</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engels, refided in the Islands of Denmark</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engroveland, the same as Greenland</td>
<td>203, 206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eowland</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equius, town of, the same as Akfu</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erdshimur, the country and town of</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergimul, the same as Erdshimur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eriega,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX.

Erigaia, the fame or Organum ........................................... 140
Eric, firft bishop of Greenland, goes to Winland ...................... 87
The books found there came from him .................................. 204
Eric Raude a fugitive, discovers Greenland ............................... 709
Gives a description of it .................................................. 80
Eric's Sound .................................................................. 50
Erythras, vid. Edom .......................................................... 85
Elkimaux, their ancestors .................................................... 463
Elo, the ifland of ................................................................ 85
Ethonians, vid. Offi ............................................................ 70
Estnoere, viz. the Frifch Haf .................................................. 70
Euthymenes pursues Hanno's discoveries ................................... 208
Eywucktoke Inlet ................................................................ 396
Ezina, the town of, abounds with all kinds of animals ................. 137
F.
Faira, the ifland of ............................................................... 202
Fairas Land ........................................................................ 330
Fair Haven ......................................................................... 349
Fair Foreland ....................................................................... 330
Faral, the town of, the fame as Otrar ........................................ 53
Far-oer or Sheep iflands, when discovered ................................. 78
Fera, vid. Faira ................................................................... 86
Finbog fails from Iceland to Winland ........................................ 46
Findanus, short account of his life ............................................. 29
The Finlanders are descended from the Scathians ......... 66
Not known to the Romans till later times ............................... 66
Lived on moors and swamps ................................................. 66
The ancient name of the people now called Laplanders ......... 62
Finmark, the fame as Lapland ................................................. 62
Flawes, William, his voyage of discovery ............................... 383
Flocke fails to Iceland .......................................................... 50
Flux and reflux of the ocean, firft observed by Pytheas and .... 17
its height on the coaft of Britain accurately ascertained .... 19
by the fame ........................................................................ 19
Fogo Island, formerly called Penguin Island ............................ 293
Fonte, (Barth glorious) his pretended discovery ....................... 454
Fort Charles ........................................................................ 378
Fotherby, his firft voyage to the North ..................................... 348
His second voyage .................................................................. 349
Fox, Lucas, his voyage of discovery ......................................... 359
Fox's fartheft voyage of discovery .......................................... 367

Franks,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Franks, origin of their name</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spread as far as Britain</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practice piracy with success in the Mediterranean</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are expelled out of Britain</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East, their boundaries</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freidis accompanies Finbog in his expedition</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friesland</td>
<td>180, 202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frobisher, Martin, his attempt to fail to the North</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makes a second attempt with success</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His third voyage thither with a squadron</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frobisher's Straits</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fronndad, his voyage from China to North America</td>
<td>444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuca, Juan de, his voyage</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gale</td>
<td>428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamken's Land</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galza, vid. Ajaia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gama, (João de) his pretended discoveries</td>
<td>464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gama, Vafco</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gamalecco, the same as Cambalig</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardar's Island, by whom discovered</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whence it derived its name</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography and the knowledge of distant nations, the sources of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George, King, of Tenduc</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Its situation and ancient inhabitants</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gepides, their empire subverted by the Awari and Longobardi</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germans, signification of this name</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The place of their residence according to Alfred</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germanicus visits the country which had been the grave of Varus and his army</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gete, land of</td>
<td>476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghazarins, vid. Chazarins</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghitercan or Atfrachan, its trade in former times</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gibbons, his voyage</td>
<td>347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gibbons's Hole</td>
<td>348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gibbon, the river of</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilbert, Humphrey, his voyage to the North</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dies on the passage homewards</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilbert's Sound, a harbour</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inhabitants on its coast</td>
<td>303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gillam, Zachary, his voyage to the North</td>
<td>378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gillis, Cornelia, his voyage and discoveries</td>
<td>429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giorgania, its inhabitants and fertility</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilfs,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glafs, another term for amber</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glafs Islands</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glaza, vid. Galza</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>God Haab, the same as Gilbert's Sound</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gogatta, vid. Chogatal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galca, vid. Cailac</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gomez, Esteyan, seeks in vain for a passage in North America</td>
<td>447</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good Fortune, Island of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gore, Captain, continues the voyage after Clerke's decease</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gori, where situated</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gorm, the ancient, unites Jutland and the Danish Islands</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goths, their military expeditions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Found by Ruybroek in the Crim</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of their language</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More on the same subject</td>
<td>249, 474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gotland</td>
<td>68, 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gottan</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grausi, where it probably lay</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greeland</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green, his cruel behaviour to Hudson</td>
<td>339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greenland Company in Denmark, their attempts towards making discoveries in the North</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greenland, when and by whom first discovered</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their commerce and boats</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cruel behaviour of some English Navigators to them</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The iron and copper in their possession</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their manners and religion</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Griesland, whether it be the same with Enkhuyzen?</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Or Grimley?</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grikhata, vid. Guthaka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groseilliers undertakes a voyage of discovery in the North.</td>
<td>376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gualle, Francis, his voyage of discovery</td>
<td>449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guddai or Gudde, a people in Prussia</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gudrid, wife of Thorstein</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Afterwards of Thorfin
Goes to Rome and thence into a convent in Iceland
Gunbiorn
Guthaka, the town of
Gutoni
Gwoldeff, his voyage

H.
Hadfschi-Mehemet, his account of Succuir and Kampion

Haitellinians
Hathaby, different from Hathum
Hathum, the harbour of, its true situation ascertained
Haitho, his life and parentage
Extract from his account of the North
Hakluyt's Island
Headland, vid. Amsterdam Island
Halgonland, the birth place of Odther

Vifited by Willoughby
Hall, James, his unsuccessful voyage of discovery
His two former voyages in the Danish service
Hallad, earl of Orkney
Hanno fails round Africa

Harbour, de la Trinidad
de la Bodega
Bukarelli
Guadaluppe
Remedios

Harokel, a Phoenician merchant
Harold, founder of the Kingdom of Norway
Sets a fine upon emigrants
Makes several conquests
Haficar, vid Cacfar
Hatto, vid. Hauhtho
Hawkbridge, William, his uncertain voyage

Hazel Island
Hebrides or Western Islands
Heemskerk accompanies Barentz

His next voyage of discovery
Helgo accompanies Finbo to Windland
Helleland
Hengif together with Horfa settles in Britain
Herat, residence of the Schah Rokh
Hercules, vid. Harokel
Herjolf, his voyage
Herjolf's Neft
Herrings, when first pickled

Hialtaland
## INDEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hialtaland</td>
<td>78, 81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiarkand, vid Carchan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Himlico, his voyage to Britain</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hinlopen Straits</td>
<td>398, 273, 413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holaghu Khan with his Moguls, advances as far as Europe</td>
<td>92, 119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hold with Hope</td>
<td>324, 334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hollin, the same as Karakarum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holstein, whence this word is derived</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homer was acquainted with amber and tin</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hope Sanderfon</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hopes checked</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hope fails with two ships to the North</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horites, vid. Enak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horithi, supposed residence of this Scavonian tribe</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horn Sound</td>
<td>353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotum, vid. Cotan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holf, the adventures and conquests of</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hubbart's Hope</td>
<td>347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hudson, Henry, his first voyage of discovery</td>
<td>324, 325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remarks on it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His second voyage</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His third voyage</td>
<td>421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His last voyage</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remarks upon it</td>
<td>340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hudson's Bay Company</td>
<td>378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hudson's Straits</td>
<td>301, 315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huir</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huns, whence they came and how far they spread</td>
<td>39, 101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hylophagi, origin of the name, the place of their residence and their manners</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyperboreans, inhabitants of the North</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The place of their residence not ascertained</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Send presents to Delos</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackman, Charles, accompanies Pet in his journey to the North</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jagag river, vid. Aral</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jair, the same as Jagag</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jalair, one of the original tribes of the Moguls</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James's Island, vid. Fox's farthest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Lancaster's Sound</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Douglas's Bay</td>
<td>388, 398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James, Thomas, his voyage</td>
<td>368, 375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan Mayen's Island</td>
<td>422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Different from Cherry Island</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaques</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## INDEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jaques Cartier's River, formerly the River of Sainte-Croix</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iberia, vid. Georgia</td>
<td>440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Icaria, Island of, visited by Zichmni</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Its probable situation</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ice, mountains of, their origin</td>
<td>278, 395, 316, 350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iceland known to Pytheas</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the Greeks early</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visited by the Swedes</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derivation of the name</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nature of this country formerly and at present</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When certainly discovered and inhabited</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The increasing cold prevents its fertility</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jethyophagi</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idel, the name as the Wolga</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idifa, the silver mines there</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jerket, vid. Hiarkand</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Istanbul in the hands of the Bifermians</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jefo, the land of, now the Kurile Islands, vid. also Jefo</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jews circumnavigate Africa</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iaces, vid. Blaches</td>
<td>201, 206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hay or Ilia</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilfing, the name as Elbing</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hove, the Island of</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingolf settles in Iceland</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Innocent IV. sends ambassadors to the Moguls</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Innuit, the natives of Greenland</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John, Prefet, the name as Ungkhan</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jones's Sound</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland in King Alfred's geography, signifies Scotland</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland ravaged by the Danes</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attacked by the Normans</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irganakon, the land of, described</td>
<td>104, 140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Island of God's Mercy, a harbour</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itelmen, a name assumed by the Kamtschaudales</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jugur, all strangers so called by the Moguls</td>
<td>ibid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of an extensive country</td>
<td>105, 114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julian a Roman knight, brings a great quantity of amber to</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rome</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kablonat, a name for strangers with the Greenlanders       | Introduction |

N. B. Many names of persons and places which are not to be found under K, are to be met with under C, and vice versa.

Kaffa,
INDEX.

Kaffa, formerly Theodosia ........................................ 169
Kaffa, the same as Kiow ........................................... 115, 78
Kailac, vid. Galka .................................................. 104
Kajuk Khan, sovereign of all the Moguls ................. 93, 95
Kaketi, vid. Chathians .......................................... 170
Kalamia or Klimata .................................................
Kampion, the capital of Tangut, manners and religion of the inhabitants More on the same subject ........................................ 243
Kamul, vid. Chamul ................................................
Kanghttae, the place of their residence ............... 94
Kanklis, the same as Canglæ ........................................
Kanket, the town of, on the same spot where Kaschkanat
stands at present ...................................................... 103
Kantieheu, vid. Kampion ........................................
Kaptchak, a province of Tartary .......................... 154
Series of the Khans of ................................................
Kararakum, the capital of the Mogul Khans .... 155, 478
Karcharum, the capital of the Mogul Khan 166, 110
Description of ........................................................
Karaktai ..............................................................
Kars or Kersch ........................................................
Kafan, conquered by the Rullians .............................. 174
Kaschkar, vid. Cifcar ..............................................
Kaffai the same as Kiffin ...........................................
Kathay, or North China, its inhabitants .................... 107
Kaithe's account of it ............................................. 114
Kergis or Circassians ..............................................
Kerlierde ..............................................................
Kerz, vid. Kars ........................................................
Khaberd, vid. Chenerthei ...........................................
Khan-Balga, vid. Cambalu ...........................................
Khan-Baligh city, description of .................... 162
Khara-Moran, river of .............................................. 152
Khafchimir, vid. Chefmur ........................................
Khond or Khowand-Emir, his account of the journey of Schak Rohk's ambassadors to Kathay ................ 158
Khuraisin, the country and people of, described .... 150
Klaer Nefs, the name of a ship .................................
King Charles promontory ........................................
King George's Sound .............................................. 400
King James's New Land ............................................ 349
King's Foord .......................................................... 321
Kippike, province of .............................................. 167
Kifimians ............................................................ 474
Klimata .................................................................
Kosafmians, the ancestors of the Oslanian Turks 112
Korkang,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lutwidge accompanies Phipps in his voyage</td>
<td>398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutitzians</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madchiar, vid. Baschkirians</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maegthaland, the situation of</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magna Britannia</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandeville, John de, his life and adventures</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extract of his account of the North</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mangu Khan, supposed to have embraced the Christian religion</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Endeavours to mend the morals of his subjects</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mansel's or Mansfield's Island</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marahanians, vid. Moravia</td>
<td>347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marble Isle</td>
<td>388, 364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marcolini, Francisco, his account of the Zeni's discoveries</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marcomannian War, its consequences</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mare Christianum</td>
<td>470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mare Novum</td>
<td>470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mari, the people of, whether Mahometans</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Markets, their manners described</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Markland</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maroaro, vid. Moravians</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matilia, the town of, forms the design of making discoveries</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matmai</td>
<td>426</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matricandis, at present called Tamenda</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matriga, now called Temruk</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matsumai, town of, its inhabitants</td>
<td>463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauritius Island, vid. Jan Mayen's Island</td>
<td>416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vid alio Amsterdam Island, Hakluyts Headland</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mead, a very ancient beverage</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melguer, David, his voyage to the North a fiction</td>
<td>464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mentoromom, the same as the Frisich and Kurisch-Kaf</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merdas, vid. Mari</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merfaga, probably the same as Meferitz</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metites, vid. Markets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico, when it arrived at any degree of civilization</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midacritus, first brought lead and tin from Cassiterides</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middleton, Christopher, his voyage</td>
<td>390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mill Islands</td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mingrelia, description of the country and inhabitants of</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mirza Ibrahim, the Sultan, the extent of his dominions</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moffen Island</td>
<td>348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moguls overrun Asia and Europe</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Index

| The circumstances which facilitated their conquests | 89 |
| Others which proved an obstacle to them | 90 |
| Their religion and manners | 95 |
| Their mode of writing | 106 |
| They divided into seven tribes | 117 |
| Mohamed or Mahomet, his character and military expeditions | | 33 |
| His doctrine and adventures | | 34 |
| Mokhsa, a nation | | 98, 174 |
| Moncastro, its various names | | 170 |
| Monghi, a tribe of Moguls | | 117 |
| Monterey Harbour | | 457 |
| Montreal, formerly Hochelaga | | 440 |
| Moor, William, goes to sea with Middleton | | 390 |
| Afterwards with Francis Smith | | 392 |
| Moors or Moorlands, common in Lapland | | 65 |
| Moravians | | 58, 174 |
| Mordhanians | | 174 |
| Mofes accompanies Seostois in his expeditions | | 5 |
| Mocow, the country and river of | | 172 |
| Mount Charles | | 336 |
| Mount Misery | | 329 |
| Moxel, vid. Mokhsa | | 174 |
| Moxia, the inhabitants of | | 174 |
| Moxians, the same as the Mordhanians | | 174 |
| Moc, the people so called | | 107 |
| Munk, Jens, his voyage of discovery | | 470 |
| Munk's Harbour | | 471 |
| Musquito Cove | | 408 |
| Musselman, vid. Bifermians | | 408 |
| Naddod, discovers Snowland, i.e. Iceland | | 50 |
| Nain, on the coast of Labrador | | 348 |
| Nassau, the town of, described | | 163 |
| Nannucktucket | | 306 |
| Nassau Straits | | 273, 414 |
| Nassir, Eddin, his astronomical tables | | 34 |
| Navigation, the previous knowledge necessary for it | | Introduction |
| Its great use and advantage | | ibid. |
| Held in high estimation by the northern nations | | 74 |
| The circumstances that raised it again in the middle ages | | 89 |
| Nay, Cornelius Cornellion, his voyage | | 411 |
| Naymans | | 95 |

Nelson,
I N D E X:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nelson, goes to sea with Button</td>
<td>345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>River</td>
<td>ibid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neome, the Island of</td>
<td>197, 207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nerigon</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nettorians, among the Moguls</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their religion and mode of writing</td>
<td>ibid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monuments of them in the town of Sigan</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their Manners</td>
<td>109, 129, 136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newfoundland, by whom first discovered</td>
<td>83, 204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discovered afterwards by the Cabots</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Its fisheries and produce of the country</td>
<td>291, 294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The same as Winland</td>
<td>439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New France</td>
<td>436</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Walchera</td>
<td>414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Wales, so called by Fox</td>
<td>365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Wales, thus named by Button</td>
<td>347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North, the, most have been inhabited later than other regions</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why the ancients have given such imperfect accounts of it</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of Europe and Asia, troubles there</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations upon</td>
<td>483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normandy, when and by whom first named</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normans, their navigations</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Were in some measure civilized by Christianity</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At an early period knew how to sail near the wind</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cause of their adventurous spirit at sea</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norhmannland described by Othter</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway, vid. Nerigon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nova Scotia</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nova Zembla</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Novogrod, its origin</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enlargement</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inhabitants</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurunibega</td>
<td>436</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

O.

Obottites, the place of their residence ascertained                    | 57   |
<p>| Oetopar                                                              | 150  |
| Oderic of Portenau, his birth-place and travels                      | 147  |
| Oeland, vid. Eowland                                                  | 70   |
| Othter, his country                                                   | 53, 62 |
| Wealth                                                                | 47, 64 |
| Travels                                                               | 62, 76 |
| Okat-Vi Khan                                                          | 94   |
| Olaf Tryggefson, King of Norway                                       | 87   |
| Oltrare                                                               |      |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDEX</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oltrare, town of, its situation</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omyl, vid. Chamyl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onon, country and river of</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oonalaskia Island</td>
<td>403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oranie Islands</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organum, vid. Irranakon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orkneys, when discovered, and colonized by Normans</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinclair involved with the sovereignty of them</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The first possessors of them upon record</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orleans Island, alias Bacchus Island</td>
<td>439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ofkold penetrates as far as Kiow</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otrar, vid. Oltrare</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palkafi</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper money in China, Marco Polo's account of it</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other accounts of it</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parkhurst, Anthony, his account of the cod fishery off Newfoundland</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parmofites</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parmofites, the same as Parmofites</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pawiriniwagon, vid. Port Nelson</td>
<td>376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pegoletti, Francisco Balducci, his journey from Asia to Pekin</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His writings</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His account of the North of Asia</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penguin Island</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another Island of this name, vid. Fogo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permiaks, vid. Parmofites</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permians, vid. Biirmians</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru, origin of this empire</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter I. Czar of Russia, his and his succecssors endeavours relative to making discoveries</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pet, Arthur, makes a voyage to the North</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petschenega</td>
<td>475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peyn, description of this country</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phipps, Constantine John, fails to Spitzbergen</td>
<td>398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phoenicians, their origin and manners</td>
<td>1, 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their trade and navigations</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discoveries</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They circumnavigate Africa and found colonies</td>
<td>7, 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their wars and the decay of their commerce</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pickeringill, Richard, fails to Davis's Straits</td>
<td>407</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pits</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pinaliwet Shchewan, river of</td>
<td>376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilage Bay</td>
<td>388, 389</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# INDEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pit Coal, Marco Polo’s account of it</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Point Speedwell</td>
<td>385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Point Whalebone</td>
<td>387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polabians</td>
<td>474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polo, Nicholo, Mattheo, and Marco, their voyage</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The time of it ascertained</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marco, his account of the North</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polatzes</td>
<td>474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polowzians</td>
<td>474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pomona, island of</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pomeranians</td>
<td>474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pontgrave, his commercial voyage to Taoussac</td>
<td>444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pool, Jonas, his voyage</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portland</td>
<td>181, 200, 207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Nelson</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese, their early discoveries in the South</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their farther attempts and discoveries</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prussia</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pricket, Habakuk, accompanies Hudson and Button</td>
<td>335, 345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince Charles’s Island</td>
<td>398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Providence Bay</td>
<td>401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulgarland, vid. Bulgaria</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pytheas, his voyages in the North</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His knowledge in astronomy</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How far he went to the Northward</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queens Foreland</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queen Ann’s Foreland</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quirini, Pietro, is voyage</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His shipwreck and subsequent adventures</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His journey to Bergen and Drontheim</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His arrival in his native country</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raleigh, mount</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rankins Inlet</td>
<td>388, 389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red Beech</td>
<td>348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reindeer (decoy)</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehe Island</td>
<td>470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rennen-fel, vid. Deerfield</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repulse Bay</td>
<td>391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rezan, the inhabitants and fertility of the country</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhodorus, river of</td>
<td>11, 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhubarb, its native foil</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The properties and preparation of it</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richards, his voyage</td>
<td>469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX.

Robert, vid. Hrolf
Roberval, Francois de la Rocque de, his voyage to North America
Roche, Marquis de la, goes to North America
Roe, Sir Thomas's, Welcome
Romans, long ignorant of the northern regions
    A long time before they passed the Alps
    Intimidated by the Cimbri and Teutones
    Penetrate farther to the northward
    Circumnavigate Britain
    Go to Prussia in search of amber
    Their power weakened by the depravity of their morals
    Become a prey to the nations of Germany
Roff, island of, its commerce in fish
    Inhabitants
Rogneval, earl of Moere
Rofflands, once called Russians
Rummels-foord
Rupert's Land
Rupert's River
Ruyflbroecic, ambassador from France to the Khan of the Moguls, his travels
Ryp, Jan Cornelis, accompanies Heemskerk in his voyage

S.
Sable Island
Stocked with tame cattle
Sachion, the town of, its inhabitants
Sailing with and near the wind
Sainte Croix
Saldaia
Salconi, Nicholas, Haitho communicates to him his account of the East
Salisbury's Foreland
Salvage Isles
Samarkand, its inhabitants and fertility
Samulflyr Island
St. Clare, islands of
St. Lorentz Hoek
St. Laurence's Bay
St. Catherine's Harbour
St. Nicholas's Harbour

Page
441
443
363
23
23
24
26
36
28
29
32
221
222, 269
78
475
321
384
384
Ruyflbroecic
96
417
294
296
132
75
449
169
113
334
351
189
464
416
416
430
437
439
1.1
Sandey
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sandey Island</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandwich Islands</td>
<td>403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanghin-Talghin, vid. Chinchintalas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saray, the town of, when and where built</td>
<td>38, 119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By whom destroyed</td>
<td>111, 116, 151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saracanco, the town of, its situation</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saracens</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarmatia, often signifies merely an unknown country</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarfson, the town of</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sartern, vid. Ciarlam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safen, vid. Saxons</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sauromates</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their different tribes</td>
<td>473</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savage Sound</td>
<td>393</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saxons, origin of this name</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pafs over to Britain</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scaffen, the town of</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shadi-Khodfcha, ambassador from Schah Rokh</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meets with a gracious reception</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schaeup, Hendrick Cornelis, his voyage</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schak Rokh sends ambassadors to Kathay</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scharschew, vid. Sachion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shetland Islands, discovered by Pytheas</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peopled by the Normans</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perhaps the same as Efland</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ships, their trifling origin</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First rudiments of, compared with the modern</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of different nations described</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burden of a modern ship computed</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The old northern compared with those of the Greeks and Romans</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schimuffyr, vid. Sarnuffyr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schildiberger, John, his travels and adventures</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schirwan</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schiceland, vid. Gardars Islands and Iceland</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schurfei, vid. Sarfon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scilly Islands, the same as Tin Islands</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scirings-Heal Harbour, its real situation</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scorunga, a country of, where it was probably situated</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scots</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scorrigs, his voyage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remarks upon it</td>
<td>387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarons</td>
<td>389</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX.

Sea-horse, Othoer’s account of them — — 64
Sea-horse Point — — 358
Segin, town of — — 108
Its produce, inhabitants, and trade 138, 139
Serbians, where they resided — — 60, 474
Seres, the place of their residence — — 108
Sarmate, vid. Sarmatia
Seltzule, vid. Sarmatia
Setzule, vid. Sarmatia
Sidinians — — 474
Sigan, vid. Segin — — 87
Sigurd, King of Norway — — 87
Silendes, sea of — — 68
Sinjcin, the town of, many armourers there 142
Singui, vid. Segin — — 85
Serbians, vid. Serbians — — 85
Sirmjedz, vid. Sigmund
Skrælling, their commerce with the Normans 85
Christianity preached to them, vid. also Nor-
mans — — 86
Skyddbladner, the ship — — 75
Slaves or Schaves, origin of their name and tribe 60, 474
Sloynm, a place formerly celebrated — — 176
Smith, Francis, his voyage — — 392
Smith, Sir Thomas, Sound — — 354
Snorro, Staflefon, his account of the peopling Iceland, the
true one — — 81
Snorro, Torfinfon, his writings and posterity — — 85
Snowland, vid. Schneeland
Sobai, the country of — — 168
Sok fends for a bishop to Greenland — — 87
Solangians, the same as the Mandchuriaian — — 95, 107
Soldinians, christians living in Khustarim — — 115
Solget, the same as the town of Eksikyrem — — 169
Solinia — — 97
Solonians, vid. Solangians — — 85
Sohich, one of the principal tribes of the Moguls — — 117
Solay — — 160
Its true situation — — 201
Sorbi, vid. Serbians — — 168
Soguthi, vid Solget — — 85
Solangian Islands — — 6
South Sea Island, by whom first peopled
Spanish Bay — — L. 12
Spanish — — 438
### INDEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spitzbergen discovered, and thus named by the Dutch</td>
<td>328, 413, 421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Baffin</td>
<td>348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Hudson called Greenland</td>
<td>326, 328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staaten Island</td>
<td>426</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stinenia</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strana, the town of, its silk manufactory</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suafarsson, circumnavigates Snowland and calls it by his own name</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suchur, the country that produces Rhubarb</td>
<td>243, 247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suck, vid. Suchur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suckuck, vid. Suchur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudack, vid. Saldia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suevi</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suionia</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sumerkent, vestiges of this town</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surpe, vid. Sorbi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swabia, its former boundaries</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syra-Horda</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syfyle</td>
<td>58, 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tabache</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tabeth, vid. Tebet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tadoullac</td>
<td>444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talas, the town and river of</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tana, vid. Afof</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tancred, the common ancestor of the Normans and conqueror of lower Italy</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tangut, inhabitants and animals of</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Its principal provinces</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarfasan, the town of</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarfkan, vid. Tarfasan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarfas, its boundaries and inhabitants</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarthiifs, known to the Egyptians and Phenicians</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction, and p. 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tartars</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their internal commotions</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tartessus, vid. Tarthiifs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tatarkoja, the country of</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea, how early used by the Chinese</td>
<td>161, 164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How used, and for what</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tebet, the people of, their manners</td>
<td>106, 148, 117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenduc, the country, town, and inhabitants of</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tersenna-Land</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index Entry</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terra Agricola</td>
<td>469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terra de Cortereal</td>
<td>460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terra Verde</td>
<td>460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telgales, vid. Y BRAND</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teutones, signification of this people's name</td>
<td>Introduction, and p. 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their wars and military expeditions</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The most trusty body-guards of the Roman Em-</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In possession of the empire of the west</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teutsehe, vid. Teutones</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texeira, Peter, his map of the Indies</td>
<td>464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thalair, vid. Jalair</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thalakan, the country and people of described</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thebe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theodan, vid. Teutones</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thud or Thiaud</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thorfin fails to Winland and trades with the skraelings</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thorror, vanquished by Harold</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thorstein with his company dies in Greenland</td>
<td>74, 84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thorwald, Thorror's great uncle flies to Iceland</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thorwald Liep's brother continues Lief's discoveries</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His death and burial</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thule</td>
<td>18, 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tigris, vid. Gihon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiphlis, the capital of Georgia</td>
<td>112, 178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Togrul, prince of the Naymans</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tollenfians</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totnife's Road</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tozan, the town of</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinity Isles</td>
<td>366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trocki, the country of</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Troglodytes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Troolt Hockeck</td>
<td>385, 415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truso, vid. Draufen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tóhan Nor, vid. Cyanganor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tchecchiens</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tchendiendinpuhr, the great city of</td>
<td>474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tschirpo Oi, vid. Campanie Land</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tschurktschí, a people</td>
<td>401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuiniana</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tumen</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turges, his victories</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkestan, the boundaries of</td>
<td>114, 148, 475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEX.</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turks</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turn-again River</td>
<td>404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turtle Island</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tschu-Khan</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His conquests</td>
<td>476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ugadai Khan builds the town of Chamyl</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ullefeld, his fictitious voyage of discovery</td>
<td>472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uigurs, vid Jugurs</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukakha, the town of</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ulloa, Francisco, his voyage of discovery</td>
<td>448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ulter ravaged by the Danes</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unlug Bek, his geographical tables</td>
<td>34, 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Un Khan, Toguri's title</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His empire and successors</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uotata, the town of, the same as Otrar</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urdanietta, Andrea, his discovery in North America</td>
<td>449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urghez, vid. Khorkan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urup, vid. Staaten Island</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uteca, town of</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uzians</td>
<td>474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vakhan, the land of, its mountains, inhabitants, and animals</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandals, their military expeditions</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velasco, his voyage to North America uncertain</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verazzani, John, his voyage</td>
<td>432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vespucci, Amerigo</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vincenzo, Sebastian, his voyage</td>
<td>452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voican, vid. Vakan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voeroe Island</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vogel Hoek, vid. Fair Foreland</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vogel-Sang</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vries, Matthi Herizoom van, his voyage</td>
<td>424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Straits called after his name</td>
<td>426</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vut, Pretter John's brother</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waaygat, vid. Hinlopen</td>
<td>413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wager Water</td>
<td>391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wajat, vid. Naffau Straits</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walar, vid. Bulgaria</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warnabians</td>
<td>474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warsaw, the country in its environs described</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warwick's Foreland</td>
<td>310, 312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waaygats Island</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wendel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEX</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wendel Sea</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wends, vid. Slaves</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weonothland</td>
<td>57, 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weymouth</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West England</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Friesland, vid. West England</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whales, Others account of them</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whale Sound</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williams's Island</td>
<td>415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willoughby, his voyage</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windedalnd</td>
<td>57, 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winland</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is visited by Icelanders</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sources, whence the history of it is extracted</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grapes produced there</td>
<td>439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wineland differs from Weonothland,</td>
<td>57, 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wifelaland</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willemund</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Witland, vid. Baltia</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wlachs, vid. Blachs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wolga, variously named</td>
<td>35, 38, 98, 104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description of it</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wologians, vid. Blachs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woltenholme's Sound</td>
<td>354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utimum vale, vid. Cape Henrietta Maria</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women's land</td>
<td>55, 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women's isles</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood, John, his voyage</td>
<td>383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wulfstan</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wyche's Island</td>
<td>427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xandu, city of, the imperial palace and menagerie there</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ydifu, vid. Idifa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yermak Timofeoff, his achievements</td>
<td>477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yfbrand, Brand, accompanies Barentz</td>
<td>411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ysc Ryke, his voyage</td>
<td>424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ys Hock</td>
<td>415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zagathai Khan</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His dominions</td>
<td>1174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zakut, Abraham, his testimony concerning Benjamin of Tudela's travels</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zegra, a Tartarian prince</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zeno</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# INDEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zeno { Carlo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicolo</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antonio</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicolo, his voyage to the North</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His subsequent voyages and adventures</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antonio, Letter from—his adventures and discoveries</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Credibility of their history</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zichmni, Prince of Porland</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His naval force and conquests</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zuchala, Isthmus of</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zuyd Hoek van het Voorland</td>
<td>398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zwart or Black Island</td>
<td>416</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Direction to the Bookbinder

The map of the North Pole is to be placed fronting the Title Page.