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HISTORY

OF THE

VOYAGES, &c.

HISTORY

OF THE

VOYAGES, &c.

A NEW and Improved MAP

of the Countries situated about the NORTH POLE as far as the 50th Degree

laid down from the most Authentic & lateſt ACCOUNTS by I.R.Forſter I.U.D.

1783.

NORTH AMERICA

ASIA

EUROPE

SEA OF KAMTSCHATKA

BAFFINS BAY

HUDSON'S BAY

DAVIS STRAIT

LABRADOR or NEW BRITAIN

GREENLAND

ICELAND

NOVA SCOTIA

NEWFOUNDLAND

SPITZBERGEN

LAPLAND

FINLAND

Behring Straits

Great Fishing Bank

HISTORY

OF THE

VOYAGES

AND

DISCOVERIES

MADE IN THE

K K LYCEAL BIBLIOTHEK ZU LAIBACH

NORTH.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF

JOHN REINHOLD FORSTER, I. U. D.

AND ELUCIDATED BY SEVERAL

NEW AND ORIGINAL MAPS.

Orbis ſitum dicere ... impeditum opus et facundiæ minime capax ... verum aſpici tamen cognoſcique dingiſſimum. POMPONIUS MELA *in Procemio.*

LONDON:

PRINTED for G. G. J. and J. ROBINSON, Pater-Noſter-Row.

M. DCC. LXXXVI.

HISTORY

OF THE

VOYAGES

AND

DISCOVERIES

MADE IN THE

NORTH.

KAISERL. LYCEAL-BIBLIOTHEK ZU DORPAT

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF

JOHN REINHOLD FORSTER, LL.D.

NEW AND ORIGINAL MAPS.

LONDON:

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PREFACE.

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 Oroſius. 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 ſtile 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.—Er-

rors there muſt be in 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 Oroſius, 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 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

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 this view I have laid down three new maps.—The firſt, which exhibits the countries about the North Pole as far as the 50th, and in ſome places, the 45th degree, comprizes the lateſt diſcoveries, with tolerable accuracy and preciſion; and muſt on that account, it is preſumed, merit the preference to all others

others of the kind.—The ſecond map was drawn up by my ſon and me together in 1772, for the purpoſe of illuſtrating the Anglo-Saxon Verſion of Oroſius, publiſhed the year afterwards by the Hon. Mr. Daines Barrington, who has ſince that time, in a very ungentleman-like manner, attempted to paſs it on the public for his own. So that I have in this caſe done no more than reclaim my own property. But, beſides this, I have made in the map conſiderable improvements and corrections, which, on better information, appeared to me to be neceſſary.—The third and laſt map is entirely new, and comprizes the reſults of a great number of critical reſearches, which are too numerous to be particularized even in the work itſelf, and ſtill leſs in the Preface. The map is intended to exhibit the geography of the middle ages, relative to the parts therein mentioned. The names of the towns and cities founded and built long after that period, are introduced with a very ſparing hand, and indeed merely with a view to give the reader a certain fixed point, by means of which he may be the better able to convince himſelf of the real place of reſidence of this or that nation.

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.

INTRO-

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 indiſputably contributed much, if not more than all the reſt. On this account alone, even were we not to conſider the numerous, bold, and curious manœuvres, 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, ſecluded 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

of 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 decompounded 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, unwieldly 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 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, however, is a ſpecimen of the art in a more advanced ſtate, as this kind of craft is capable of having direction given to it, and even of ſo capital an improvement as that of having a ſail added to it. For which reaſon I chuſe this vehicle for a ſtandard, in preference 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 ingenuity 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 croſs pieces have been added to it, together with ſuch a variety of pieces of ſtrong linen cloth, for the purpoſe of catching the wind and of receiving its impulſe and propelling power, that the number of them amounts to upwards of 30. For changing the direction of theſe yards and ſails, according to particular circumſtances, it has alſo been requiſite to add a vaſt quantity of cordage and tackling, and neverthleſs, 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 proportion 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 govern this ſmimming iſland with the ſame or rather with greater eaſe than a ſingle man can do a boat. But if, 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 pullies, for the purpoſe of diminiſhing the friction, and of accelerating the motion of theſe parts; that even the bellying 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 maſts, 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 maſter-piece 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 720,000lb. of proviſions. A large 42-pounder weighs about 6100 lb. if made of braſs, and about 5500lb. 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 183,000lb.: on the ſecond deck there are 30 twenty-four pounders, each of which weigh about 5100lb. and therefore all together, 153,000lb. and the weight of the 26 or 28 twelve-pounders on the lower deck amounts to about 75,400lb.; that of the 14 ſix-pounders on the upper deck, to about 26,600lb.; 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-two pounder weighs about 64lb. 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 ſteered and governed with as much eaſe 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 ſailed 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 practiſed by a ſet of people of

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

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 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 increaſe, 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 Monteſquieu (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 mere 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 *Huaheine*, we found three men and a woman from the iſland of *O-mateiva*, 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 diſtance

(a) Eſprit des Loix, lib. xxi. c. 7.

from

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, pre-ſuppoſes 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 encreaſing 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.

The

The ancient inhabitants of our native country aſſumed the name of *Teutſche*, 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 Θηβεζ *(Theveh)* the *habitation*. The people of Greenland call themſelves *Innuit* men, i. e. natives, and the Kamtſchadales aſſume the name of *Itel* 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 amongſt the Moguls were termed *Uigur*, or *Jugur*. Thus, too, the *Saſſen*, 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 honteuſes 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 Sclavonian nations were called *Sauromates*; when they became better known, it was found, that each tribe called itſelf in general *Slave*, or *Sclave*, 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 re-

(b) Herodat. Lib. II. Cap. 15.

ſpect

ſpect to learning, 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 2191 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 Marſeilles 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, vita Agricolæ.

HISTORY

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 Phœnicians.

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, diſſentions 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 at an early period.

It is, however, no leſs certain, that the notions entertained by the antients, relative to the north and its inhabitants, or, as the Grecians uſually called them, the *Hyperboreans*, were different at different periods. Accordingly it will be our endeavour, 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 *Phœnicians* were the firſt people who attained to an extenſive knowledge of the earth and its inhabitants; 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 Phœnicians 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 moſt 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 deſerts, 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 deſerts 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 neighbours. 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 tranſlation of the former of theſe terms. From their diet they were likewiſe called in Greek *Ichthyophagi* or fiſh-eaters, *Acridophagi* or locuſt-

eaters, and *Hylophagi* 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 wilderneſs to avoid the effects of the diſpleaſure and vengeance of their brethren. Conſequently, they looked on all their neighbours 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 ſprays 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 per force obliged to ſatisfy their luſt: the next thorn, or hollow in the rock, was their bedchamber; 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 CANAAN, the father of their tribe, the name of *Canaanites*; a name they gave themſelves in publick monuments * ſo late as after the victory of Alex-

(a) Plin. Lib. vii. c. 56.

(b) Job, chap. 30. v. 1—8.

(c) Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth. Lib. iii. & Strabo. Geograph. Lib. xiv.

(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 *Laodicea*, and bearing a Spaniſh or Phœnician inſcription; on which coin Laodicea is called a *Mother-City*, or *Metropolis* in *Canaan*.

ander 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 *Phœnicians*, a name, which this latter people probably beſtowed on them on account of the palms (φοινιξ) which grew in that country in great abundance*.

The eſtabliſhment 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 *(e)*, together with the earthquake *(f)* which followed ſoon upon theſe wars, 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 Aſſyrian commodities from one place to another in the Mediterranean. In the very firſt commencement of their navigation, they

* It is poſſible, however, that Eſau's other name, *Edom*, which ſignifies *red*, and whom the Greeks have changed into a king *Erythras*, may have alſo contributed towards the appellation of *Phœnicians*; as φοινιξ ſignifies likewiſe a red date-colour.

(e) Geneſis, chap. 14. v. 1, 4.

(f) Geneſ. chap. 19. v. 24, 25, 28. Herodot. L. i. c. 1. & Juſtin. Lib. xviii. c. 3.

(g) Herodotus, l. c.

made

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. *(h)*

Very early we find mention made of *Tarſhiſh*, the Spaniſh *Tarteſſus (i)*, as of a European people. For ſo far, at leaſt, is true, that MOSES muſt have heard from the Phœnicians, 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 Seſtoris in his grand expedition through Aſia and Europe; conſequently about 730 years after the deluge*. According to this calculation the Phœnicians 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 to 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 *(l)*. Accordingly they were

(h) Geneſ. chap. 49. v. 13.

(i) Geneſ. chap. 10. v. 4.

* Vide J. R. Forſteri Epiſtolæ ad Jo. Dav. Michaelem, hujus ſpicilegium geographiæ Hebræorum exteræ jam confirmantes, jam caſtigantes, p. 1—7, & p. 19—24.

(k) Numbers, chap. 31. v. 24.

(l) Herodotus, Lib. iii. cap. 115. where he confeſſes, that it was brought along with amber from the fartheſt extremity of Europe.

called

called the *Sorling* or *Scilly* iſlands; likewiſe the *Caſſiterides*, or *Tin*-iſlands; and in the language of the country, this land is called *Bro*- or *Bræ-tain*, viz. the *land* of *tin*: an appellation which it preſerved in the times of the Romans, and indeed has preſerved it even to this day. Nay, as Pliny expreſsly ſays ** that a certain *Midacritus* firſt brought lead and tin from the Caſſiterian 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 Phœnician name. Beſides tin and lead, which the Phœnicians, and no other nation whatever, fetched from Britain *(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 Phœnician colony of *Cadiz*; conſequently, the trade of the Phœnicians 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 afterwards, in the times of the Greeks and Romans, rather leſs, if any thing, was known of theſe regions than is ſuppoſed to have been known to the Phœnicians: for it is the very ſame caſe with reſpect to the circumnavigation of Africa. It is at preſent proved almoſt to a demonſtration*, that the Phœni-

** Plinii Hiſt. Nat. L. vii. cap. 56. Indeed the name of ΜΗΔΑΚΡΙΤΟΣ appears originally to have been ΜΕΛΚΑΡΤΟΣ, which was properly one of the appellations of the Phœnician or Tyrian Hercules. And the word Hercules or *Harokel* in the Phœnician language ſignified a *merchant*.

(m) Strabonis Geograph. Lib. iii. ſub finem.

* Vid. *Joh. Matth. Geſneri Prælectiones de Phœnicum extra Columnas Herculis Navigationibus*, at the end of his edition of the Orphici; likewiſe *Aug. Lud. Schlozer's* Sketch of a General Hiſtory of Commerce and Navigation in the remoteſt antiquity; and the Chevalier Joh. Dav. Michaelis's Spicilegium Geographiæ Hebræorum exteræ poſt Bochartum. Pars prima. p. 82.--103.

cians

cians and Egyptians have more than once undertaken and happily accompliſhed the circumnavigation of this quarter of the globe. Even the celebrated voyages to *Ophir* of the Phœnicians 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 ſailed 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 Phœnicians 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 *Cadix*) 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 Thaſus; nay, they had, in all probability, extended their commerce as far as the Black Sea to Bithynia and Colchis. Their very lucrative traffick however to Africa, and eſpecially to Spain, induced them to erect on the hither ſide of it, on an iſland near Tarteſſus, a

† The land of Ophir is, in my opinion, the ſame with that which was otherwiſe called Africa. The Phœnicians ſent out for the purpoſe by the Egyptian King and Conqueror *Seſoſtris* and his father *Pamaiſis* 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 Moſes's time, in the xth 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 Ου-φιρι, and, with the addition of the word κα, which ſignifies a *country*, Ου-φιρ-κα, (i. e. *the celebrated country*) *Ophiri* and *Ophirikah*. The third epocha 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 *Eudoxus* ſailed once 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.

(*n*) Vell. Paterc. Hiſt. Lib. I. cap. 2.

fortified

fortified place, which they might make uſe of as a repoſitory or warehouſe 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 die, cloth, and all ſorts of manufactures and productions of ingenuity and art, and vended again in Phœnician and all the countries and towns on the ſhores of the Mediterranean, and that almoſt always to advantage.

Shortly after this, we find Phœnician 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 Phœnician State on the African Coaſt. About 140 years after the building of the Temple of Solomon at Jeruſalem, ELISSA or DIDO fled from *Tyre* 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 Phœnician trading towns and colonies, and which her father had very lately brought more under ſubjection than ever. *(o)*. Here ſhe was accompanied by a prieſt, and her followers took wives along with them: and ſo ſhe ſailed 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 ſat 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 Phœnicians continually reſorted, ſhe laid the foundation of a *new city*, which accordingly was called *Cartha-chadta* 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 ſcite of the town, in the center of ſo many

(*o*) Virgilis Æneis, L. I. v. 621, 622.

rich

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 inconſiderable 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 Phœnicians had, till then, carried on an excluſive trade.—Soon after the State of Carthage had acquired a ſufficient degree of firmneſs and conſiſtence, the power of the Phœnicians decayed. For about 120 years after the building of Carthage, *Salmanaſſar*, king of *Aſſyria*, made war on the united States of Phœnicia; 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 Phœnicians 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 *Nebuchadnezar*, king of *Chaldæa*. The reſt of the Phœ-

nician States had likewiſe fallen into the hands of the Chaldæans, and the whole commerce of this nation was now entirely annihilated. This event ſerved greatly to throw the trade of the Phœnicians entirely into the hands of the Carthaginians. In conſequence of this, the power and credit of this latter people, as well as their riches, encreaſed greatly; on which account it was, 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, *(p)* 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 IMILCO or HIMILCO, and ſailed 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 Phœnicians in conſequence of the deſtruction of their towns and of the ſtate of ſlavery to which they were reduced after the conqueſt made of them

(*p*) Plinii Hiſtor. nat. Lib. ii. Cap. 67, & L. v. c. 1.

* *Rufus Feſtus Avienus Oræ maritimæ, verſu* 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 *Probus*. 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 caſed with leather, (which in Kamtſchatka would be called *Baidars*, and in Wales *Coracles*) and mentions that in thoſe parts the *Eaſt-rymni* 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 ſame time that Hanno ſailed 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-rymni* were ſituated at the promontory of *Ocrinum* in Britain.

by

by the Aſſyrians and Chaldæans, gave occaſion to the Carthaginians to make themſelves better acquainted with the countries whence their kinſmen 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 *Braetain* 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 ſail 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, ſo 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 finem.

CHAP. II.

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 practiſe navigation: and their rude, unſettled way of life, their internal commotions and mutual diſſentions, 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

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 Arimaſpians and the Celts. *(t)* At a ſtill later period they placed them beyond the Riphæan 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 ſatiated 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 aukwardly 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 ſouth-weſt 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. For, according to ſome accounts,

(s) Hymnus Orphicus (79) in Boream. v. 2, & Ovid. Metam. vi. 709.

(t) Strabo, Lib. ii.

(u) Mela, Lib. iii. 5. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. iv. 12, & Lib. vi. 13. Solin, xxi.

(x) Μακαρων νησοι Strabo, Lib. i. & Plin. Lib. vi. c. 32, & Plutarch in Sertorio.

the

the preſents which this nation ſent to Delos for Apollo, came through the hands of the Scythians (or Celtæ) to the Hadriatic Gulf, from thence to the Dodonæans, then by the Sinus Maliacus to Caryſtus 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 Riphæi, 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 Phœnicia and Egypt, had collected many accounts from travellers who had undertaken long and diſtant voyages; and he made a point

(y) Herodot. Lib. iv. 32.
(z) Pindar. Pyth. Ode. x. 46, & ſeq.
(a) Pindar. Olymp. iii. 55.
(b) Homeri Odyſſ. Λ. 14—19.

to

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 theſe records was reſpected and acknowledged by all parties.

In deſcribing what Telemachus ſaw at the houſe of Menelaus, Homer makes mention of *Electrum* or *Amber*; and in two places more he deſcribes "golden collars ſet with amber," which makes it probable either that theſe materials had been brought to Greece by the Phœnicians; 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 theſe places was undoubtedly very exact, as he had converſed much with the Scythians, and from them had learned the ſituation of theſe countries, ſeas, and rivers, and the manners and cuſtoms of the reſpective inhabitants of theſe regions. With the country of the Celtæ, however, he was not atall

(c) Homeri Odyſſ. Δ. 73. O. 459, & Σ. 295.
(d) Homeri Iliad. Σ. 474.

acquainted,

acquainted, for he affirmed that the Iſter took its riſe in the country of the *Chineſe* and *Pirrheni*. The Caſſiterian 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 Phocæan colony, *Maſſilia*, 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 Maſſilians, 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 PYTHEAS 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 PYTHEAS, divers writers give us information. *(f)* He was certainly a man that had great knowledge of nature, was thoroughly verſed in aſtronomy, and was indued 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 phænomena 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 ele-

(e) Senecæ Nat. Quæſt. Lib. iv. cap. 2. & Marcian Heracleota. p. 63. Ed. Hudſoni inter Geogr. Græcos minores. T. 1.

(f) Plutarch. de placitis philoſoph. Lib. iii. art. 18. Strab. Lib. ii. Hipparchus Comment. in Arat. Lib. ii. c. 5. Cleomedes de Sphæra. Geminus Iſagoges. c. 5. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. ii. cap. 75. iv. c. 16. vi. 34.

vation, 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 Lælius, 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 *(h)*, 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 encreaſed 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 ſailed ſo far upon this ſea, and

(g) Livii Hiſt. Lib. xxviii. c. 30.

(h) Q. Curtii, Lib. ix. c. 9. Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. vi. c. 18.

(i) Cæſar de Bell. Gall. Lib. iv. parag. 85. 86. Edit. Elzev.

(k) Cicero de Natura Deor. Lib. ii. c. 7. Strabo, Lib. iii. Seneca de Providentia, c. 1. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. ii. c. 97.

(l) Plutarchus de Placitis & Dictis Philoſoph. Lib. iii. art. 17.

(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 Marſeilles, 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 north latitude of the City of Marſeilles, 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 ſailed out of the Straits along the coaſts of Portugal, Spain, and Gaul, till he deſcried that of Britain, along which he likewiſe coaſted till he came to the very northernmoſt point of it, and from thence ſailed 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 ima-

(m) Hipparchi Comment. in Arat. Lib. ii. c. 5.

(n) Gaſſendi Proportio Gnomonis ad Solſtitialem Umbram Obſervata Maſſiliæ, Anno 1638. Oper. Tomo iv. p. 565 & ſeq.

(o) Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. ii. c. 75, & iv. c. 16.

gined

gined it to be Iceland. But if we conſider, that in the manner of ſailing 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. 66½ 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 in 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 deg. 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 heighth 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 heighth. The greateſt heighth to which it riſes at Breſt, is 23 feet. In Briſtol too, it mounts as high as to 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 Thule, according to Pytheas, the ſea was coagulated, whence it is called *Cronium***. The fact is,

* Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. ii. c. 97. *Octogenis cubitis ſupra Britanniam intumeſcere æſtus, Pytheas Maſſilienſis auctor eſt.* Perhaps the ſyllable *vi* has been omitted after *Octo* by the copyiſts, ſo that the paſſage ſhould be read, *Octo vicenis cubitis, &c.* which makes it 42 feet, i. e. equal to the greateſt heighth of the tide at Briſtol.

** Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. iv. c. 16. A Thule canius dici navigatione *mare concretum*, a nonnullis *Cronium* appellatum. And in c. 13. Septemtrionalis Oceanus; *amalchium* eum Hecateus adpellat, a Paropamiſo amne, qui Scythiam alluit, quod nomen ejus gentis lingua ſignificat *congelatum*. Philemon *Morimoruſam* a Cimbris vocari, hoc eſt, *mortuum mare*, uſque ad promontorium Rubeas: ultra deinde *Cronium*.——Tacitus de Moribus Germ. c. 45. Trans Suionas aliud *mare pigrum*

that he knew from the relations made him by the inhabitants, that 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 farthermoſt 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 preſerved 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.

nigrum ac prope immotum—quod extremus cadentis jam ſolis fulgor in ortus edurat, adeo clarus, ut ſidera hebetet. — Dionyſ. Periegetes. v. 32, 33.

Πολλον μεν ανλευσι ΠΕΠΗΓΟΤΑ τε ΚΡΟΝΙΟΝ τε
Αλλοι δ'αυ και ΝΕΚΡΟΝ εφημισαν, ειδεκ αφαυρης
Ηελιης.

And Orpheus Argonautic, v. 1079, 1080.

Εμιτεσε δ' Ωκεανω, ΚΡΟΝΙΟΝ δε εκικλησκυσι
Παντων ΥΠΕΡΒΟΡΕΗΝ μεροπες, ΝΕΚΡΗΝ τε Θαλασσαν.

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 Gaëlic inhabitants of the neighbouring regions; for even the names mentioned here are Gaëlic and Welſh. Mori-maruſa comes undoubtedly from *Mor*, in Welſh, *Sea*, and *Marw*, *dead*; which Pliny has very properly tranſlated "the Dead Sea." Muri-croinn in the Iriſh language ſignifies an incruſted, thick, coagulated ſea; and conſequently the epithet of *Mare Cronium* is by no means to be derived from Κρονος or Saturn.

The

The information he gives us on this ſubject is as follows: "on the "ſhores of a certain Bay (Aeſtuarium or Firth) called *Mentonomon*, "lives a people called *Guttoni*, and at the diſtance of a day's voyage "from thence is the iſland *Abalus*, (called by Timæus *Baltia)* upon "this the waves throw the amber, which is a coagulated matter caſt "up by the ſea; they uſe it for firing inſtead of wood, and alſo ſell "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 *Nadrauen* and *Schalavonia* are to this very day called *Gudde*, and their inhabitants *Guddai*, in the Lithuanian tongue of the Sudavians, Galindians, and Natangians *(q)*. The Bay is the *Friſh* and *Curiſh 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 *Mentonomon* 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 Lithuanian tongue is *Baltikka*, from *Baltos*, i. e. white; and therefore I ſhould prefer reading in Pliny, *Abaltica* or *Baltia*, inſtead of *Abalus*. Neither was it cuſtomary 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 ſubſtance known by the name of amber, came from the river *Raduhn*, 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 Viſtula, were, without the leaſt ſhadow of reaſon,

(p) Plin. Lib. xxxvii. c. 2.

(q) Prætorius Act. Boruſſic. ii. p. 900.

confounded 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 important. 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 Phœnicians 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

who had carried their arts into Hetruria, and who ſometimes ſtrayed as far as Rome itſelf, had, however, diffuſed in Rome ſo much information concerning Greece, that they had in this city ſome knowledge 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 Roman 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 æra, 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 Pyrennæan 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 Pyrennees, 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 country; juſt as the Britons at this time do rum to the North Americans, and the Europeans trading to the Weſtern Coaſt of Africa and to Guinea,

Guinea, 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 paſſed 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 *Kæmpfen*, to fight, viz. *Kæmpers*, 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 Kæmpers*. According to the accounts given

* Some may perhaps chuſe 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 miſtook for the proper name of this nation. Beſides, they are not called, *Thiod*, *Thiaud*, or *Thiud*, i. e. Teutſche, 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 miſconſtrued by the Romans. It is plain, for example, that the different hords when they made their entrance into Gaul under the command of Arioviſtus, muſt have anſwered to the enquiries of the Romans, that they were *Wehrmænnen*, *Guermans*, or *Germans*, 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 *Allemans*, 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 *haughty*, were called *Freaks*, 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 ſtill on the ſame ſpot where they had lived firſt; and had then made a preſent to Auguſtus of a large cauldron. With large and ſtout 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 Marauders, or ſuch as made war and plundering their buſineſs, *Kimbers*, or Kæmpers, i. e. combatants. It is therefore very evident, that theſe people were the Goths and Saxons who

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 Cæpio, 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 Etſch, where Catulus had taken his poſt. The Teutones and Ambrones were the firſt that were routed by Marius; and the ſame fate befel 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 Conſul; and immemediately 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.

who dwelt on the peninſula, ſitu ted to the north of the Elbe, on occaſion of an extraordinary and dreadful inundation, many of them were induced, having probably loſt all their cattle by the flood, to quit their country and turn robbers. They became therefore Kæmpers, 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 Skordiſkers and Tauriſkers, two nations from Gaul, and directly upon this they met with the Roman Conſul near *Noreja* 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 Kæmpers and Kimbers, or Cimbri, has likewiſe ſunk into oblivion, theſe people having been found to be Saxons and inhabitants of Jutland.

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, Aſander, who had made himſelf maſter of the Boſphorus at the death of Pharnaces, was nominated king by Auguſtus Cæſar. During the life of this ſame Auguſtus Cæſar, 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 Domitius, 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 glaſs, 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 to be an iſland.

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-eaſtern 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 courted 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 ſinews 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 chief ſtudy to ſet off to advantage, and whoſe whole care is to recommend him-

ſelf to the great, by wit, dreſs, 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 ſoever 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 of the Ems. The iſland on which the ſea had caſt it, was called *Burchana*; in our days, *Borkum*. Now Pliny

(a) Tacit. Annal. l. 1. paragr. 17. Edit. Elzevir. 1640.
(b) Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. xxxvii. c. 3.

ſeems

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 ſhewn, 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 Phœnician 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 inſinuated themſelves more and more into the Roman ſtate, while true learning and genuine uſeful knowledge daily decreaſed.

Of the *Finlanders*, *Eſthonians*, 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 pre-

(c) Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. vi. c. 13.

tended

tended to be, the deſcendants) as alſo of the *Goths*, the Romans ſcarcely knew any thing but the names. *Norway* (Nerigon) *Sconen* (Scandia) *Dunney* * and *Voeroe*, were, according to them, iſlands lying near the Icy Sea, as well as Thule, whither they uſed to ſail 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 (inſulas) prodant, *Scandiam*, *Dumnam*, *Bergos:* maximanque omnium *Nerigon*, ex qua in *Thulen* navigetur. A Thule unius diei navigatione, mare concretum, a nonnullis *Cronium* appellatum. It is evident, that the whole coaſt is meant here; and though the learned *Counſellor Schlotzer*, 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, viz. *Albion* and *Bergion*, who gave the names of *Albion* and *Bergion* (or Ουεργα *Juverna*, *Hibernia*) to the Britiſh Iſlands; yet, I cannot perſuade myſelf to take it in this light; and it ſeems more probable to me, that the appellations of Dumna and Bergos belonged to the iſlands *Dumnoe*, or *Dumney*, near Halgoland, and *Voeroe*, near Malſtrom, for the continued ſeries in which theſe countries are diſpoſed, ſeems to render this ſuppoſition in 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 diſſentions 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 *Viſi-Goths*, and a new empire founded by his ſucceſſors in the ſouthern parts of Gaul and Spain. The *Eaſt*, or *Oſtro-Goths*, under Dietrick

of

of Bern, went to Italy and re-took this empire from the Heruli, who had born the ſovereign ſway about 20 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 Allemanni, 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 *Horſa*, 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 in order 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 Rugen 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 ſubverted 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 *Schalavonians*, *Huns*, *Awari*, *Bulgari*, 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 practiſed univerſal love and benevolence, were continually quarrelling, perſecuting, and killing each other on the ſcore of difference of opinion in matters of religion.

To

To ſuch a ſtate of moral corruption and political debility, the great Roman Empire, in thoſe days the ſeat of all knowledge, civilization, and refinement, was now debaſed. At this period there ſtarted up in Arabia, an illiterate man, of the name of *Mohammed*, endowed with a good underſtanding, and lively imagination; and of a dark and melancholic diſpoſition, yet not inſenſible to the phyſical influence of love. At his firſt ſetting out in life he was poor, though he belonged to the noble family of the Koreiſchites; but falling in love with Chadidſcha, the widow of an opulent merchant, he married her, by which means he became rich, and in conſequence of this, led a more inactive life than he had formerly done, and had leiſure to give himſelf up entirely to the eccentric reveries and projects with which in his younger years he had often indulged himſelf in the ſolitary deſarts on the road from Mecca to Damaſcus. The want of the bodily exerciſe to which he had been accuſtomed, together with a rich diet, and the weakneſs reſulting from amorous exceſſes, gave a greater play to his imagination, and rendered it more irregular than before. The unconnected and very much adulterated religious maxims which he had picked up from Jews and ſuperſtitious monks, he reduced into an ill-digeſted ſyſtem, the only tolerable part of which was, that which concerns the unity of God and his glorious attributes. With the language and expreſſions of poetry he was not entirely unacquainted; as the beſt Arabian poets uſed to meet every year at the annual fair of Okad, to read their poems publickly to the people, and to contend for prizes, ſeven only of whom obtained the honour of having their prize poems hung up in the *Kaaba* at *Mecca*. With ſuch foundations, and with theſe previous attainments, *Mohammed* appeared all on a ſudden in the capacity of a prophet, who ſaw viſions, was haunted with apparitions, and preached a new religion. In the beginning there were but few that approved of his new doctrines, and he and his adherents were ridiculed and perſecuted in his native country, *Mecca*. But in the year 622, he fled to *Medina*, to the enemies of the inhabitants of Mecca, and that whole city went

over to his party. 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 every thing, from the Indus to the Pyrennean 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 liberalities 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, *Scherif al Edriſſi*, who wrote his *Geographical Recreations* in 1153; *Abulfeda*, Prince of Hamath, who publiſhed a ſyſtem of geography in 1321; *Naſſir Eddin*, 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 *Ilchanian 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 leſs 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 ſection on the ſixth climate, there is nevertheleſs 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 *Britany* and *Poitou*; then come *France*, *Normandy*, *Flanders*, *Hinu* (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 *Baſir*, or *Bavaria*) *Carentara* (or *Carinthia*) *Louvain*, *Frieſeland*, *Savoy*, and ſome parts of the iſland of *England*. In *Allemannia* and *Saxony*, he names the towns of *Harbek*, *Kulozat*, *Maſchliat*, and *Hallah*. Towards the north, on all parts, is the *dark ſea*. *Germania*, *Gethulia*, and *Ruſſia*; the land *Bergian*, or *Bergen*, *Ruſſia* and *Komania*, *Heraclia* on the Black-Sea; the countries of *Wailakan* (or *Walachia*) *Chozaria* (or *Chazaria*) *Bolyſaria*, *Beſegert*, *Lan* (or *Alania*). In the land of the Aſconian Turks is the river *Athel* (or *Wolga*) which falls into the ſea *Tabareſtan* (or the Caſpian Sea). The land *Samricki*, or of the

Walachian Turks; the land *Siſan*, the land *Choſſach* (i. e. of the *Coſſacks*) the land *Torkos*, and the wall of *Jagog* and *Magog* (in the Caucaſus) which was built by *Dſulcarnaini* (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*, *Berſagian*, *Turan*, and *Samarkand*. From thence their route paſſed over *Ray* (or *Rages*, in *Media*) to *Sorramanrai*. In the *dark* ſea are deſart 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*, *Finmark*, *Iceland*, *Ruſſia*, the farther *Romania*, *Bolghar* (or *Bulgaria*) *Beſegert*, 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*, *Kallafrijah* (*Calabria*) *Baſiliſſa* (perhaps *Baſilicata*, the ancient Lucania) *el-Mara* (i. e. Morea) part of which belonged to the Grecian Emperor, and part to a nation of the Franks, called *Kithalan*, i. e. *Catalonians*. Cloſe by this is the land *Malfaguth* (or *Amalfi*) and to the weſtward the land *Iklerens*: then he deſcribes *Rome*, and St. Peter's church: then follows the land *Toſkan*, i. e. *Tuſcany*, and the two *Borkans*, or Volcanos, one of which is in Sicily. The province *Ol-Kirm*, or Crimea, with the cities of *Solgat*, *Sudac*, and *Kafa*. Then he deſcribes the Boſphorus and Conſtantinople. To the countries of the North appertains alſo *Kumager* *, a city in the empire

* *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 *Bywara*, and which is ſtill called

empire of the *Tatar Borkah*, which lies in the middle between the Iron Port *(Derbend)* and *Azok*, or *Aſoph*. Next to this lie the *Lokzi*, or *Leſgi*. In the habitable part of the North, are alſo the *Ruſſian* countries, which are ſituated towards the north of the town *Balar* (or Bulgaria). Then follows *Barthanyah* (i. e. Britania) in the ſea; *Berdil, (Burdegala, Bourdeaux) Schont Jakub*, a town in *Gallikijah*, i. e. *Gallicia*, and their capital *Samurah*, perhaps *Santa Maria*, or *San Maria*. *Piza*, or *Piſcha*, i. e, Piſa. On the oppoſite ſide is the iſland *Sardanijah* (i. e. Sardinia) *Lombardia* (Lombardy) *Ganawah* (Genoa) *Bandakijah* (Venice). One of the citizens here is their Prince, and is called *Duk*. They are in poſſeſſion of the iſland *Nakrapant*, i. e. Negroponte. *Rumijah el Kobra*, i. e. Rome the Great, ſituated on both ſides the river *Tefri* (viz. the Tiber) the ſeat of the Caliph of the Chriſtians, who is called *Al-Pap*. *Borſchan*, or *Borgan*, the capital of the *Burgans*, i. e. Burgundians, who have been conquered by the Allemanni. *Itſchanijah*, i. e. Athens, the city of the wiſe Greeks: *Konſtanthinijah*, or *Buzanthijah*, i. e. Conſtantinople, or Byzantium. *Makdunijah*, the city of Alexander the Great. *Sakgi (Azak*, or *Aſaph)* a town at the mouth of the *Thana* (Tanais, or Don) where it empties itſelf into the ſea *Nithaſch* (the Palus Mæotis and the Black Sea). *Abzu*, a town ſituated eaſtwards on the Boſphorus, or Straits of Conſtantinople. This is probably *Abydus*. *Akga Karman*, on the ſea *Nithaſch*, is *Akierman*. *Thernau* is ſituated at three days journey from *Sakgi*, or Aſaph, 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 *Solgat*, i, e. *Eſki Crimea*. *Kerkri* is a Turkiſh word, ſignifying 40 men, and by this name is called a certain very ſtrong caſtle on the top of an inacceſſible mountain.

called *Madſchiar*. This is the town which Prince Abulfeda means, and, from the ſituation on the *Kuma*, it may perhaps formerly have been called *Kumager*, juſt as a part of the Hungarians, or *Madſchari*, from the circumſtance of their dwelling near this river, were called *Kumani*, or *Komani*.

Cloſe by it is the higheſt mountain of all, *Ghater Theg* (at preſent called Tſchettirda). *Sudac* 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 *Eſki-Krim*). *Kafa* lies on a plain to the eaſt of *Sudac*, and is a port and ſtaple town; oppoſite to it is *Tharapezun* (Trebiſond) but to the eaſt and the north is the deſart of *Kaptſchiak*. *Ol-Kars* (now called Kerſch) is a ſmall town between *Kaffa* 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 *Manitaſch**, or *Manjetz*. *Serai***, a large town, and the reſidence of the Tartars, which in my (viz. Albufeda's) time, are the Uſbecs. 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

* The ſea of *Azof* having formerly in ancient writings been called *Manitaſch*, and the ſmall lakes and the river *Manjetz*, 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 *Achtuba*, or the eaſtward arm of the Wolga, from which it ſeparated near *Zarizin*, ſeveral remains of very ancient buildings have been found, ſome to the north-eaſt of Zarizin, and others to the eaſt, near *Charachudſchir* and *Zarewpod*, as alſo lower down near *Dſchigit* and *Selitrannoi-Gorodok*. What *Abulfeda* ſays of its being at the diſtance of two days journey from the Caſpian Sea, ſhould rather point out *Selitrannoi-Gorodok*, than *Zarewpod* for this place. It appears to have been built by *Batu Khan*, between the years 1256 and 1266.

*** *Athel* is the name of the Wolga, amongſt the Ruſſian Tartars, who, ſtrictly ſpeaking, call it *Idel*, or *Atel*; which the *Tſchuwaſchi* have transformed into *Adal*. This word ſignifies a river in general, whence the *Tſchuwaſchi* call the Wolga, *Aſliadal*, or the Great River; but the *Kama* they call *Schorab-adal*, i. e. the White River, becauſe the water of it is whiter than that of the Wolga; the river *Wiætka* the Tartars call *Naukred Idel*. The Calmucks tranſlate the word *Atel* by *Etſchil*. The *Morduans*, on the contrary, have given to the Wolga the name of the *Rhau*, which perfectly reſembles the denomination *Rha*, made uſe of by Ptolemy.

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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 *Uwjeck*, which lies 7 werſts 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 Mahometans, 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, there is hardly any end to the days in ſummer, and the nights are but very ſhort; which, indeed, is very probable; the town being ſituated in upwards of 48 degrees of northern latitude, and, agreeable to the principles of aſtronomy, ſubject to a very long twilight. *Balangar*, or *Athol*, is the capital of the *Chozars*.

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 ſtill greater enterprizes, which under Attila, in the years 434, 454, were crowned with amazing ſucceſs; 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

* 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. pa. 121, & ſeq. The Arabian inſcriptions bear date, A. D. 1226—1341. The Armenian reach from 1161 to 1578. 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.

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the Don, withdrew to Mount Caucaſus; and all the ſubjects of the powerful empire of the Huns recovered their liberties. The Turks, a people who at firſt had dwelled to the ſouthwards, on the banks of the lake *Saiſſan*, of the river *Irtiſch*, 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*, *Petſchenegs*, *Uzes*, *Polovzes*, *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 Porghyrogenetes deſcribes in his Thematæ. 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 eſtabliſhed 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 Breſlaw. 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 *Holaku-Chan*, *Naſſir-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*,

Rus, and *Bolgar*. 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 *Kujavah*, muſt certainly be *Kiew* (or *Kiow*). But *Sakſin*, 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 knowledge theſe people had of *Koraſan*, *Choareſm*, and *Mawaralnakan*, 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 *Choten*, a well known town in the Leſſer Bukharia, the capital of a ſmall empire, which at preſent is ſubject to the Chineſe. *Almalig*, 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 *Taſchkent near the Sihon*, to *Lake Iſſikol*, not far from *Barket*, or *Barek*; then they came to *Gheuktopa*, from thence to the mount called *Arjatu*, and ſo to the town *Almalig*. They then croſſed the river *Ab-Eile*, came to *Itſchna-Butſchna*, and *Uker Keptadſchi*, and, finally, arrived on the banks of the *Irtiſh*, where they learned that Prince *Kamareddin* was gone into the marten-and-ſable foreſts of *Daulas*. Hence it follows that this place is ſituated between *Taſchkent* and the *Irtiſch*, and, indeed, on this ſide the river *Ab-Eile*, which at this day empties itſelf into the Sihon. And as the armies of Timur returned over lake *Eutrakgheul*, ſituated near *Haraſchar*, and haſtened by the way of *Akſu* to *Samarkand* on account of the winter approaching; this *Almalig* muſt not be confounded with *Kabalig*, *Biſchbalig*, and ſtill leſs with *Karacorum*, the ſeat of the Moguls on the

river and lake *Onghin*. A Florentine named *Franciſco Balducci Pegolettí*, (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*) deſcribedat 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 aſſes) beyond *Otrar*, he places the town of *Armalecco*, which undoubtedly is *Almalig* in the land of *Gete*, to the north-eaſt of *Taſchkent*, 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 Keluran* (likewiſe unknown) ſtill more to the eaſt than *Karakum*.—Farther they have *Biſchbalik*, a place probably the ſame with that which the Chineſe call *Ilibalik*, which conſequently is ſituated on the banks of the river *Ili*. Then comes *Karakum*, i. e. the *black ſand*, a place which was alſo called *Karakorum*, and uſed to be the reſidence of the Mogul Emperors, of the race of Zinghis Khan. Finally, they ſpeak of *Chanbalik*, or *Cambalik*, 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 *Tſcheu*, 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 *xu*. 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 *Kaſſai*. This *Kaſſai*, is *Kiſſen*, a place on the great river *Kara-Muren*, or *Hoang-ho*. From hence it is 30 days journey to *Gamalecco*, 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

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 preſerved, even after conqueſts; and for a ſimilar reaſon the names of the rivers and lakes are preſerved with equal care, viz. on account of theſe 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 Chineſe 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 *.

* *Kublai-Khan* reigned from the year 1259 to 1294 of the Chriſtian æra, 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 ſhattered by the ſtorm, 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 aſſociation, practiſed 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

CHAP. II.

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, inſomuch 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 Britiſh nation implored the aſſiſtance of the Roman Chief, *Ætius*, 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 Britains, 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 *Britany*. But it ſeems that theſe people had for a long time before been uſed to infeſt

ſtanding that both theſe empires are ſurrounded on all ſides by ſavage and rude nations very inconſiderable in point of extent, and are beſides at a diſtance from each other. Now all this favours the ſuppoſition, that theſe two colonies came thither by ſea, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; perhaps they are ſome of the people that were loſt in the expedition to Japan, their ſhips having been driven by the ſtorm to America.

the coaſts of France and Britain by ſea with their depredations, inſomuch that the Romans gave 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 Weſer *(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. Accord-

(a) Zoſim. Lib. i. paragr 66. edit. Oxon. Eumen in panegyr. Conſtantii Cæſaris. Cap. 18.—and Vopiſcus in probo.

ingly

ingly they went with 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.

Beſides the Franks and Saxons, who ſeem to have acquired conſiderable knowledge of the maritime affairs and countries of the North; we alſo find, that about the year 753 of the Chriſtian æra, the Danes ventured with their ſhips as far as *Thanet* on the Kentiſh coaſt, and ravaged the country. Theſe were followed by three other Daniſh ſhips, which came from *Heredalande*, and the crews of which even landed A. D. 787 in *Weſtſex*, that part of the iſland which fell to the ſhare of King *Brithrik* (or *Beorhtric*). In the year 793, the Convent called *Lindisfarne*, on the iſland which is now called *Holy-Iſland*, was plundered of every thing in it by the Danes; who having acquired additional courage in conſequence of the conſiderable booty they had made there, the year immediately following, viz. 794, plundered likewiſe the Convent on the mouth of the *Tyne*, which had been built there by King *Egfrid*. It was no unpleaſing circumſtance to theſe Heathens to find that the good monks had preſerved in their convents ſuch immenſe riches, which it was cuſtomary for the Chriſtians of thoſe days, in conſequence of the opinion they entertained of the merit of good works, to heap up with bountiful hands in theſe repoſitories.

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. Findanus, 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

(*b*) Scriptores rerum Alemannicarum Goldaſti, Tom. i. p. 202.

Iſlands,

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 perſuading 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 caſed over with leather†. Long ſhips, of a larger ſize, were

* The names however of *Suionæ*, in Tacitus, and of *Nerigon*, in Pliny, 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 *Dania* in ſo early a writer as *Guido of Ravenna*, who probably wrote his book in the 7th century.

** *Ohther* told king *Alfred*, that he was in poſſeſſion of twenty beaves, twenty ſheep, and as many ſwine; and that the trifling quantity of land that he had in tilth, he ploughed with horſes; and yet Ohther was one of the richeſt and moſt conſiderable men in his country. In like manner *Adam of Bremen*, affirms, that *Nordmanland* 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 ſitu Daniæ ad calcem Hiſt. Eccleſ.* Cap. 238. parag. 146. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1595, 4to.

† Boats like theſe, made of wicker and caſed over with leather, are called *Coracles* in England, where they are ſtill in uſe on the rivers Dee and Severn; in Ireland they are termed *Curachs*.

Cæſar,

were called Chiule, 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 Suionæ. 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 Ohther's deſcription; conſequently they circumnavigated the extreme point of their peninſula, and of Europe, viz. the North Cape, and coming at laſt to the *Cwen Sea*, arrived at the *Dwina* and among the *Biarmians* that lived on its banks. The *Danes* ſailed along the coaſt as far as the Britiſh Channel, and at length went to Britain itſelf.

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

Cæſar, ſo early as in his time, found them in Britain, and made uſe of them himſelf. *Cæſar de bello civili parag.* 259. *Ed. Elzev.* 1635. *Lucani Pharſal. Lib.* iv. *v.* 131. *Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib.* iv. *cap.* 16. vii. *cap.* 57. *Solin. Polyhiſt.* cap. 25. The Eſquimaux and Greenlanders, and likewiſe the Kamtſchadalles have ſhips made of fiſh bones, with a few wooden clumps and bends, 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 καραβια, 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 *Korabl'*. It is certain, that the veſſels belonging to the Saxon pirates were made of leather. For in the poem upon *Avitus*, this circumſtance is mentioned expreſsly:

Quin et armoricus piratam Saxona tractus
Spirabat, cui pelle ſalum ſulcare Britannum
Ludus, et aſſuto glaucum mare findere lembo.

Iſlands,

Iſlands, 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 Iſlands, 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 ſucceſs, 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 *Nowgorod* and its vicinity.

Juſt about this time, viz. in 861, one of theſe pirates, of the name of NADDODD, 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*. Naddodd 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 ſailed 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*, who 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 LIEF, reſolved upon making another trial. Accordingly, theſe

theſe 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 Jutland and the Daniſh iſlands into one: as INGIALD ILLRODE had done long before in Sweden. It was impoſſible for ſuch great changes in the poſture of affairs, and thoſe ſo contrary to the old eſtabliſhments, to be effected

* The firſt diſcoverers of Iceland found foreſts of a conſiderable extent on the iſland; and there are ſtill to be ſeen in different parts of it, the roots and ſtumps of large fir-trees, which confirm this aſſertion. We know likewiſe from authentic information, that corn has been cultivated in Iceland; though at preſent, excepting a few ſtunted birch-trees, and other underwood, there is not a tree on the iſland, and no corn will grow on it. The fact is, that the ſtraits between *Old* (or the *Eaſtern* part of) Greenland and Iceland, having been for many years paſt choaked up with ice, have occaſioned a great change in the temperature of this latter iſland.

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, whoſe 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 every where; codes of law were compiled and committed to writing; and the rude and wild way of life of thoſe 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 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 havock 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 OHTHER, who had made himſelf famous by his travels. There was another too, a Jutlander, of the name of WULFSTAN, 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 *Ormeſta* of OROSIUS, in the Anglo-Saxon, his mother-tongue, he interwove in this tranſlation the relations of Ohthere and Wulfſtan, with the reſult 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 Soderoë; hence originates the title of the biſhop, in whoſe dioceſe theſe iſlands were, together with the Iſle of *Man*; as he ſtill is called, though the reaſon of it be not rightly known, Biſhop of *Sodor* and *Man*. But it is eaſy to perceive that this *Sodor* can be no other than the *Sodoroë* of the Danes. [Or rather the *Sodoar*, by contraction from the Swediſh *Soder*, South and *Oar* Iſlands] Note of the tranſlator.

the

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 *Cwen Sea* (or the White

(1) Alfred calls the Great Sea, or Ocean, *Garſecg*, 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 *Sae*, or *Sea*.

(2) In the original the Danube is conſtantly called the *Donua*.

(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 Wandals or Vandals, 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 origin.

Sea).

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 Francan* (6), and to the ſouth of them are the *Swaefas*, or Suevae (7); on the oppoſite bank of the Danube, and to the ſouth and eaſt are the *Baegthware* (8), in that part which is called *Regneſburgh* (9).

Due

(4) It is well known, that the ancient inhabitants of the north made a diſtinction between the *Cwenas* and the *Laplanders*, by the former underſtanding the Finlanders, ſo that Cwenland, according to them, was *Finland*. Hence it is eaſy to perceive, that Adam of Bremen, when he ſpeaks of the *Amazons* and of the *Land of Females*, as being *Cwenland*, totally miſtakes the ſignification of the word Cwenland. *Cwen*, in the northern languages, means a *woman*; in that of Iceland it is *Kwinna*. Ulphilas calls a woman *Quens*, *Quino*; in the Anglo-Saxon dialect it is *Kwen*; in the Alemannic, *Quena*. Hence the Engliſh have got the word *Queen*. Now, as previous to this period the Finlanders inhabited all this tract as far as Halſingeland; *Cwenland* conſequently reached as far as this ſpot; in proceſs of time, the *Sweons* 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 *Cwenland* was much diminiſhed in extent. Adam of Bremen has, throughout his whole treatiſe, confounded the proper name of *Kwehn*, i. e. the Kwehn nation, or Kwehn country, with *Kwen*, or *Quihn*. It is likewiſe obſervable, that where this *Kwehn* Sea was ſituated, it was *Garſeeg*, as Alfred calls it, or Ocean, and not a Sea like the Mediterranean or the Baltic. Conſequently this *Kwehn 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 Waraegrians were become maſters of the whole of Ruſſia; therefore the whole country, as far as the Don, or *Tanais*, 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 Saale; in the North, to the Ruhre and Caſſel; and in the South, almoſt to the Necker; or, according to *Eginhard*, from Saxony to the Danube. They were called Eaſt Franks, in order to diſtinguiſh them from the Franks that inhabited ancient Gaul.

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

(8) *Baegthware*. 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 ware or warians, as e. g. the *Ampſivarians*, *Angrivarians*, *Boructuarians*, *Chattuarians*, &c. indicate the remains of ſuch tribe or people. Thus alſo the remainder of the Boij

that

Due eaſt from hence are the *Beme* (10), and to the north-eaſt the *Thyringas* (11); to the north of theſe are the *Old-Seaxan* (12), to the north-weſt are the *Fryſan* (13), and to the weſt of *Old Seaxum* is the mouth of the *Aelfa* (or Elbe) (14), as alſo *Fryſan* (or Frieſeland). Hence to the north-weſt is that land which is called *Angle* (15), *Sillende* (16), and ſome part of *Dena* (17).

To

that were exterminated by the Suevi, and who ſettled at Noricum, were called *Bojuvarians*. By the ancients they were termed *Boioarii*, or *Bajoarii*; ſo that the *Baegthwares* were the Boij or *Baeghten* remaining after the ſlaughter made of them by the Suevi. *Vid. Thunman's Nordiſche Volker. P.* 40, 41.

(9) *Regneſburg* was, as we may gather from this expreſſion of Alfred's, a province as well as a city. Perhaps the diſtrict of *Regenſburg*, or *Ratiſbon*.

(10) The *Beme* are without diſpute the preſent Bohemians, whom Alfred farther on mentions under the denomination of *Behemas*. This appellation they had from the word *Boierheim*, or Dwelling-place of the Boij, who were exterminated by the Suevi.

(11) We cannot eaſily miſtake the *Thyringas*; and the ſituation of their country is ſtill the ſame as it was in thoſe ages; though the Thuringen of that period muſt neceſſarily have taken in a greater circuit than our modern Thuringen does; as the king of that country was at that time powerful enough to be able to wage war with the king of the Franks.

(12) By the words *Alt-Seaxan* and *Alt-Seaxum*, is meant the country that lies on the eaſtern ſide of the Elbe. It ſtill preſerves its ancient name, viz. *Old Saſſen* (Old Saxony) or *Holſatia* in Latin, which by degrees has degenerated to its preſent denomination of *Holſtein*. This country was of great importance in the eyes of King Alfred, as it was the habitation of his anceſtors.

(13) Without diſpute the Finlanders lived to the north-weſt of Thuringen, between the Elbe and the Rhine, along the ſea coaſt; conſequently they lay to the weſtward of *Old Saxony*, as Alfred afterwards indicates.

(14) This pronunciation of the word *Elbe* (*Aelfe*) is ſtill retained in the Swediſh language, and the names of places *Gothaelf*, *Dalelfen*, ſtill in uſe. *Elf*, taken in its general acceptation, ſignifies a river.

(15) The word *Hence* refers to *Old Seaxum*, and with reſpect to Old Saxony, *Angle* is, I believe, to the north-weſt, and not to the north-eaſt, as the reviewer of my remarks upon Alfred aſſerts in the 6th part of the 2d volume of the *Gottingen Philological Library*. For the Angles were without diſpute the aſſiſtants of the Saxons in their expedition to England, and indeed in all probability a peculiar branch of this nation; therefore probably they dwelt in Old Saxony, on the other ſide of the Oder; and the ſame ſituation had *Sillende*, or the iſle of Zeeland, part of Denmark. I make this remark merely becauſe it might otherwiſe have been imagined from the later ſituation of the *Engers* between Eaſt and Weſt-phalia, that the Engers, *Engles* or *Angles*, had likewiſe reſided on the weſtern ſide of the Elbe. Alfred, in his deſcription of Old Saxony, went on

in

To the north is *Apdrede* (18); and to the north-eaſt the Wolds (19), which are called Aelfeldan (20); from hence eaſtward is *Winedaland* (21), which

in progreſſion; ſo that firſt to the northweſtward are the Angles, and then Denmark, to which alſo belongs the laſt-mentioned iſland, Zeeland. 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 Ohther's relation.

(16) *Sillende*, and (17) *Dena*, are doubtleſs Zealand and Denmark.

(18) That the *Apdrede* are the *Obotrites*, 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 *Abderites*. A little farther on, theſe people are likewiſe termed *Afdrede*. 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 *Eaſt*. Or elſe we ſhould read as follows: "To the North-eaſt is Apdrede, and to the North the Wolds."

(19) (20) To the north-eaſt of the Obotrites dwelled the *Wilzi*, the *Rami*, &c. But theſe it was not Alfred's intention to indicate, but merely the Wends, who lived on the *Havel*, and were termed *Hevelli*, or *Hæveldi*, and ſometimes *Heveldun*. 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 Havelland with reſpect to Old Saxony.

(21) (22) *Winedaland*, ſays Alfred, lies to the eaſt of Old Saxony, and this is preciſely the ſituation of Mecklenburg, where the Wendian Sclavi lived. They were called *Wends*, or Vandals, from the ſituation of their country near the ſea; for *Woda*, or *Wanda*, ſignifies water, or *ſea*; hence too they were denominated *Pomeranians*, i. e. people who lived by the ſea ſide—*po moriu*. This is right alſo on another account, viz. becauſe Wulfſtan, in the ſequel, expreſsly ſays, that *Weonodland* was always to the right hand of him in his journey from Haethum to Iſing, and that the Viſtula runs from *Weonodland* into the *Eſtmere*, or the *Haf*.

Conſequently Weonodland, or *Winodland*, muſt have been the modern Mecklenburgh and Pomerania. The reviewer of my Comment, in the Philological Library, blames me for taking the Wends for the Lettovians, a miſtake which I never committed. My map, indeed, plainly ſhews that I did not: I only ſaid, that this people ſpoke the Lettovian or Pruſſian language, and therefore were different from the other Sclavi. They were, however, connected with the other branches of the Sclavi; and ſo were the Lettovians and Pruſſians, the words of whoſe language are even to this day, almoſt all Sclaviſh. 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 Wendenland on the Viſtula, 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 iſle of Funen for this ſame Wendenland; but do no more than merely follow Wulfſtan in this point, who, as ſoon as he is come out of the harbour of Hæthum has the country of Weonothland (not Weonodland) to the right of him; and Langeland, Laeland, Falſter, and Schonen, to the left: then he comes to *Burgendaland*, *Blecinga*, *Meore*, *Eowland*, and *Gotland*: after this he mentions *Weonodland*, which at other times he calls *Winodland*, and was always to the right-hand of

which men call Syſyle (22). To the South-eaſt at ſome diſtance is *Maroaro* (23); and theſe *Maroaro* have to the weſt the *Thyringas* and *Behemas*, as alſo part of the *Baegthware*; and to the ſouth, on the other ſide of the *Donua*, is the country called *Carendra* (24).

Southwards towards and along the mountains which are called the *Alpis*, lie the boundaries of *Baegthware*, as alſo *Swaeva* (25); and then

him. To me nothing appears plainer than the difference between *Winodland* and *Weonothland*; this latter lies near Langeland, the other to the weſt of the Viſtula, along the ſea coaſt. But with reſpect to *Syſyle*, it muſt be owned, that Alfred ſeems to have made a miſtake. There is an inconſiderable place called *Suiſti*, or *Suſle*, which is ſituated on the Baltic, in Wagerland, between Travemunde and Entyn, and is ſtill called *Syſſel*. This is to the weſtward about the beginning of the tracts inhabited by the Wends. But there is another diſtrict, that of *Siuſilli*, of which Dithmar, of Merſeburg makes mention. It lies not far from the Mulda, below Eulenburg, in Saxony; and at this preſent time there is in that diſtrict a pariſh called *Seſelitz*, or Seuſelitz, or Seuſedlitz. As 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 *Syſyle*, he ſpeaks of the Moravians. This, in fact, is too great a leap. But this *Syſyle* connects the Wends on the Baltic, who have likewiſe a *Syſſel* in their country, with the Moravians, or rather with their neighbours the Delamenſam, of whom mention is made farther on.

(23) By the *Moroaro* are meant the people of Moravia, ſo called from the river *Morava*, and the ſituation that is given them here, is likewiſe right. They lie to the ſouth-eaſt of old Saxony, at ſome diſtance from it. *Ofer ſumme dæl.* Mr. Barrington's tranſlation of this paſſage is very erroneous. When I wrote my remarks on *Ælfred's Oroſius*, I had not the Anglo-Saxon original before me; as it was then in the hands of the printer; I therefore uſed Mr. Barrington'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 *Swatopluk*, and conſequently was of a much greater extent than it is at preſent) was bounded by Thuringia and Bohemia to the weſt, as well as by part of Bavaria, is perfectly agreeable to truth.

(24) *Carendra* muſt certainly be Carinthia, or the country of the *Carentani*, or *Carenders*, and this Carinthia includes Auſtria and Styria. The Carentini had their own peculiar princes, of ſome of which the names are known to us; as for example, *Boruth*, who put himſelf under the protection of the Franks in 732, and *Wonomir*, who aſſiſted in taking the Hring of the Awari with Duke Henry of Forli in 796.

(25) The *boundaries* (or *Gemæro*) for the boundaries of Bavaria and Swabia to the South were the Alps.

to

to the eaſtward of the *Carendre Country*, and beyond the Waſte (26), is *Pulgaraland* (27) (or Bulgaria); to the eaſt is *Grecaland* (28) (or Greece), to the eaſt of *Maroara* is *Wiſleland* (29), and to the eaſt of that is *Datia* (30), though it formerly belonged to the *Gottan* (31) (or Goths). To the North-eaſt of *Moroaro* are the *Delamenſan* (32).

(26) It is ſomewhat ſingular, that the Reviewer, who has ſo frequently taken upon him to cenſure me, ſhould here, of his own authority, put, by way of note *(Orig. weſt-wards)*. He cannot ſurely have looked at this paſſage very narrowly in the original; for there it ſtands word for word thus: *And thonne be eaſtan Carendranlande begeondan thæm weſtenne is Pulgaraland.* So that Ælfred expreſsly ſays, "eaſtward;" and the word weſtenne does not ſignify weſt, but a *waſte* or deſert. For juſt hereabouts it was that the Awari were ſo much thinned by Charlemagne, that their priſtine habitations were a perfect deſert. Nay, this very circumſtance ſhews, that the accounts here given us by Ælfred coincides exactly with what paſſed in his time; for ſo ſoon after as in 893, the Madſchiari (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 chaſms 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 Beſſarabia. The Bulgarians were probably a tribe of Turkiſh origin, which dwelt on the other ſide of the Wolga in Caſan, where they had their metropolis called *Bolgar*, 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 erected a new ſtate on the North ſide of Mount Hæmus.

(28) *Grecaland* (or Griekenland, as the people of the northern countries called it) is the domains of the Greek Byzantinian Emperors.

(29) *Wiſleland* is the tract of country that lies on the *Wiſle*, or Viſtula (in modern German *Weiſſel)* conſequently it is principally great and little Poland.

(30) *Datia* therefore, in all probability, is not Moldavia and Tranſylvania, as has been ſuppoſed; for theſe countries are ſomewwhat 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 *Gottan* are the Goths, who for ſome time inhabited Dacia. As theſe were a famous nation in hiſtory, King Ælfred was willing, at leaſt, to point out one of their dwelling places.

(32) The *Delamenſan*, or *Delomenſan*, are a people frequently, by the writers of the middle ages, termed *Daleminzen*. This, to ſhew their erudition, they ſometimes wrote *Dalmatians*. The people and race here alluded to, were ſituated in the environs of *Lommatſch*, or as the Sclavonians called it, *Hlemmatſch*, *Glemmatſch*. Conſequently it was round about Meiſſen on both ſides of the Elbe, that the Daleminzen reſided.

Eaſt of *Delamenſan* are the *Horithi* (33), and North of the *Delamenſan* are the *Surpe* (34), to the Weſt alſo are the *Syſſele*. 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 *Dena* is that arm of the ocean that ſurrounds *Brytannia*, and to the North is that arm of the ſea which is *Oſt-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 *Afdrede*; 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 Sclavonian 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 Quarlitz, not far from great Glogau; for to the North of the Delaminzians lay the *Sorbs*, of Lower Luſatia.

(34) The *Surpes*, or *Surfes* are eaſily diſtinguiſhed; in fact, they are the *Sorbian* Sclavonians, or the *Sorbi*, *Sirbi*, *Serbi*, and *Serbii* of the old writers of chronicles. The modern Wends of Luſatia call themſelves Sſerbs, or Sſorbs. As the Daleminzians 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 *Syſelians* about *Seuſelig* are, according to Ælfred's account, only to the weſtward of the Sorbs of Lower Luſatia.

(35) It is not poſſible that *Maegthaland* ſhould be the *terra fœminarum* of Adam von Bremen, as the reviewer in the *Gottingen Philological Library* aſſerts it to be. For, 1. if the the word Maegthaland be ſuppoſed to be a tranſlation of terra fœminarum, or *Kwenland*, it is evidently a miſtake; for this in the Anglo Saxon dialect would be *Wifmannaland*. 2. But ſuppoſing it to mean Maidenland, ſtill it is wrong; for in this caſe it would be written *Mædenland*, 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 Eſtland of Adam von Bremen. Perhaps, indeed, the name of this country is wrong ſpelt, and it ſhould be *Wartaland*, as it is ſituated on the banks of the *Warte*. But this is mere conjecture!

(36) (37) *Sermende* is the mutilated and diſguiſed name of *Sarmatia*, a mere ſalvo 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 Ælfred makes his ſurvey. Here it ſeems to be on the Eider. To the South-eaſt is the Britiſh Channel. To the Eaſt and North are the North-Danes. To the Eaſt are the Obotrites, and to the South is the mouth of the Elbe and Old Saxony.

called

called *Oſt Sea*. To the Eaſt is the nation of the *Oſti*; and *Afdrede* to the South. (The *Oſti* have, to the North of them, that ſame arm of the ſea) ſo are the *Winedas* and the *Burgendas* (39). And (ſtill more) to the South is *Haefeldan* (40). The *Burgendan* have this ſame arm of the ſea to the Weſt, and the *Sveon* to the North; to the Eaſt are the *Sermendc*, to the South the *Surfe* (41). The *Sveons* have to the South the arm of the ſea called *Oſti*, and to the North, over the waſtes, is *Cwenland*, to the North-weſt are the *Scride-Finnas* (42), and to the weſt the *Northmen* (43).

Ohthere

(39) *Burgendas* is without doubt the Iſland of *Bornholm*; for from *Borgendaholm* (or Borgenda Iſland) it has been gradually altered to *Borgendholm*, *Bergen*, and at length to *Bornholm*. Pliny refers the *Burgundiones* to the *Vindili* in the North of Germany. Lib. iv. c. 14.——Mamertinus ſays in Genathliaco, c. 17, that both theſe nations were nearly exterminated by the Goths. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xxviii. cap. 5. informs us, that they had often been at variance with the Allemanni on account of the ſalt ſprings at Halle on the Sale. 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, Wulfſtan very plainly aſcribes the ſame ſituation to this country.

(40) Here we muſt again remind the reader, that it is neceſſary to know King Ælfred'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 Oſt Sea; to the eaſt are the *Oſti*, 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 eaſtward than Eſthonia. To the South of Zealand is the country of the Obotrites. Now comes a parentheſis, in which the king ſays, that this ſame arm of the ſea is likewiſe to the north of the *Oſti*; and then proceeds to mention the Wends and inhabitants of Bernholm, as 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 *Haeveldan*, which in this place is very properly ſpelled with an H.

(41) Now Ælfred takes a new point of view. Bornholm has to the weſt of it the ſea, to the northward the Sueones, to the eaſt behind Eſthonia are the Sarmatians, and behind the Wends above-mentioned and the Havellanders are Sorbian Sclavonians.

(42) *The Scridefinnas*. The Geographer of Ravenna, ſo early as in his time, makes mention, in book iv. chap. 12 and 46, of the *Patria Rerefennorum* and *Sirdifennorum*, which latter he likewiſe calls *Serdefenni*. *Procopius* in *Hiſt. Goth.* L. ii. p. 261, calls them Scritifinni, and places them ſo far diſtant as *Thule*. Jordanus de rebus Geticis, cap. 3. ſpeaks of the *Crefennæ*, of whom there are three different nations; and *Paulus Diaconus*, in his *Hiſt. Longob.* L. i. cap. 5. terms

Ohthere (44) told his lord (King Ælfred) that he lived to the North of all the Northmen. He quoths 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 Finnas (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 *Baecbord*, or left. He was within three days as far North as the whale-

them *Scritowini* and *Scritobini:* Adam von Bremen *Scritefinni*. Conſequently King Ælfred's orthography is apparently juſt. According to Adam von Bremen they lived, *In confinio Sueonum vel Nordmannorum contra Boream*. They therefore bordered both on Sweden and Nordmanna-land. They were extremely ſwift, and indeed more ſo than the wild animals of the country. *Paul Warnefried* affirms, that they took their name from the word which, in this barbarous language, ſignified *to ſpring* or *leap*; as by means of a curve 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 *ſnow-ſhoes*, or *ſchrit-ſhoes*, in uſe at preſent in many of the moſt northerly regions of Europe. Hence too it was that theſe people were called *Schreit-Finlanders*: 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 *Oſt-Sea*, or Baltic; towards the eaſt the Sarmatians in Livonia, and the country ſince called Eſthonia; to the north, beyond the Deſert, is *Cwenland*, the modern Finland, and to the north-weſt are theſe Finlanders who live entirely by hunting, or the *Scrid finlanders*; and laſtly, to the north are the *Northmen*.

(44) *Ohthere* was a great man from Norway, and, as ſome affirm, from *Nummadalen*, or, as is reported by others, from Nordland, which compriſes the extremity of Norway towards the North; he undertook a voyage of diſcovery towards Permien, and another to Sweden; both of which Ælfred here deſcribes from Ohthere's own mouth. This is extremely accurate and authentic, and entirely in the ſtile 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) Ohthere calls the inhabitants of this Deſert *Finnas*, 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.

(46) The

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 ſailed 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 far further on account of the inhabitants being hoſtile, and all that country was inhabited on one ſide of this river, nor had *Ohthere* 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 *Ohthere* did not dare enter upon it; on the other hand, the *Terfenna* (48) land was all a deſert, except when it was thus inhabited by fiſhers and fowlers.

(46) The track of Ohthere'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 Permia is ſtill mentioned in the title of the Emperors of Ruſſia. After this expedition of Ohthere, many more Normans went to Biarmia in ſearch of adventures.

(48) *Terfennaland* is mentioned as being different from the country of the *Scrite Finnas*. We have already ſeen juſt above (42) that Guido of Ravenna had ſo early as in his time diſtinguiſhed them into *Rerefinni* and *Scritifinni*; 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 *Rerefinnas* in Ravenna, ſhould therefore certainly be written *Renefinnas*; and in the text here *Rhanefinnas*, or perhaps (from the circumſtance of theſe people reſiding and journeying in ſledges). *Fer-finnas* (from the word *Fara*, in German *Fahren*, ſignifying to go in a carriage of any kind, to travel). For Ohthere tells us, in fact, that the Finnas had rein-deer, and made uſe of decoy-deer, in order to catch the wild ones.

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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 (49); it ſeemed, however, to him, that the *Beormas* and the *Finnas*, ſpoke the ſame language (50). 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 (51). This ſort of whale (52) 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 (53);

(49) 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.

(50) It is highly probable, that the Biarmians were a branch of the great Finlandiſh ſtock; for they even had a God *Jomala*, 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.

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

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

(53) The expreſſion in the original is *unbebohtra*, i. e. never offered for ſale, or unbought. 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

beſides this, he had ſix decoy rein-deer (54), which are very valuable amongſt the *Finnas*, becauſe they catch their wild ones with them.

Ohthere 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 ſwine; and what little he plowed was with horſes. The rents in this country conſiſt chiefly of what is paid by the Finnas (55), in deer-ſkins, feathers, whale-bone, and ſhip-ropes, made of whales hides, or thoſe of ſeals. Every one pays according to his ſubſtance; 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.

Ohthere 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 to the cultivated

(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 Wolf, with a Deſcripton 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 inſidiouſly 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 *Gafol*; whence the French word *Gabelle*. But this ſhews, that ſo early as towards the end of the 9th century, the Normans had compelled the Finlanders to pay them tribute.

(56) In the original, *ambra*. *Langebeck* has a long note on this word, which he explains by the *amphora* of the Latins. Mr. *Barrington* tranſlated it *buſhels*; but, in my opinion, both of them are miſtaken; as I rather ſuppoſe it to be the ſame with the modern Engliſh word *Hamper*, in old Engliſh, *Hanaper*, which is derived from *hand-bear*.

(57) *Kyrtel* in the original. In German, *kuettel*, or cloak.

(58) Orig. *Ettan*. (59) *Mora*, 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 Lapponica* itſelf gives abundant proof of this circumſtance.

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 Cwenaland. 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.

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

(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 Ohthere'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 Finlanders, did not join immediately to Northmannaland; 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 *Mere* in the north of England; and the ſame word is here uſed in the ſame ſenſe by Ælfred.

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

(64) In the original, *Scir*.

likewiſe

likewiſe a part of this ſouthern land which is called *Sciringes-heal* (65), which no one could reach in a month, if he lay to at night, though he

(65) The name of this place has given a great deal of trouble to former commentators on Ælfred, viz. Sir John Spelman, Buſſæus, Somner, John Phil. Murray, and Langebeck, who have all choſen ſpots totally different to place *Sciringes heal* in. Spelman and others look for this place near Dantzic, where, in their opinion, the *Scyres* formerly reſided. But firſt, the ſpot where the *Scyres* lived, is by no means determined; and next, it is evident that Ohthere went continually along the coaſt from Halgoland to *Sciringes-heal*, and that this latter was to the left of him during the whole paſſage thither. The late Mr. Murray places it at *Skanor*; but I cannot think this to have been five days voyage from Hæthum, in Jutland, as Ohthere ſays it was. Langebeck is for carrying it to *Kongahelle*, on the Gautelf, near Marſtrand; and aſſerts, that the name of this place is written wrong, and that for *Sciringes-heal* we ſhould read *Cyninges-heal*. 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-heal*; on which account it does not appear to me at all probable, that it ſhould be ſpelt in any other manner. 2dly, The voyage from Halgoland to *Kongahelle* is not ſufficiently extenſive to take up a month to accompliſh it. 3dly, *Kongahelle* is too near Jutland, to require five days for making the trip, as Ohthere ſays it does. Having demonſtrated the inſufficiency of theſe conjectures, it is now incumbent on us, in our turn, to point out where *Sciringes-heal* actually is ſituated. Paul Warenfried, in his *Hiſt. Longobard*, lib. i. cap. 7 and 10, makes mention of a diſtrict, called *Scorunga*, in which the *Winili*, or *Lombards*, reſided for ſome time, ere they removed to *Mauringa*, and from thence ſtill further on to *Gotland*, *Anthabet*, *Bethaib*, and *Purgundaib*. Now this *Scorunga* ſeems to have been the diſtrict in which the poſt of *Sciringes-heal* was. This Scorunga was not far from *Gotland*; conſequently it was ſomewhere in Sweden. Add to this, that Ohthere, having expreſsly deſcribed Sueoland as being to the ſouthward of the place of his habitation, immediately afterwards ſays, "There is a port in this ſouthern land which is called *Sciringes-heal*." 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 Iraland, i. e. Scotland, to the right of him; as likewiſe the iſlands which lie between Scotland and Halgoland, viz. the Shetland and Orkney Iſlands; but the continent is conſtantly to the left of him, quite till he comes to *Sciringes-heal*. But farther, a large bay ſtretches to the northward, deep in that country, along the coaſt of which he kept continually ſailing; and this bay commences quite to the ſouthward of *Sciringes-heal*. It is ſo broad that a man cannot ſee 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-heal Ohthere could go in five days to *Hæthum*, 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 *Hæthum* from *Sciringes-heal*, he left *Gotland* to the right, and ſoon afterwards *Zealand* likewiſe, together with the other iſlands, which had been the habitations of the Angles, be-

he had every day a fair wind; during this voyage he muſt ſail near the land, on his right hand would be Iraland (66), and then the iſlands which are between Iraland 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. *Ohthere* further ſays, that he ſailed in five days from *Sciringes-heal*, to that port which men call *Haethum* (70), which is between the *Winedum*, *Seaxun*, and *Anglen*, and makes part of *Dene*.

When

fore 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 northwards; 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 *Svia-Sciæren*, or Swediſh *Shiers* (a cluſter 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 *Shiers*," 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 *Shiers* lay towards the ſea, was the *Scorunga* of Paul Warnefried.

(66) *Iraland*, ſays Ælfred; yet he means that country which we now call Scotland; and a little farther on he mentions our modern Ireland in theſe terms: *Igbernia, thæt ove Scotland hætad.* This ſhews therefore, that the people removed from the one country to the other, and peopled them alternately.

(67) As I have already remarked above, that Ohthere here means the land along which he had hitherto been ſailing: this word is of great ſervice towards determining the ſituation of *Sciringesheal*, 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 ſtill more plainly in Wulfſtan's Voyage to *Truſo*. It cannot therefore mean Jutland, as Langebeck affirms it does.

(69) Ælfred 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 hundred miles farther in the ſame direction in which he had ſailed from Zealand to it, viz. from weſt to eaſt.

(70) This port of *Hæthum* has given Ælfred's Commentators a great deal of trouble. However, they are all agreed in affirming, the place that is here meant, to be *Sleſwic*, as this latter is called *Haithaby* by the Anglo-Saxon Ethelwerd. A Norwegian poet gives it the name of *Heythabae*,

When Ohthere ſailed to this place from *Sciringes-heal*, 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 (theſe 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 *Truſo* (74) in ſeven

thabae, and others write it *Heydabee*, and by Adam of Bemen, it is called *Heidaba*; this in their opinion is Hæthum: yet it appears to me that the difference between *Hæthaby* and *Hæthum* is not ſo very inconſiderable; neither indeed is it poſſible for this place to be Sleſwic, as the ſituation of it does not accord with that of the ſpot deſcribed by Ohthere and Wulfſtan. In fact, if Sleſwic be *Hæthum*, 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 ſailing from *Sciringes-heal* to *Hæthum*, he had Denmark to the left, and the open ſea for the ſpace of three days to the right; but that for two days before he reached Hæthum, 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 Sleſwic, he would have found all the Daniſh iſlands lie to the right hand of him, and not one, beſides *Femern*, to the left. Now, I beg leave to enquire, how can this ſituation of Sleſwic be made to correſpond with Hæthum? The very ſame may be ſaid with reſpect to Wulfſtan's Voyage; though indeed this ſituation attributed to Sleſwic is rather more applicable to Hæthum. But now I will take the liberty of ſuppoſing, that, as in the diſtrict of *Aarhuus* there is an extenſive tract of land called *Alheide* (for it is in fact a heath); the preſent town of *Aarhuus* (in Engliſh *oar-houſe*) is new, and in the 9th century lay higher up towards *Al-heide*, or *Al-heath*; and conſequently the harbour may at that time have had the name of *Al-hæthum*, or Hæthum. So that if Ohthere ſet out from Stockholm, Gothland was to the right of him, and ſo was Zealand; and he ſailed between Zealand and Funen, in which caſe all the Daniſh iſlands were to the left hand of him, and he had the *Schager Rack* and the *Cattegat*, a wide ſea, to the right. Farther, when Wulfſtan went from Aarhuus, (or Hæthum,) to Truſo, he kept *Weonothland* (not *Winodland*) i. e. Funen (or Fionia) to his right hand; and to the left were *Langeland*, *Laeland*, *Falſter*, and *Sconeg*, as well as *Bornholm*, *Bleking Moehre*, *Oeland*, and *Gotland*. But *Wendenland* remained to the right hand of him, quite to the mouth of the Viſtula.

(72) King Ælfred ſays here, in expreſs terms, that the *Engles*, before they came to England, had reſided on the Daniſh iſlands. Conſequently it is impoſſible that *Engern* on the Weſer, which was of a poſterior date, ſhould have been the priſtine country of the Angles.

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

(73) *Wulſtan* 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 called *Truſo*, or *Drauſen*, from

ſeven days and nights (the ſhip being under ſail all the time) that *Weonothland* (75) was on his right, but *Langaland*, *Laeland*, *Falſter*, and *Sconeg*, on his left, all of which belong to *Denemearcan* (76). We had alſo *Burgendaland* on our left, which hath a king of its own. After having left *Burgendaland*, the iſlands of *Becinga-eg*, *Meore*, *Eowland*, and *Gotland*, were on our left, which country belongs to *Sueon* (77); and *Weonodland* (78) was all the way on our right, to the mouth of the *Wiſle* (79). This river is a very large one, and near it lies *Witland* (80) and *Weonodland*, the former of which belongs to *Eſtum*, and the Wiſle does not run through Weonodland, but through *Eſtmere* (81), which lake is fifteen miles broad. Then runs the *Ilſing*

from which, probably, the town he mentioned, which ſtood on the banks of the *Friſch Haf*, took its name.

(75) We have before in two different places in the notes remarked the difference between *Weonothland* and *Winodland*, the firſt of which is in all probability *Fuehnen* (Funen) or *Fionia*, which place is ſtill called *Fyen*.

(76) That *Weonothland* is not Wendenland, appears from the obſervation of Wulfstan, that all theſe countries belong to Denmark, which could not be ſaid of *Winodland*.

(77) The countries here mentioned, which all belong to *Sueon*, or Sweden, have need of a few remarks by way of elucidation. By *Becinga-eg* is certainly meant *Blekingen*, or Bleking; and the *l* 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. *Meore* is without diſpute, the Upper and Lower *Moehre in Smoland*, *Eowland* is *Oeland*, and *Gotland* is doubtleſs the Iſland of *Gotland*, and not Jutland, as Langebeck aſſerts it to be in a note to a paſſage where it occurs above; for all theſe countries were provinces of Sweden.

(78) *Weonodland*, or *Winodland*, extends to the mouth of the Viſtula; and is, evidently, a peculiar and independent country, and different from the *Weonothland* of the Danes.

(79) *Wiſle* is the Sclavonian orthography, or rather *Wiſla*. The Germans, on the other hand, call this river the *Weichſel*; the Pruſſians, *Weiſſel*; by other nations it is called the *Viſtula*.

(80) *Witland* 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 *Baltikka*, i. e. the White-land.

(81) The *Eſtmere* is (as we may perceive from the termination of the word) a lake of freſh water, into which the Elbe and Viſtula empty themſelves. It is at preſent called the *Friſch Haf*, or freſh-water ſea. *Haf* in the Dutch and Swediſh languages ſignify *ſea*. In ſome places it is above three

Ilfing (82) from the eaſtward, into Eſtmere; on the bank of which ſtands *Truſo*, and the Ilfing flows from Eaſtland into the Eſtmere from the Eaſt; and the Wiſle from Weonodland from the South; the Ilfing having joined the Wiſle takes its name, and runs to the Weſt of Eſtmere, 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 Ælfred's, who reckons by Engliſh miles, is perfectly accurate and juſt.

(82) *Ilfing* is indiſputably the name of the river *Elbing*, which flows from Lake *Drauſen* or *Truſo*, (vid. 74.) and by one of its arms joins with that arm of the Viſtula called *Neugat*, or *Nogat*, and both thus united, empty themſelves into the *Haf*, while the other arm runs into the Haf by itſelf.

(83) Every thing that Ælfred here mentions concerning the ſituation of that part of the world, inconteſtibly 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 Ælfred ſays it does, but from the South. Excepting, indeed, that he means that arm of the Elbing which runs into the Viſtula or Nogat. But the Viſtula 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 born the name of *Wiſlemund*, or the mouth of the Viſtula.

(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 ſort 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 Media drink in great quantities, calling it *Kumyſs*, 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

They have many conteſts amongſt themſelves, and the people of *Eſtum* 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 thus 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.

leave to their ſuperiors the excluſive privilege of intoxicating themſelves whenever they pleaſe. It is only the men of rank among the Turks, Perſians, and Malays, that make uſe of opium; it is only the people of quality among the Otaheiteans who intoxicate themſelves with the juice of the root of the *Awa*, a ſpecies of pepper; and it is only the principal Tſhuktſchis that can get drunk with the infuſion of the inebriating fungus, purchaſed from the Ruſſians. *Adam of Bremen* (paragr. 138.) ſays, that the ancient Pruſſians ate horſe-fleſh, and drank the milk of their mares to intoxication; and *Peter of Duiſburg* (paragr. 80.) relates of theſe people, that at their feaſts, they drank water, mead, and mare's milk.

(86) *Mead*, even ſo early as in theſe times, had the name of *Medo* in Anglo-Saxon; in the Lithuanian tongue it is called *Middus*; in Poliſh, *Miod*; in Ruſſian, *Med*; in German, *Meth*. 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 μεθυω, *I intoxicate*. I muſt once more repeat the general remark I made before, viz. that Wulfſtan 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, horſes, cloaths, 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 Ælfred obſerves, that theſe drinking-bouts occaſioned many frays. He alſo gives a reaſon, why the Eſthonians 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, cloaths, and valuable poſſeſſions, appears from a treaty concluded through the mediation of the Archdeacon 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, cloaths, and valuables.

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 ſtrive for the ſubſtance of the deceaſed; he who hath the ſwifteſt 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 cloaths; 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 *Eſtum*, 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 Ælfred'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 century, a record of the

(89) It is eaſy to perceive, that this power, ſo much admired by King Ælfred, of producing cold either in ſummer or in 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.

utmoſt importance. As Ælfred 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 acquiſitions, 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 ſailer; 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 perſeverance in rowing, were in thoſe days conſidered in ſo advantageous a light, that King *Harold Hardrade*, and Earl *Rognwald*, lord of the Orkneys, prided themſelves greatly on their ſuperior ſkill in handling the oar. Rowing, however, was not the only method they had in thoſe ages of getting a veſſel forward in its courſe. They had likewiſe ſails withal; and their manner of uſing them makes them deſervedly celebrated. Moſt of the people of antiquity, who were famous for navigation, made uſe of ſails 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 immediately into a harbour, which indeed in a ſea like the Mediterranean, is very eaſily done. But the numerous and extenſive

A MAP OF
EUROPE
for the Illustration of the
Geography of the Middle Age and of
KING ALFRED'S
Anglo-Saxon translation of
OROSIUS.
by John Reinhold Forster.
Terfenna land
or
WESTE
CWEN SEA
BEORMAS
Meridian of Ferro
OCEAN or GARSECG
Orcadus
SCRIDEFINNAS
SERMONDISCS
Sciringesheal
XXVIII
Gotland
Meore
Gowland
Becinga
Burgendaland
ESTUM or OSTI
Witland
Ilfing
Angle
Aldrede
VEONODLAND
MÆGTHALAND
SEA
SAXON
BRITANNICA SEA
SURRE
HORITI
THYRINGE
WISLE
GERMANIA
Rifting Beorn
GALLIA
BELGICA
BEME
Ratisbon
MARCARO
SWEFA
BEATH
WARE
BURGENDE
CARENDRE
WESTE
DACIA
Danais Fl.
AQUITANIA
Alpis Beorga
ISTRIA
Fen Meotedisc
Donua Fl.
Rhocovasci
PULGARIA
MŒSI
EUXINUS SEA
WASCANI
NARBONENSE
PROFENT
PROFENT SEA
ADRIATICK SEA
DALMATIA
CRETE
Corsica
TYRRHENIUM SEA
Rome
THRACI
Constantinople
Propontis
Hellespont
Sardinia
Balearis I.
MACEDONIA
EGEAN SEA
ASIA
Scori
Gades
Ercoles Syla
WENDEL SEA
Lilybæum
Athlane Berge
AFRICA
SICILY
Isauria
Cilicia
Mesicos G
CARPATHICUM
Cyprus
Cretc
10 E. from Ferro
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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 Ufanaut*, and to Freyer's ſhip the *Skydbladner*, in the *Edda*, and in *Torſten's Vikingſons Saga*. It was ſuppoſed, that this was effected by ſorcery; 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 ſailing 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, and which have been diſtinguiſhed by peculiar names; and from which ſoever of theſe 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 ſail with this wind on any other courſe.

This

* The compaſs is a magnetic piece of ſteel, which is moveable 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 paſteboard, on which are delineated the 32 different winds orpoints of the compaſs. Now the magnetic needle, conſtantly pointing to the North Pole, the compaſs, faſtened to it, ratains 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

This important ſcience, with reſpect to ordering the ſails, muſt either not have been very general, at leaſt not known in Ohthere'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 ſail 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 poops; 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 ſlighter 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

ſtands with his face turned towards the prow of the ſhip, he has it in his power to ſee, with the greateſt preciſion, towards which point of the compaſs the courſe of the ſhip is directed. Now every circle, and in fact the compaſs is nothing elſe, being divided by mathematicians into 360 degrees, $11\frac{1}{4}$ ſuch degrees are compriſed in one point of the compaſs; and as according to the preſent method of ſailing *near the wind* (i. e. of ſailing as near to the point, whence the wind blows, as poſſible) we are ſix points from the wind; it follows, that at $67\frac{1}{2}$ degrees from the wind, we are able, as it were, to ſail againſt it, and that on either ſide of the point whence the wind blows. Now twice $67\frac{1}{2}$ is 135, therefore we are able to ſail to 225 degrees of the horizon with each wind. It is true indeed, that as in ſailing *near the wind*, the wind comes into contact with the ſails and the veſſel ſideways only, and in an oblique direction, the latter by this means always loſes ſomewhat in her courſe in conſequence of this direction; but the exact amount of this can only be determined by actual obſervation on board the ſhip.

diſcriminate

diſcrimnate 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 fame 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 *Othine* 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 *Scrimner*; 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

the *Hialtaland* Iſlands) together 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 Jarl* (or Earl) of *Moere* 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 drowſineſs 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 *Kiow*, where, at this time, the *Chazars*, a Turkiſh race, maintained the ſovereign ſway over the Sclavonian 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, harraſſed 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 imbecillity

and

and inactivity of its rulers, as well as by its internal diſſenſions, that it was by no means difficult for him 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 *Hrolf*, or (as the French called him ſubſequent to his being baptized) *Robert*, in 912 received the Dutchy 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 harraſſing 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 *Thorrer* 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

greater 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 *Herjolfs Neſs*, and after ſailing 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 far 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 encreaſed 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, *Snorro Sturleſon*, who wrote this account in the year 1215. But others aſſert, 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 Sclavonians; and it is added, the *Norwæbers*, the *Farriers*, the *Greenlanders*, the *Halſingalanders*, the *Icelanders*, and the *Scridevinds*. Now this neceſſarily

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 Sclavonians," have not been interpolated at a later period: as St. Rembert, the immediate ſucceſſor of Anſgarius, and who wrote his life, mentions only the names of the Sueones, Danes, and Sclavonians, whom Auſgarius 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 deſirous of making particular mention of the people, who might appear to him to be compriſed under the deſcription of *other nations ſituate in the North*, and therefore very ſagaciouſly adds, the *Norwœhers*, *Farriers*, *Greenlanders*, *Halſingalanders*, *Icelanders*, and *Scridevinders*; without once reflecting, that in St. Angarius's time the Greenlanders and Icelanders had not been diſcovered. So that the authorities of St. Rembert and Snorro Sturleſon, 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 be-

* Conſtitutum legatum, in omnibus circumquaque gentibus Sueonum, ſive Danorum, nec non etiam Slavorum, aliarumq; in Aquilonis partibus, gentium conſtitutarum. *Vita S. Anſcharii apud Langebeck Script. Hiſt. Dan.* Tom i. p. 451, 452. Even Adam of Bremen, *Hiſt. Eccles. lib.* I. *cap.* 17, mentions by name theſe three nations only, to which he adds, "et aliis conjacentibus in circuitu populis."

fore 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 *Biorn*, 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. *Biorn* 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 away 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 Biorn 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 over-grown 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 ſailed. The buſhes on the

the banks of it 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 *Gander*, 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 mother, 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

* 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 Linnæus, *Vitis labruſca, vulpina et arborea.*

the promontory, which for that reaſon they called *Kiæler Niſs*. 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 *Skrællinger*, i. e. cuttings, or dwarfs. *Thorwald*, 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 *Kroſſa-neſs*. 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 Raude*, 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 *Kallſefner*, and a deſcendant of King *Regner-Lodbrok*, married the widow *Gudrid*, and thereby thought himſelf intitled to the poſſeſſion of the newly-diſcovered country. Accordigly, he ſet out for Winland with a vaſt quantity of houſhold furniture and cattle, and with 65 men, and 5 women,

5 women, who begun to eſtabliſh a regular colony there. They were immediately viſited by the *Skrællingers*, 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 *Eſkimantſik*, on account of their eating raw fiſh; in like manner as the Ruſſians in their official papers of ſtate call the *Samojedes Sirojed'zi*, 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, however, 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 Normans having got a large ſtock of very rich furs and other articles of merchandiſe, *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, *Gudrid* 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 founded for her. *

* The deſcendants of *Snorro*, *Thorfin*'s ſon, were people of ſome eminence in Iceland, for *Thorlak*, the ſon of *Runulf*, a nephew of *Snorro*, was in the year 1119 made Biſhop of *Skalholtt*. Thorlak's ſon, Brander, was Biſhop of the ſame place in 1163. A deſcendant of *Snorro*, by name *Biorno*, was alſo a Biſhop in Iceland, and to the ſame dignity was promoted *Hauko*, an Icelandic judge, who lived in 1308, and wrote a Tohography and Chronicle of Iceland, which is called *Haukſbok*, i. e. Hauko'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 ſhe 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 readier excuſe. The facts themſelves have been collected from a great number of ancient Icelandic manuſcripts, and have been handed down to us by *Thormod Thorfæus* in his two works intitled, *Veteris Groenlandiæ Deſcriptio, Haſniæ*, 1706, in 8vo, and

Hiſtoria

Hiſtoria Vinlandiæ Antiquæ, Hafniæ, 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 Jonas*'s *Specimen Iſlandiæ 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 *Olaf 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 every where; 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 *Brettahlid*, 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 their 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 *Skrællingers*, or preſent

ſent *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 occaſioning 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. Thoſe 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 *Skrællingers* 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.

CHAP.

CHAP. 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 enterprizes, 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 expences 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 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 time, 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 may 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 Zuka*, 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, aſſerts, 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 *Iſpahan*, 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 Rabbies.

At the end of his travels he ſays, that *Prague* in Bohemia is the beginning of *Sclavonia*. Then he ſpeaks of the Ruſſian Empire, which extends from the gates of Prague to the gates of *Phin* פין a large town at the beginning of the kingdom. In that country are the animals called *Wai-regres* ואירגריש and *Neblinatz* נבלינאץ. On the meaning of theſe words the interpreters are not agreed; but it appears clearly, that *Phin* is no other than *Kiow*, the capital of the Ruſſian Empire at that time. We ſhould therefore here read כון 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 ואיורגיש *Waiwerges*, which is as nearly reſembling the Ruſſian as a Spaniſh Jew could poſſibly write it: and by the animals called זבלינאץ *Zeblinatz*, are meant *Sables*, the ſkins of which, *Jordanis* had before him called *Sapphilinas 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 *Tuſchi-Khan*, the ſon of the great *Zinghis-Khan*, and under that of the ſon of *Tuſchi*, *Batu-Khan*, advancing through *Kiptſchak*, *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 *Holanghu-Khan*, made their appearance on the rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates*. This news having reached the ears of Pope Innocent IV. he thought it adviſeable 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 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* likewiſe of the ſame order, as alſo brother *Aſcelin* or *Anſelm*, brother *Alexander*, brother *Albert*, and brother *Simon* of *St. Quentin*, 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 Mognls, the Emperor *Kajuk-Khan*; but brother *Aſcelin*, with his aſſiſtants, brothers *Alexander*, *Albert*, and *Simon of St. Quentin*, 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 *Korrenſa*, 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*, *Bolgaria*, and the *Morduines*, as alſo the *Baſtarks* (or rather *Baſchkir's*) who are in poſſeſſion of Upper Hungary, and behind theſe are the *Paroſites** and the Samojades, who are ſaid to have faces like thoſe of dogs. To the South of the *Comanians* are the *Alanians*, the *Circaſſians*,

* Meaning, perhaps, the *Parmoſites*, or *Permiers*, or, as the Ruſſians call them, *Permiaks*.

caſſians, and the *Chazars* *, the Grecians, the city of Conſtantinople, together with the *Iberians*, *Chathians* **, and *Brutakis* †; then the lands of the *Cythians* ‡, *Georgians*, *Armenians*, and *Turks*. Continuing now their journey, they came into the country of the *Kangittæ* ‖, who were all ſhepherds like the *Comanians*, and did not practiſe agriculture.

From the land of the *Kangittæ*, they came to that of the *Biſermini* (i. e. *Buſurmen*, *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 *Alans* 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 *Conſtantin Porphyrogenata*, A. D. 949, the *Chazars* lived in Crimea, near the mouth of the *Kuban*, and to the North of the *Sea of Azof*.

** This name is probably *Kaketi*, a province of *Gurgiſtan*, or *Georgia*, which is called here *Iberia*.

† The *Brutaks*, or *Brutachs*, 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 *Frauendorf*, 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 *Brutaks*. 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 *Cychians*, or, as the word is generally written, *Zichians*.

‖ *Kanghitæ*; theſe people are alſo frequently called *Kanglis*, or *Kanklis*. They extend from the *Jaik*, or, as it is now called, *Ural*, to the *Sirr*, or *Sirdaria*; and their habitations extended even to the river *Talas*, or *Talaſh*, and *Iſſikul*. The country they lived in was an uncultivated deſert plain.

§ *Oktaikhan*, or *Ugadai Khan*, built in *Karakithai* the town *Omyl*, or *Chamyl*.

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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 *Huirs* (or *Uigurs*) 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

** The *Solanges* are, without doubt, the very ſame nation with the *Mandſhurians*, who are ſtill to this day called *Solonians*.

agreeably 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 Luciumel.* 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 *Karakorum*, more weſtward to *Kamſatki*, 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 Ruyſbroek*, otherwiſe called *Ruſbrock*, *Rubruck*, and *Rubruquis*.

Ruyſbroeck went from Conſtantinople by ſea, to the Black Sea, to *Gaſaria* (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 *Kerſona* (Cherſone, or Cherſon) which according to *Inkerman*, is the modern Schurzi, or Gurzi, or *Scherſon*. 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 ſix paces, while in length it is 700 Italian miles. To this *Materca* merchants go from Conſtantinople to buy dried fiſh, viz. *Sturgeons*, *Thoſes*, or *Tunnies*, and *Barbels*. Beyond the mouth of

* *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* isthe town of *Temruck*, which was formerly called by the Ruſſians *Tmutrakhan*, and by the Greeks, *Tamatarcha*; this is *Ta-materca*, or *Materca*, and *Matriga*. Some Ruſſian Princes even had their reſidences in *Tmutrakhan*; Prince *Mſtiſlaf*, for inſtance, the ſon of *Wladimir the Great*, and brother of *Jaroſlaf* I. was Prince of Tmutrakhan.

this

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 *Karſona*, *Soldeya*, and the mouth of the *Don*, there are many high promontories. But from *Soldeya* to *Kerſona* 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 *hyperpyron*, which is the value of about two dollars. Ships alſo take in ladings of this ſalt. Then he went acroſs a foſſé 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 of

* A. D. 1235, *John Aſſan* became King of Bulgaria, and reigned till 1241, when his ſon *Koloman*, ſucceeded him in the throne till 1245, and was in his turn ſucceeded by *Aſſan*'s ſecond ſon, *Michael*, who waged war againſt the Tartars, and againſt *John Vatatzes*. But how comes it then to paſs that *Ruyſbroeck* 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 *Theſſalonica*, or *Salonica*.

*** *Ruyſbroeck* 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 Tanna*, *parag.* 20; and afterwards *Buſbeck* ſpoke to ſome of thoſe Goths, Ambaſſadors from the Crimean Tartary, A. D. 1562, and gives us a catalogue of words of their language. Upon this teſtimony of Ruyſbroeck depends the exiſtence of the *Caſtella Judeorum*, 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*.

the ſea, and ſaw many Comanian ſepulchres, and *Kaptſchak Comanians*, 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 *Merdas*, 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 *Ruyſbroeck* 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 and make war

* *Mokſcha* is the name the *Morduani* call themſelves by; theſe people therefore are probably the *Moxel* of *Ruyſbroeck*.

** By theſe *Morduas*, or *Merdas*, are in all probability meant the *Tſcheremiſſes*, who call themſelves *Mart-Murt*, or the people of *Mari*; but *Ruyſbroeck* (in the ſame manner as *Guaguinus* has done) very erroneouſly calls them Mahometans, merely becauſe they do not work on Fridays, a practice which they probably learned from the neighbouring Mahometan Tartars; for they themſelves are all heathens.

*** The river Wolga is called *Idel* by the Tartars, the *Tſchuwaſches* call it *Atel*, or *Atal*, 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 *Ruyſbroeck* calls it, the greateſt river in Europe.

† The *Cergis*, or *Kergis*, are the ſame as the *Tſcherkæſchians*, or *Circaſſians*.

‡ The *Alanians* are called by Ruyſbroeck *Akas*, probably from *Odigas* (*Adgas*, *Adkas* and *Akas*.) But it is the *Tſcherkæſchians* 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 be

war upon the Tartars. Towards the great ſea, viz. the Caſpian, are ſome Mahometans called *Leſghi*, who are tributary to the Tartars. Beyond theſe is the iron gate, (Derbend *,) 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 *Canglæ*, 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 *Jagag* (*Jaik*, or *Aral*), which runs from the North out of the land of the *Paſcatir* ** into the ſea above-mentioned. The language of the *Paſcatirs* is the ſame as that of the Hungarians. To the weſtward of them is *Bulgaria*, but

found in the library of the Univerſity at *Halle*, that againſt the word *Akas* he has written in the margin *Adiga*; but this was reverſed by the remark made by profeſſor *Guldenſtædt*, in *Buſching's Weekly Intelligencer* for the year 1773, according to which the *Tſcherkæſchians* call themſelves *Adiga*. But the *Alanians'* next neighbours in the mountains are the *Diketi*, or *Adiketi*, whence *Adketi*, *Adkeſi*, and finally, *Akas*. And as the Ruſſian princes in *Tmutrakan* had a Lordſhip in this neighbourhood, it is very poſſible that they may have converted ſome of the nations dwelling in the Caucaſus to the Chriſtian religion, of which indeed the Ruſſians have lately diſcovered many traces.

* Of this paſs and of the ancient wall, which runs from Derbent to the weſtward, *Bayer* treats in his Diſſertation *De Muro Caucaſeo*, in the Commentar. Petropolit. tom. i. pag. 425, to 436.

** *Paſcatir* is alſo written *Baſchart*, or *Baſcart*. This country was the ſeat of the ancient Hungarians, or *Madſchars* (*Magyar*). The *B* is often uſed for *M*, and *vice verſa*; ſo that *Baſchart* and *Madſchar* ſeem to be abſolutely the ſame. The Ruſſians call the people that inhabit this ancient *Baſchart*, *Baſchkirs*.

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 *Paſcatir, (Baſchart*, or *Baſcart)*, 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 Paſs 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 *Blacs (Wlachs)*, *Bulgarians*, and *Vandals*. For theſe *Bulgarians* came from *Great Bulgaria*, and thoſe beyond the Danube near Conſtantinople, as well as thoſe near the Paſcatir, are the *Ilacs*, which is the ſame as *Blacs*; for the Tartars cannot pronounce the *B*. Now, from theſe are deſcended thoſe who are in the country of *Aſſan*. For they are both called *Ilac* (both theſe and the other) in the language of the Ruſſians, Poles, and Bohemians. The language of the *Sclavonians* is the ſame with that of the *Vandals*. All the Sclavonians were connected with the *Huns*, and now they are alſo united with the Tartars. What I, viz. *Ruyſbroeck*, have related of the land of *Paſcatir*, 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 from

* 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 *Baſchartians*, or *Madſchars*, ſeem to be either a nation which is deſcended from a Turkiſh 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

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 met

landers, Eſthonians, Laplanders, Livonians, Permians, Syrjanians, Woguls, Wotiaks, Tſcheremiſſes, Morduanians, and the Kondian Oſtiaks deſcend, as there is a great affinity between the languages of all theſe people. The Baſchartians, Madſchars, or Baſchkirians, are deſcended from the Finlanders, but theſe, and the Tſchuwaſches have adopted the languages of their conquerors, the Tartars. But Ruyſbroeck 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, Sclavonians, and Alanians; it is therefore not to be wondered at, that ſome tribes of Finlanders likewiſe, or even Turks, ſhould have advanced with them in their grand 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 *Buljar*, from which too afterwards, to the great river *Atel*, or *Etil*, got the name of *Wolga*), and the *Walachs*, or *Wolochs*, or *Wologars*, or *Wolgars*, (and conſequently theſe ſame Bulgarians) which A. D. 489, ſettled on the north ſide of the Danube. The *Vandals* mentioned here, are indubitably the *Wends*, or that tribe of the Sclavonians which oppoſed the Moguls and the Tartars who fought under the banners of the latter. *Ruyſbroeck* ſeems to confirm the conjecture, that the *Bulgarians* and the *Wologi*, or *Wolochi*, or *Wlacs*, or *Ilacs*, 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 *Ilac*, which, however, is the ſame as "*Blac*," (or in the manner in which the *B* is frequently pronounced, *Wlac*). In fact, we ſhould read here, "theſe are the *Ilac*." The original runs thus, "de illâ enim Majori Bulgaria "venerunt illi Bulgari; et qui ſunt ultra Danubium prope Conſtantinopolin & juxta Piſcatir "ſunt Ilac, quod idem eſt quod Blac." Here it ſeems as if the article *hi* ſhould be ſupplied, and the paſſage ſhould be read "hi ſunt Ilac." But when *Ruyſbroeck* ſays, "that the name of "theſe people in the Ruſſian, Polonian, and Bohemian tongues is *Ilac*," he is much miſtaken, for in all theſe languages it muſt be, *Wlach*, or *Wloch*; and even *Neſtor* calls them *Wolochs*. The land of *Aſſan* is Bulgaria on the Danube; conſequently, he means only to indicate, that the Bulgarians who firſt ſettled on the Danube were *Wologians*. The Bulgarians or *Wologians* on the Danube, had an original language of their own, but having much intercourſe with the *Sclavonians*, *Albanians*, and *Romans*, this produced a jargon compounded of Albanian, Sclavonian, and Latin, or of the *lingua ruſtica*, or language of the Romiſh peaſants; this mixed language is ſtill ſpoke in *Walachia*. Before I end this remark, I ſhall only add, that probably in Germany and France, the cuſtom of caſtrating horſes was firſt learned from theſe eaſtern nations; for in French, a caſtrated horſe or gelding is called *un hongre*, probably from the Hungarians; the German name for it is, *Wallach*, taken, as it ſhould ſeem, from theſe *Wlachians*; and even in the Poliſh language a gelding is called a *Walach*.

with

with wild aſſes, called *Kolan* *, 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 Ruyſbroeck 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 Caſpian Sea, forms the Caucaſus, and runs on to the eaſtward of it. He found here, that they had entirely paſſed by the Caſpian Sea. Here too, *Ruyſbroeck* enquired after a town called *Talas*, in which lived ſome Germans, ſubjects of *Bury*, 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 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

* The wild aſſes in theſe parts are ſtill called *Kulan*; this therefore is a confirmation of *Ruyſbroeck*'s veracity. Farther particulars concerning theſe wild aſſes are to be found in the 2d vol. of M. Pallas's *Northern Collections*, [*Nordiſche Beitrage*] page 22, &c.

† It is evident, that the author went through the whole deſart, from the *Wolga* to the *Jaik*, or *Ural*, the *Jemba*, and the north of lake *Aral*, as far as the borders of Turkeſtan. The town

went to the Eaſtward along the mountains before-mentioned, and came to the ſubjects of *Manghu-Khan*, who paid great honours to the ambaſſadors of *Batu*, for *Batu*'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-Kathaians* * had formerly dwelled; 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 Perſian 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;

town of *Kenkat* is about the ſpot where now *Kaſchkanat* is ſituated. The rivers *Tſchui* and *Talas*, both of which are in that neighbourhood, loſe themſelves both in marſhy 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 *Bolak*, or *Haulak*, or *Baulak*, though not at ſo great diſtance from thence as Ruyſbroeck had been informed it was. Theſe parts alſo produce good wines.

* The weſtern *Khitans* conquered the countries round *Turfan* and *Kaſchkar*, from the *Ob* and *Irtiſch* to the *Amudaria* (*Oxus* Gihon, Dſaihun): and *Sirdaria* (*Jaxartes*, Sirt, Sihon) and the country was called *Khitar*, after the conquerors of it, the Khitaians, and, becauſe the inhabitants were obliged to pay tribute to the *Khitaians*, *Kara-Khitai*; in the eaſt, 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*.

for

for about this ſpot there are the fineſt paſtures for cattle. They found a large town called *Kailac* * *(Cailac,* or *Cealec)*, 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 aſſiſt 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 *Neſtorians*, in their divine worſhip, were accuſtomed to make uſe of the language and written characters of this people. Here he likewiſe found the Neſtorians mixed with the Heathens,

* 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 *Balchaſch Nor*, or *Palkaſi*, 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 *Travels into Ruſſia*, is called *Lac Tengis*, i. e. the Lake Sea; for *Tenges*, or *Zenghiz*, 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 $2\frac{1}{4}$ degrees long, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ degree broad, and conſequently about 480 miles in circumference, which is at the rate of 32 miles per day; and theſe 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 Longarian Khans* uſed to pitch their winter camp *(Urga)* on the banks of the river *Korgos* (or *Harkas)* in like manner as their ſummer camp uſed to be on the banks of the *Tekes*, which ran weſtwards into the *Ili*. All theſe rivers come from the *Mus-Tau*, or the Icy-mountains, and run together with the *Ili* into the *Palkaſi*. By the town *Equius* is meant the *Akſu*, ſituated on the river *Tekes*. The town of *Kailak* is alſo to be found in the above-mentioned map, being there called *Golka*, and placed on the banks of the *Ili*. The country called *Organum*, is, in my opinion, the *Irgonekon* (or *Irganakon)* of *Abulgaſi Bayadur Khan*, vol. ii. cap. 5, for it ſignifies a valley, ſurrounded by ſteep mountains, which exactly anſwers to Ruyſbroeck's deſcription of the country of Organum. The *Kontomanians* 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-Kithaians. The Moguls had long before extended to a great diſtance northwards along the banks of the *Ob*, *Irtiſch*, and *Iſchim*, quite to the ocean. The people of that tribe, which lived on the banks of the river *Khonda*, or *Konta*, were called *Kontomanni*, in like manner as the Turks were called *Turkomanni*. Now theſe *Kontomannians* appear in the courſe of time, and after the deſtruction of the empire of the *Kara-Khitans*, to have ſettled on the banks of the river *Ili*, and of the lake *Balchaſch*, or *Palkaſi*. This river *Khonda*, or Konda, was afterwards added to the title of the Czar, in which we find inſerted the province of *Obdoria*, a name derived from the river *Ob*, and that of *Kondinia*, from the *Konda*.

thens, of whom there are different ſpecies. But firſt are the *Jugurs*, whoſe country is ſituated between the mountains above-mentioned to the eaſtward of *Organum*. 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 Hactaui*, i. e. "*God, thou knoweſt it*," as one of them explained it to Ruyſbroeck *. 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 daughter

* Theſe Neſtorians, who had ſeveral uſages and cuſtoms correſponding with Chriſtianity, but were at the ſame time idolaters, are undoubtedly profeſſors of the *Dalai-Lamai* religion. They have, like the Roman Catholic Chriſtians, 108 beads, and their prayer is, ſtrictly ſpeaking, as follows: *HOm-Mani-Pema-Hum*. This is, in fact, the profeſſion of faith of the followers of this religion; but neither ſignifies, as Ruyſbroeck aſſerts it does, *God, thou knoweſt it*, nor, as the Phyſician *Meſſerſchmid* 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. 500, &c. M. Pallas pronounces theſe words thus, *Om ma zwie pad ma chum*. But it ſhould rather ſeem that the *d* in *pad* is mute, and alſo that we ſhould read, not *ma zwie*, but, *ma ni*. 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 thoſe 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, *Hom 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 *Manichæan* 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 Manichæan Chriſtians accords with that of Lamai.

** The Neſtorian Chriſtians undoubtedly penetrated as far as the north of China, and propagated the Chriſtian religion there. They made uſe of the Syrian character in writing, and it was

daughter to the king of the *Jugurs*, and the town of *Kara Korum** itſelf is in a manner within their territory; and the whole country of *Preſter 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,

this likewiſe which was firſt introduced into theſe countries. The characters and mode of writing of the *Calmucks*, *Moguls*, and *Mandſchurians*, 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 ſo they continne 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 ſideways, 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 government, and their Princes.

* This ſame *Karakarum* is alſo called *Karokarum*, *Karakuran*, *Karakum*; and by the Chineſe *Holin*. It was the capital of the Mogul Emperors, and was ſituated on the eaſt ſide of the river, *Orchon*; for, notwithſtanding that Danville 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.

** *Preſter John* (or Prieſter Johann, as the Germans call him) is the *Unkchan*, 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 *Naymanni*, and his name was *Togrul*; having ſerved the Chineſe againſt nations which had rebelled againſt them, he was dignified with the honorary title of *Uang*, or *Ung*, out of which was ſoon fabricated the appellation of *Uncchan*, or *Unkchan*. But how it comes to paſs, that he is called a Chriſtian, and even a Chriſtian Prieſt, ſeems almoſt incomprehenſible.

which the owners of the beaſts are obliged to ſave off*. After the Tangutians come the people of *Tebet*, 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 Turkiſh and Komanian languages. Behind *Tebet* are the people of *Langa* and *Solanga* **, whoſe ambaſſadors Ruyſbroeck ſaw at court, each of whom had brought along with him more than ten waggons drawn by ſix oxen. Behind theſe, are the people called *Muc*, 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 *Ruyſbroeck*, are the *Seres* of old, for from this country come the beſt ſilken 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

* The Buffalo, here deſcribed by Ruyſbroeck, is the Calmuck Buffalo, which uſed to be called *Sarluck*, and, in the language of *Tibet*, *Jak*. Since *Aelian*'s time, no one of the ancients, beſides Ruyſbroeck, 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 *Bogle*, an Engliſhman, in this very country of *Tibet*. Vid. *Philoſophical Tranſact.* 1777, *Part* ii. *vol.* 67, *pag.* 484. Finally, the beſt account we have of them, has been given by *Pallas*, in his *Northern Collections*, vol. i. pag. 1. to 28, plate i.

** The country and people of *Tangut* are by ſome authors, particularly the Arabians and Perſians, miſtaken for *Tibet* the ſeat of *Dalai Lama*; but *Marco Polo* ſays, that *Sachion*, or *Sotſcheu*, is ſituated in *Tagath*, or *Tenguth*; in like manner, *Khamil*, or *Khami*, belonged alſo to Tanguth; and ſo did *Kampition*, or *Khantſcheu*. It appears probable, therefore, that the *Tanguth* of Ruyſbroeck is the ſame with this. The land of *Tebet* 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 *Tebet*, I have not the ſmalleſt knowledge, but am apt to think that in Ruyſbroeck's original manuſcript the words were not "beyond *Tebet*," but "beyond *Tangut*;" and in this caſe the countries here mentioned muſt be thoſe of the *Læmutes*, and *Solonians*, the parent ſtocks of the people now known by the name of the *Mantſchu*, or *Mandſchurians*.

ramparts or towers of gold *. And many provinces of Great *Kathay* are not as yet brought into ſubjection by the Mogols. 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. Ruyſbroeck ſaw many of them at *Karakarum*. Each father teaches his ſon his own trade. The Neſtorians and Mahometans are alſo in *Kathay*, and are looked upon as foreigners, c me from foreign parts. The Neſtorians inhabit fifteen towns of the country of *Kathay*. Their Biſhop reſides in the city of *Segin* **. Here *Ruyſbroeck* takes an opportunity of

* 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 *Turkeſtan*, *Gete*, and *Uigur*. 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 ſway had always the denomination of Golden given to it. Hence the golden horde of the Moguls on the Wolga; and hence the powerful Prince to whom the Moguls were ſubject, even before Zinghis Khan, was called *Altyn 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. Romæ*, 1762. *pag.* 654. And hence perhaps *Serhind* 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 Ruyſbroeck; probably this *golden* town is that part of *Peking* which is called *Tſe-kin*, and contains the palace of the Emperor; and, as fabulous a ſound as theſe walls of ſilver and ramparts of gold may carry with them, it is neverthleſs evident enough, that it is the appellation of *Kin*, or the Golden Town, which has given riſe to theſe exaggerated reports of the fable.

Non eſt de nihilo, quod publica fama ſuſurrat,
Et partem veri fabula ſemper habet.

** This town of *Segin* is undoubtedly *Sigan*, the capital of *Schenſi*, a province in the north-eaſtern part of China. Here, in the year 1625, a ſtone was found with Chineſe writing on it, but with Syrian letters round the edge, which mentioned, in expreſs terms, that the Syrian Neſtorians had already, in the year 636, ſent *Olopuen* to China, to preach the goſpel there; that the Emperor, *Tai-ſum-ven*, 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 *Ininfan*, a church had been built; that

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, inſomuch 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

that A. D. 651. the Chriſtian religion was known in all the provinces of China; that in 699 and 713 the *Bonzes* had raiſed a perſecution againſt the Chriſtians; that A. D. 747 another prieſt, named *Kicho*, went thither from *Tatſin* (Perſia) and that in 757, the Emperor *So-kum-ven-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 Catholicus *Hananjeſus*. This ſtone exhibits alſo an abſtract of the whole Chriſtian doctrine. The perſon that erected this ſtone ſtyles himſelf a Choir-Biſhop of *Kumdan* (Nankin) the capital of the eaſtern empire. It is probable, that there reſided likewiſe a Biſhop at *Singan-fu*; ſo that the account given here by Ruyſbroeck, every way eſtabliſhes and confirms the authenticity of this remarkable monument, which has been called in queſtion by many even of our modern literati.

* The Oriental Chriſtians give to *Mani*, or *Manes*, the name of *Thenaoui*, and to his ſect that of *Al-Thenaouih*, which word ſignifies the doctrine of the two Principles. Vid. *Herbelot. Bibliotheque Orientale.* The *Tuinians* of Ruyſbroeck are therefore no other than *Manicheans*.

** The above-mentioned ſecond ſea, or lake, ſituated to the ſouth-eaſt of the lake *Palkaſi*, or *Balchaſch*, is likewiſe to be found in the great general map of the Ruſſian empire, publiſhed by the Accademy 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 Ruyſbroeck aſſerts above, may be united in the ſame manner.

the

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 *Zinghis-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 head-quarters, uſed to be, viz. in *Onan* and *Cherule*, or on the banks of the *Onon* and *Cherlon*. In theſe countries there are no towns. Towards the North too, there are neither towns nor villages, but only poor ſhepherds called *Kerkis* (or *Kirgiſes*). There are alſo the *Orangey* or *Orengay*, who wear ſmall 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 *Paſcatirs*.

** The reſidence of the Great Khan was not far from *Karakarum*, and *M. Danville* places it on the river *Onghin*. But we have already obſerved, that *Karakarum* muſt be looked for on the eaſt ſide of the river *Orchon*, 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 *Orchon* are the ruins of a place called *Erdeni-tſchao*. This ſignifies the *noble King*, and probably the word *Balga*, or *Balguſſun*, is for brevity's ſake omitted. This *town of the noble King* is *Karakarum*.

*** Theſe countries of *Onam* and *Cherule*, are the counties lying along-ſide of the rivers *Onon* and *Kherlon*, where *Zinghis Khan* was born, and which were the firſt over which he bore the ſovereign ſway.

Ruyſbroeck

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 *Karakorum* 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 *Damiate*. 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 Mahometans, 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 deſart, 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,

* The town of *Sarey* ſeems to have been built not far from the modern *Zaritzin*, on the eaſtern branch of the Wolga, or the *Achtuba*, at no great diſtance from *Zarewpod*, 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 *Aſtrachan* (which formerly was called *Hadſchi Aidar 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 ſaltpetre.

is the pafs called the *Iron Gate*. This part of the country is inhabited by Mahometans, called *Leſghi*, who alſo defend themſelves againſt the Tartars. The Tartars, who eſcorted Ruyſbroeck, wore breaſt-plates and cuiraſſes, which they had taken from the Alanians in war; theſe people excelling greatly in all kinds of iron-work. Near the Iron-gate is a fortification taken from theſe Alanians: 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 *Samaron (Schabran, Schabiran)* in which lived a great number of Jews. Two days after this they came to *Samach (Schamakie)*. Here a level champain 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 *Tiphlis*, 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 *Kroſmians*, or *Koraſmians*; (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 *Nakchivan)*. After this Ruyſbroeck went into the dominions of the Turkiſh Sultans, and travelled through *Sebae* (or *Siwas) Ceſarea*, in Capadocia, and *Iconium*. From thence he reached *Kurch* (or *Kurke)* a haven in the King of Armenia's dominions; then *Layece* (or *El-Agas)* another harbour, from whence he croſſed over to *Nikoſia*, 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. *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 *Theodor*; 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 Præmonſtratenſian 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

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 *Tarſæ*, 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 *Tarſæ* 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 neighbouring nations, and they learn all arts and ſciences with great facility.

To the Eaſt this Empire is bounded by *Kathay*, to the Weſt by *Turkeſtan*, 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 *Peim*), and in which diamonds are to be found.—By what is here ſaid, it appears that *Haitho* is deſcribing in this place the country of *Uigur*, in conjunction with that of *Gete*; but how it comes to be called *Tarſæ*, I really do not know.

The Empire of *Turkeſtan* is bounded on the Eaſt by the Empire of *Tarſæ*, and to the Weſt by *Khoraſmin*; 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, and no wine;

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 *Khuareſm*) 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 *Koraſma* (or rather *Korkang*). This Empire borders on a deſart 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 *Khuareſm*, is, according to Prince *Ulug Beg*, the city of *Korkang*, neither has any author ever mentioned a place called *Khoraſme*. Haitho having ſaid before, that *Turkeſtan* was bounded on the weſt by *Khoraſmia*, it is clear, that here we muſt read *eaſt* inſtead of *ſouth*. The *Soldini*, 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 *Koraſmia* by a deſart; to the weſt is the great ſea, viz. the Black Sea, and the ſea of *Tenue* (*Tanna*, or *Azof*); to the north, it is bounded by the empire of *Kaffia* (*Kiow*); 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 *Cocas* (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 *Pegrim* (*Faucon Pelerin*, the Pilgrim-Falcon) and *Eſmetliones* (or *Eſmerliones*, Merlins) and *Bonſacci* (or the *Bondrée* 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 *Kaffia* 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 ſeats of the Tartars (i. e. the Moguls).

Beyond the large mountain of *Belgian*, 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 *Mogles*. 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 *Thalair*); the fifth, *Sonich*; the ſixth, *Monghi*; 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 *Abulgaſi*. The mountain *Belgian*, can hardly be looked for any where elſe than in the environs of lake *Balchas* in the country of *Organum*, or *Irganekon*. According to the *Nighiariſtan*, a collection of Oriental Hiſtory, the Turkomanni likewiſe came from a place called *Belgian*, 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 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 *Mattheo*, 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 Portugneſe *. 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

* There was likewiſe a tranſlation publiſhed in Engliſh, in 1579, under the title of *The moſt noble and famous Travels of Marcus Paulus.* London, 8vo.

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the way of the 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 *Bereke 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*, *Grikhata*, *Khorkang*, *Urghenz)*, 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 deſart, in which they ſaw neither town, caſtle, nor village, but only a few Tartars living in huts. Having left the deſart, 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.

* *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 *Bereke Khan* may have ſometimes reſided there. But *Aſſara* is the town of *Al-Seray*, which was new built by *Baatu Khan* on the *Achtuba*, a branch of the Wolga.

At this time there came from *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 Chriſtan 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 (Gogaka, Gogatal, 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 expence) 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 Ajaſſa)*, 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 Placenzia*. 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 two years in vain,

* The dates in Andrew Muller's edition are falſe throughout; thoſe however in the Italian tranſlation, printed in *Ramuſio's* Collection, are more accurate. They ſet out A. D. 1260, and ſtayed one year with *Bereke Khan*, 1261. Then they ſtayed three years in *Bokhara*, 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 converſing 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 *Ramuſio* has made him 19, 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 Ramuſio 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 1259 to 1294, and died at the age of 80 years. But if *Nicolo* and *Mattheo* 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.* Farther, 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 of Khiptſchak was Bereke, who reigned from 1256 to 1266, ſo that

vain, they ſet out with young *Marco Polo*, who was now 11 years of age, for *Acre*. The Legate gave them letters for *Kublai Khan*, and they ſet out for the harbour of *Giazza*. In the mean while news arrived from Italy, that this ſame Legate had been elected Pope, on which occaſion he took the name of *Gregory X.* He immediately diſpatched meſſengers with letters to the King of Armenia, to give him notice of his election, and to requeſt, that in caſe the Ambaſſador to the Khan had not yet left his territories, they ſhould return. Theſe letters found the *Poli* ſtill in Armenia; they returned therefore in a galley to Akko, where the Pope gave them his letters to the Khan, beſides a great many preſents, and ſent along with them two learned Monks Predicant, viz. Friar *Nicholas*, of *Vicenza*, and Friar *William*, of *Tripoli*. Immediately upon this they returned by ſea to *al Ajaſſa*, and ſet out on their journey from that place by land to Armenia. There they learned, that the Sultan of Babylon (in Egypt or of *Kahirah)* (Bibars) *el Bendokdari* (or Benhokdare) had made an incurſion with a great army into Armenia, where he committed the moſt cruel ravages. This news alarmed the two Monks to ſuch a degree, that they remained with the Grand-maſter of the Knights-Templars, and afterwards likewiſe returned with him; but the three Poli 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 were ſtill at the diſtance of 40 days journey from him, ſent to meet them, and took care that at every place they came to,

they could not have commenced their travels for the firſt time before 1256. Nay they could not well have ſet out on their journey before 1258, for, Holaghu, who was at war with Bereke Khan, did not begin his reign before 1258, and he reigned till the year 1265. It is evident, therefore, that the firſt time, they could not have ſtaid out above 11 years, and conſequently *Marco*, the ſon of *Nicolo*, could not at the time of his father's return be more than 11 years old, nor leſs than 9; which latter conjecture is very probable.

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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 (*Taiſchis*, *Nojones*, and *Saiſſans*). They were aſked concerning the health of the Pope; when they gave a circumſtantial account to the Emperor of every object of his enquiry, 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 intire 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 ſtaid 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 which he has given a deſcription in the books he has written on this ſubject. After the two brothers, Nicolo, and Mattheo, 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 honours, 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 *Kaſan*,

the ſon of Argon, a minor, to whom Chiacato had alſo deſtined the princeſs *Gogatin* for a conſort; 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 *Trebiſande* (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 *Aſſaſſines* in *Dilem*, and from a town belonging to them called *Mulete* (or *Alamut)* not far from *Kaſvin*, arrives at the town of *Sopurgan* (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 huntſmen, 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 *Scaſſem* (Scaſſe, al-Schaſch); through the town runs a very large ſtream (the Sirr———Daria, or Dſaihum). In this country there are many

many porcupines. The inhabitants have a language of their own. At the diſtance of three days journey more, is the province of *Balaxiam* (Balaſcia, Balaſagan), 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 *Balaſſe*, 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 Briſs.)* the Goſshawk *(Falco aſtur Briſs.)*, and the Sparrow-hawk *(Falconiſus)*, 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 ſeeds of the Seſamum, which of all oils is the moſt palatable. The great number of narrow paſſes 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 muſlin, 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 trowſers, 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 *Baſcia*, (alias Vaſch, on the river Vaſch, which falls into the Gihon). The inhabitants are Idolaters, and very much addicted to ſorcery 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 *Cheſimur* (Kheſimur, Khaſchimir) is at about ſeven days journey from *Baſchia*. 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 deſarts 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 ſlaughtering the beaſts of which they eat the fleſh. Corals are held in great eſteem among them, and ſell at a very high price.

From *Balaxiam* one comes to a number of caſtles and dwellings on the banks of a river, and at length into the province called *Vochan* (alias Vocham or Vakhan, on the river Vaſch). 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 eaſtward, 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 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 porringers, 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 accompliſhed 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 deſarts, in which there are neither dwellings 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 *Muſmones*, and by the French and Italians are termed *Mouflons*, *Muffloni*, and of whichthe horns have been alſo deſcribed by modern writers to be ſo large, that the *Korſaks*, or ſmall foxes of the deſart, 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. on the higheſt mountains fire burns more ſluggiſhly, 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'atmoſphere. No.* 903, 919.

and

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 *Caſcar* (alias Chaſcar, Caſſar, Kaſchgar, 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, Hiarkand, Jarkim, Jerket, Jerken, and Urkend). The inhabitants are of the Mahometan 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 abounds 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 ſhe pleaſes, marry another man, and when the man returns, he may, in like manner, marry another woman. All theſe laſt mentioned countries, viz. *Kaſchgar*, *Jerkin*, *Khoten*, *Peym*, and *Særtæm*, 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 *Ouchah* (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 every where in theſe parts; but

freſh

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 deſart, 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 great deſart, one meets with the town called *Lop*. From the town of *Lop* you enter immediately into the great deſart. The inhabitants of Lop are Mahometans, and ſubjects of the great Khan. In this town, thoſe that intend to travel through the deſart, 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 deſart, 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 burthens, 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 baiting-places, which are twenty-eight in number, the water is freſh. In the deſart 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 deſart in this manner for the ſpace of thirty days, you come to a town called *Sachion* (Schatſcheu, Tſchatſcheu, on the river Sirgentſchi, which runs into the *Polonghir*, and in the *Kara-nor*, or *Hara-nor*, or perhaps it ſhould be *Schotſcheu*, or *Sotſcheu*, 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 recommend 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,

aſtrologer, 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 many fragrant perfumes, camphire, 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 aſtrologer will ſometimes deem 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 victuals 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 incremation of the body.

Kamul (alias Chamul, Hamil, Hami, Khami, Came-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 deſart and another ſmaller one. The capital bears the ſame name as the diſtrict

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 expence. 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 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 deſart; 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 Neſtorian Chriſtians, 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* (otherwiſe audanicum) as alſo *Salamander* (i. e. aſbeſtos) 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 itſelf into

* The country deſcribed but very lately by *M. Pallas*, where the genuine rhubarb grows, and from whence it is carried by the merchants of Bucharia to the Ruſſians at *Kjæchta*, is to the ſouth-weſt of the lake *Kokonor*, not far from the town of *Sellin*, on the river *Selingol*, which diſcharges itſelf into the *Chattungol*, or, as the Chineſe call it, *Hoangho* (alias Choango) which is alſo called *Karamuren*. 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 ſtalks 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 *Suckuir*, or *Suckur*, which I eaſily diſcovered, together with the province of the ſame name, in the province and town of *Suck*.

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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* (Reobarbar, or Rhubarb) which grows on the mountains here in great abundance, is carried by the merchants all over the world. On theſe mountains, too, 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, Kantſcheu, in the province of Schenſi, 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 diſhonourable 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 look on it as a ſin. The laymen have many wives, ſometimes thirty and more, and ſome-

times 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 Polo 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* (Kampition, Kantſcheu) you come to a town called *Ezina* (Eziva, Etziné is the name of a river in the northeaſtern part of Schenſi, which diſcharges itſelf into the lake Sohuc-Nor, and Sopu-Nor), which borders on the great Sandy Deſart, and is in the province of *Tanguth*. 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 ſacer)*. 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 deſart, which is 40 days journey in length, buy their proviſions here, as they afterwards meet with neither men nor habitations, 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, Karakarin, and Holin). All the diſtricts juſt deſcribed, viz. *Sachiou* (Schatſcheu) *Chamul* (Kha-

mil) *Chinchitalas* (Sankindalai) *Succuir* (Suck) *Campion* (Kantſcheu) and *Ezina* (Etziné) are in the great province of *Tangut*.

Carachoran (Carchoran, Kara-Koran) 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* (Karakoran) and from mount *Altay*, where the Emperors are buried, one comes to a large plain called *Bergu* (Bargu-ſin is the name of a river on the eaſt ſide of lake Baikal). The inhabitants are called *Metrites* (alias Medites, Meclites, Markæts) they are quite ſavage, and live on the fleſh of wild beaſts, (the largeſt of which are like ſtags, 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 *Tanguth*. In it there are ſome Neſtorian Chriſtians, and Mahometans, as alſo Pagans. The capital of the country bears the ſame name, *Erginul* (Erdſchi-nur), with the country itſelf. In going from thence to the ſouth-weſtward to *Kathey* (North-China) you come to the town of *Singui* (Sigan in Schenſi) 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 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 burthens, and plough twice as much ground with them as with oxen. In this ſame country, too, one meets with the fineſt muſk. It is produced by a little animal of the ſhape of a gazel or antilope, 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 muſk. 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

* It is but a very little while ſince there was a live muſk-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, but 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 muſk-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 Sir Aſhton Lever's Muſeum. That this animal ſhould ſecrete its muſk 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.

large as ours, 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 ſorts 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* (Erdſchi-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 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 *Kathay* (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

* Theſe large pheaſants belong undoubtedly to the extraordinarily beautiful genus which *Linnæus* calls *Phaſianus Argus*, of which in Europe there are to be found ſome feathers only of 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.

Khan. It contains various towns and cities, and the capital of it is *Tenduc*. This province has a king of the family of Preſter 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 *Zambellottes* 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 *Argon*, 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 Preſter 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 Preſter 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

* The celebrated Preſter John is, as was ſaid before, in the note to page 610, the *Ung-Chan*, or *Unkchan*, an appellation derived from the Chineſe *Uang*, or *Wang*, but by others tranſmuted to *Aunæk*, or *Avenæk Khan*. He reigned over the *Karaites*, a tribe reſiding near the river *Kallaſſui* (Karaſibi) 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 Geſchichte*, 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 *Ungkhan*, than the name immediately brought to their remembrance that of John; and as perhaps

The 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 Tſahan-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

haps 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 *Johann*, or Preſter John; and farther, as in the Prophet Ezekiel, mention is made of *Gog* and *Magog*, by the ſame ſpiritual alchemy they turned *Ung* into *Gog*, and the *Moguls* 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, *Tſahan-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 *Tenduc*, to the *Tſahan-nor*; but no other Tſahan-nor can be meant, but the lake of this name, ſituated in 45 deg. 30 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

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

choice kinds of ſtone. On one ſide of the palace is a park including a plain of 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 ſtags, 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 horſe-back, and when he gives his command, the leopard is let looſe, and immediately catches a hart, ſtag, 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 *Zinhis-Chan*, 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 Balgaſſun*, or, for ſhortneſs, *Khan-Balga*, which the Arabian authors have

have converted into *Khanbalick*, or *Khanbaligh*; and the Italians to *Chanbalig*, or *Chanbalu*, *Cambalu*, and likewiſe *Gamalecco*. It ſignifies *Kingſtown*, and is a tranſlation of the Chineſe word *King-Tſching*, 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 *Kumyſs* (Koſmos); and

this liquor being drawn off by the aſſiſtance of fire, is called *Arrak*, 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 tontinue to burn for the whole night. Theſe ſtone are very much uſed, as in ſome places wood is very ſcarce.

Laſtly, *Marco Polo* confirms what *Ruyſbroeck* 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 coarſe bark; it is then rubbed and ſtampt, 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 preciſeneſs 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 ſort, the Tartarian mulberry-tree, as not only the leaves of it

it will produce good food for ſilk-worms, but alſo its bark may be uſed with great advantage for the purpoſe of making paper.

VII. *Oderic of Portenau* *, 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 Solangna) at Padua, A. D. 1330.

From this relation we learn, that *Oderic* ſailed 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 ſo 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 *Azaron* (Erz-el-Rum) from thence to *Tauris* (Tebrig) *Soldania* (or Soltania) *Caſſan* (alias Kaſſibin, or Kaſvin) and *Geſt* (or Yezd) which is ſituated where the Sandy Sea *(Mare Arenoſum)* begins, and at length to *Konnum* (alias Kom, Komru, Ghomrun, or Gombron) and finally to *Ormes* (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 Foro Julii de Portu Vahonis* (read Nahonis): he is alſo called *Oldericus* and *Oderiſius*. This *Portenau* is probably the *Mutatio ad Nonum* mentioned in the Itinerarium Hieroſolymitanum, being derived from *Port*, in the Kymerian tongue, a ſtation, ſtage, or baiting-place, and *Nav*, or *Naou*, nine; *Portus Naonis* conſequently is Portenau. In *Friuli* this place is at preſent called *Pordanone*. The account of his travels he has intitled *De Mirabilibus Mundi*. Theſe travels, together with the Hiſtory of his Life, are to be found in *Bollandi Actis S. S. m. Jan. d.* 14, as alſo in *Waddingii Annales Minor*. Tom. iii. He died at *Udine*, A. D. 1331. *Baſilio Aſquini*, an Italian Barnabite, publiſhed at *Udine* in 1737, *La Vita e Vieggi del beato Odorico da Udine*, in 8vo.

many difficulties, at length arrived at the capital of the empire, *Kambaleth* (otherwiſe 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 weſtward, to the country of Preſter John, and to the capital called *Tozan* (otherwiſe Koſan, Tſahan, or Tſahan-Nor). Upon this, after a long journey, he came to the province of *Kaſſan* (Kaſan, or Turkeſtan) 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 proviſions, particularly cheſnuts. At length he came quite to *Tibek* (Tibet, or Tebet) in the capital of which reſides an *Abaſſi*, 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 ſon of the deceaſed wiſhes to do his father honour, he calls together a number of eccleſiaſtics, who, followed by all the friends and relations of the defunct, carry the body in great pomp into the fields; there they cut off the head, and give it to the ſon; the fleſh they cut off piecemeal from the bones, praying all the while devoutly. As ſoon as ever they depart, come the vultures, which are quite uſed to this buſineſs, and carry off all the fleſh. In conſequence of this, the deceaſed is accounted a good man, and a ſaint, the angels being ſuppoſed to carry his corpſe to Paradiſe. The ſon in the mean time takes the head home, and eats the fleſh of it. Of the ſkull a cup is made, out of which he and all the relations of the defunct drink with feſtal 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 deſcended from an ancient and very noble family in England. He was born at St. Alban's. His inquiſitive

turn

turn of 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 had 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 Naſer 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 compleating 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 time, 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

The province of Kathai (by which probably is meant Kara-Kathay) has the kingdom of *Tharſis* to the eaſt, and to the weſt the empire of *Turqueſcen* (Turkeſtan). It contains many beautiful towns, the principal of which is *Octopar* (or Otrar). The empire of *Turqueſcen* is bounded on the weſt (ſouth-weſt) by Perſia, and on the north (on the weſt) by *Coraſine* (Khuareſm). 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 *Coraſine* (alias Khuareſm, 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 Pegoletti*, 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 diviſamenti di paeſi, e di Meſure, di mercatanzie, ed àltre coſe biſognevoli 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 aud 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, *Aviſamento 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 gravezze. Liſbona e Lucca*. 1766, 4to.

" In

" In the firſt place from *Tana* (or Azof) to *Gintarchan* (1) (or " Aſtrakhan) it is twenty-five days journey with waggons drawn by " oxen; but with waggons drawn by horſes it is only ten or twelve " days journey. On the road one meets with a great number of " armed *Moccols* (Mogols). 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 merchan- " diſe, it is cheapeſt to go by water. From *Saracanco* to *Organci* (4) " it is twenty days journey travelling with camels. Whoever travels " with merchandiſe will do well to go to *Organci*, it being a conve- " nient country for the expeditious ſale of goods. And from *Organci* " 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

(1) *Gintarchan*, or *Zintarchan*, is by *Joſaphat Barbaro* alſo called *Gitarchan*; and *Witſen* ſays, in his *Noord en Ooſt Tartarye*, pa. 709, *Aſtracan was van ouds genaemt* CITRACAN, i. e. Aſtrakan was anciently called *Citracan*. By the Calmucks it is called *Hadſchi Aidar Khan Balgaſſun*, or the city of Hadſchi Aidar Khan; whence all thoſe names are derived, of *Zitarkhan*, *Sſitrakhan*, and *Aſtrakhan*.

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

(3) *Saracanca* is very probably the town formerly exiſting on the river *Jaik*, or *Ural*, the remains of which are ſtill called *Saratſchik*.

(4) It is eaſy to recognize *Organci* in the town of *Urgenz*, in Kheucareſm. This place is called likewiſe by Abulfeda, *Dſchordſchania*, and by the Perſians, *Korkang*. But there were two towns of this name, viz. the Great and the Leſſer *Urgenz*. The one was very near the place where the *Gihun* diſcharges itſelf into lake *Aral*, this was called *Old Urghenz*; another of this name, called *New Urgenz*, is to be found near *Chiwa*, on the *Gihun*.

(5) *Oltrarre* is properly called *Otrar*, and alſo *Farab*, which latter name is to be found in ſo early a writer as Abulfeda. It is ſituated on the river *Sihon*, or *Sirr*. The Chineſe, who can not pronounce the letter *r*, call it *Uotala*.

" fifty

" fifty days journey; and if one has no merchandiſe, it is a better " way than that by *Organci*. From *Oltrarre* to *Armalecco* (6), it is " forty-five days journey travelling with aſſes, and in the road " one meets every day with *Moccols* (Mogols). From *Armalecco* to " *Camexu* (7) it is ſeventy days journey on aſſes, and from *Camexu* " 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 very good country for the expeditious " ſale of merchandize, 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 *Gamalecco* (10), which is the " capital of the land of *Cattai*, it is 30 days journey."

If the reader has any idea of the difficulty attendant 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 trifling, nor to be accompliſhed without much labour.

(6) *Armalecco* is the name of a town called *Almalig*, which, according to *Naſſir Ettuſi*, and *Ulughbegh*, is in *Turkeſtan*. From *Scherfeddin Ali*, the author of the life of *Timur*, it appears, that this *Almaleg* is ſituated between the town of Taſchkent and the river Irtiſch, in the country of *Geté*, on the banks of the river *Ab-Eile*, which at this very day diſcharges itſelf into the *Sihon*, or *Sirr-Daria*.

(7) *Came-xu* is probably nothing more than the name of *Khame*, or *Khami*, with the addition of *xu*, inſtead of *Tſcheu*, which in the Chineſe language ſignifies a town.

(8) The river above-mentioned is doubtleſs the *Kara Morin*, i. e. *Kara Moran*, but which the Chineſe call *Hoang-ho*.

(9) *Kaſſai* ſeems to be the place called *Kiſſen*, on the northernmoſt winding of the *Hoang-Ho*.

(10) Gamalecco is without doubt *Cambalig*, or Peking; in like manner as *Gattay* is put for *Katay*.

Balducci Pegoletti certifies alſo the exiſtence of the paper money in China, previouſly mentioned by *Ruyſbroeck*, *Haitho*, *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 Pegoleti *Baliſchi*; *Mandeville* ſays it is made of leather. A jeſuit, named *Gabriel de Magaillans*, 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, *Weyaſit*, 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 *Farab*, though Schildtberger ſays, that he died in his capital of *Samarkant*. He was afterwards with *Scharoch* (Schah-Rokh), and remained with the auxiliaries which Schahrokh left with his brother *Miranſchah* to fight againſt *Kara-Joſeph*, a *Turkomannian 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

* About this time many abuſes had got footing amongſt the *golden tribe* on the Wolga. *Mamay* and *Yedighei*, had not, it is true, the title of the Great Khan of the golden tribe in Kaptſchak, but

would give up to him the ſovereignty over *Kaptſchak*. 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 *Lahinſcham*, where ſilk is alſo cultivated; and then through another called *Schurban* (Schirwan), 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 *Setzalet*, 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 *Ibiſſibur* (Biſſibur, or Iſſibur). They were obliged to march for the ſpace of two months before they could reach it. In this country there is a range of moun-

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 Tuſchin Khan; it is therefore no wonder, that after Timur's death, *Yedighei 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 Oſman.

tains,

tains, of 32 days journey in length, and at the end of it is a deſart, which is the end of the earth. The deſart 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 muſic and rejoicing, and eat and drink on their graves. In this country they cultivate nothing but beans, and never eat any bread. Schildtberger likewiſe obſerves, that he ſaw all this himſelf, when he was with *Zegra*, the king's ſon.

Having conquered *Biſſibur*, 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 *Schudichbochen*, or *Kom* (Schadibeck-Khan) the ſon of *Timur Utluck*, 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 Schadibeck). He reigned for the ſpace of a year and a half (from

1406 to 1408). After him *Segel Alladie (Zedy Khan*, the ſon of *Tokatmyſch*, or *Toktemyſch-Khan)* got poſſeſſion of the throne: but he was ſoon driven away by *Timir*, the brother of *Polat (Timur-Khan*, ſon of *Timur-Utluck)* who reigned 14 months. His brother *Thebak*, 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, *Kerunhardin*, aſcended it, who however reigned but five months. *Thebak* 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 *Zegra* was Khan only for nine months, for *Machmet* (Mohammed-Khan, ſon of the above-mentioned *Timur Khan*, and grandſon of *Timur Utluck)* fought a pitched battle with *Edigi* and *Zegra*, in which the firſt was taken priſoner, and the ſecond fled into a country called *Keſtihipſchah* (Deſcht-Kiptſchak). But *Machmet* was in his turn driven away by *Waroch*; from whom, however, ſoon after, *Machmet* retook his dominons, which were a ſecond time taken from him by *Doblaberd*, who kept poſſeſſion of them but three days, when he was in his turn dethroned by *Waroch*. 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 Schildtberger, with the four other Chriſtians, attached themſelves to *Manuſtzuſch*, who had been *Zegra*'s counſellor, and who went on his journey to *Kaffa* in Crimea, where there are Chriſtians, and where there are ſix different religions prevalent among the people. After a ſtay of five months in *Kaffa*, *Manuſtzuſch* croſſed an arm of the Black Sea (the ſtraits of *Zabake)* into a country called *Zeckchas* (Zikchia) where he remained ſix months. But the Sultan of Turkey ſent to the ſovereign of the country, requeſting him not to allow *Manuſtzuſch* to ſtay in his dominions. He therefore went into the

land of *Magrill* (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 *Manuſtzuſch*, 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 Palæologus), who ſent them in a galley to the caſtle of *Gili* (Kilia), on the lower end of the *Thonauw* (or Danube). Schildtberger having parted with his friends, went with ſome merchants to a town called *Whitè-town* (Akkierman, Aſprokaſtro, Tſchetat-alba, Belgorod) which is ſituated in Walachia. From thence he went to the capital of the Leſſer Walachia (Moldavia), called *Sedhof* (Sutſchawa, formerly the capital of all Moldavia). Then they came to a town called in the German tongue Lubich (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 *Sileſia*, through *Miſnia*, *Eger*, *Ratiſbon*, and *Freyſingen*, back to *Munich*, having been from home upwards of thirty-two years.

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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 *Khaptſchak* is very deſerving of our attention; as is alſo the following circumſtance, viz. that we no longer find any mention made of *Saray* and *Aſtrakhan*; for if I am not miſtaken, his *Origens* is *Agrachan*. As to his ſaying that it ſtands in the middle of the *Edil*, or *Wolga*, this is probably a miſtake, for *Edil* ſignifies any river whatever; in fact, *Aſtrakhan*, as well as *Saray*, has already been demoliſhed by the Emperor Timur, about the year 1595. He ſpeaks of the wild aſſes in the mountainous deſarts, and the dogs which were harneſſed to ſledges. The town *Iſſibur*, or *Biſſibur*, is the ancient Ruſſian town of *Iſborſk*. In ſhort, he muſt be allowed to be a ſenſible writer, and a man of veracity.

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 *Yonglo*, and had audience of him. This journey has been deſcribed by the famous Perſian hiſtorian, *Emir Khond* (or *Emir-Khovand*, or *Mirchond)*, in his book "of the wonders of the world." The worthy Burgomaſter of Amſterdam, *Nicholas Witſen* *, has inſerted this journey, tranſlated from the Per-

* This remarkable work of *Nicholas Witſen* is very rare, either of the two editions of it being extremely ſeldom to be met with; for *Witſen* 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 publick, that *Schaalzcamp* the bookſeller at Amſterdam, has at length procured from the heirs of *Witſen* the remaining copies of this book, together with the plates; and according to the advices I have received from Amſterdam, he intends to accommodate the publick with it in the month of May; but at the ſame time I am informed "that it will not appear in ſo compleat 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."

ſian language into the Dutch, in the ſecond edition of his excellent work, intitled *Nord en Oojt 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 Schah Rokh*, of whom *Shadi Khodſcha* 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 *Taaſchkent*, and *Aſperah*, 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, Abilongur), and viſited the Sultan *Schadi Gurgahn*, 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 deſart, 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, Tarfaan, 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 *Kharadziah* (*Haraſchar*, or *Aſaralic*, or rather *Haracoſa*). Here they had ſcarcely been

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 ſuperintendant *Emir Fakhr-Eddien*. From thence they travelled for the ſpace of twenty-five days through a deſart, 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 Khottahs*, 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 *Kataſekt-ſcheu* (Sektſcheu, Schatſcheu); and the latter part of the journey having been through the deſart, 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

welcomed in 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 Khodſcha*, and to the ambaſſador *Kukſchah*, amounted to two hundred people; and that of *Ardewahn* 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 potation which the jeſuit *Trigault* imagined had come into uſe of late years only in China **.

From this place their route lay again through a deſart, in which, after ſome days, they met with a *Karawul* ***, or out-poſt, which

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

** 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 *Sah*, 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; a fact, which involves the ſuppoſition, that by long uſe, this plant was become ſo unavoidably neceſſary, that they might confidently venture to lay a tax on it. *Euſebius 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 *karaul*.

was not only very 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 *Natſchiu* (Nang-tſieu, Naatſieu), 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-tſieu they came to another town called *Khamtſchu*. 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 *Chiendienpuhr*, 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 *Chaan-Balug* (Khan-baligh). 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,

time, preſented to the Emperor, and having taken refreſhments, were diſmiſſed. Some days after, the 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 *Baliſch* of ſilver; hence it appears that a *Baliſch* is either a coin or a weight; and as we have ſeen before, that the paper money of the *Zinghiſkanides* was alſo called *Baliſch*, it ſeems evident that theſe *Baliſch* 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 Baliſch 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 *Witſen* interprets to be an unknown ſpecies of coin. It is poſſible, however, that *Witſen* may have been miſtaken in this, juſt as he was in the *Baliſches* 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 *Kaſch*, 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 conſorts 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 ſtaid 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 *Kharamuran*; and in nineteen days more they reached *Khamtſiu* (Khantſcheu); 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 ſtaid 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 paſs 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 deſart, and reached, in fifty-five days, *Chotan* (Khoten, Hotum) about the beginning of May. In the beginning of Auguſt they came to *Khaſiger* (Kaſchar, or Haſiker). In fifteen days from this, they arrived at *Andegan* (Andiſchdan, or Dedſchan); 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 baliſches are no longer uſed, ſilver baliſches, which however ſeem to be very ſcarce, being made uſe of in their ſtead. Tin muſt have been a commodity of

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 preſerved, 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. *Joſaphat 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 *Uſſum Haſſan* (alias Aſſambei), at that time a Turkomannian 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 Minutio*, at *Aldus*'s preſs, at Venice, in 1543, and was afterwards inſerted, by *Giovanne 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 it 1607. He died at a very advanced age in his native country, in 1494.

The journey to Perſia to *Uſſun 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*.

Joſaphat

Joſaphat Barbaro 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 all together border on the ſea of *Tabacke* (Zabachi from Tſchaback-Denghiſſi, i. e. the *Brachſen 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 takes its date from the time of *Hedighi* (alias Edigi, and Jedighei), who was a general of the Tartarian Emperor *Sidahameth Khan*. This *Hedighi* was the father of *Naurus*, of whom *Joſaphat* relates, that in his days *Ulu-Mahumeth* (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

one of the Emperor's relations called *Khezi Mahameth*, i. e. little Mahomet. Theſe two reſolved to wage war againſt *Ulu Mahameth*: Accordingly they marched by *Giterchan* (or Aſtrakhan) and through the plains of *Tumen* (i. e. the great Deſart 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 *Boſagaz*, 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 weſt-wards, 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* (otherwiſe Kremuk, and Kromuk), the ſovereign of which is called *Biperdi*, i. e. Deodati, *given by God*; and his ſon is called *Chertibei* (or Khertibey), 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. *Elipehe* (Chippiche, Kippike)

3. *Tatarkoſia*

3. *Tatarkoſia* (otherwiſe Tatakoſia, Titarcoſſa, Tatartoſia, Tatartupia), 4. *Sobai*, 5. *Chenerthei* (otherwiſe Cheuerthei, Khewerthei, Kharbatei, Khabarthei, Khabarda), 6. *As*, i. e. the *Alani*. Theſe provinces extend for the ſpace of 12 days journey quite to *Mengleria* (Mingrelia). This Mingrelia borders on the *Kaitacchi* (or Chaitaki) who live about the Caſpian Mountains, partly alſo near *Giorgiania*, 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 *Phaſus*, 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 *Vathi* (Badias), and the other *Savaſtopoli* (otherwiſe Sabaſtopoli, alſo Iſguriah, 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 beaſtly 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 Zagathai, *Tengh*, all of which ſignifies white; hence, as well at Venice as in Spain, certain coins are ſtill called *Bianchi*. (This laſt obſervation exhibits a ſurprizing 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 *Zuchala*; ſimilar to that which connects the Morea with the continent, and is called *Eſſimillia*. 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 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 Gazzarian 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 caſe of need, to bring into the field three or four thouſand horſe. They poſſeſs two walled, but not ſtrong, places; the one, *Sorgathi* *, (Solgathi), is by them alſo called *Incremia* (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 *Cherz* ***, (Kerſch, or Kars), which by the Italians was called *Boſphorus Cimmerius*. Then comes *Kaffa* †, *Saldaia* ††, (alias Soldadia, Soldaja, more properly Sugdaja, and at preſent Sudak, or Sudag), *Graſui* †††, (or Gruſui) *Cymbalo* ‡,

* *Sorgathi* is the place which Abulfeda, previous to this author, had called *Solget*, or *Kirm*; it is at preſent called *Eſkikyrym*, i. e. the Old Citadel.

** *Kerkierda* is the *Kerkri* 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 *Kirkjel*. This was a caſtle belonging to the Jews, or Goths, who dwelled in theſe 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.

*** *Kerz* is even now called *Kerſch*, and was the ancient *Pantikapæum* of the Boſphorian kings, and ſo early as in Philip of Macedon's time bore the name of Boſphorus. It is the *Ol-Kars* of Abulfeda.

† *Kaffa*, or *Kapha*, is nearly on the ſame ſpot, where, in the times of the Greeks and Romans, ſtood the town of *Theodoſia*.

†† *Saldaia* was ſo early as in Abulfeda's time called *Sudak*, as, indeed, it is at preſent; it was formerly very famous, and a town of great trade.

††† *Graſui* is a place at preſent entirely unknown; it, however, probably ſtood where now, under the denomination of *Kruſimuſen*, there ſeem to remain ſome traces of the name.

‡ *Cimbalo* is certainly Συμβολων λιμην, and is the harbour of *Buluklawa* of the moderns.

(Cimbalo, Symbolon Hormos, or Limen), *Sarſona* *, (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 Moncaſtro ***. 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

* *Sarſon* (otherwiſe *Sarſona*, *Scherſon*, and *Schurſchi*) was formerly called *Cherſon Trachea*, 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 *Wladimir the Great*, and in their ancient annals call it *Korſun*.

** *Kalamita* apppears to me to be an adulteration of the word *Klimata*. For all thoſe towns which *Joſaphat Barbaro* names, from *Kaffa* to *Cherſon*, belonged formerly to the fortified caſtles and towns called καστρα των κλιματων.

*** *Moncaſtro* is a place at the mouth of the Dnieſter, which the Turks at this preſent time call *Ak-kierman*; the Wallachians, *Tſchetat Alba*; the Ruſſians, *Belgorod*; the Greeks, *Aſpro Kaſtro*; and the Genoeſe, 350 years ago, called it *Moncaſtro*. Now all theſe different appellations have their origin in the name given to this place by the Romans, who called it *Alba Julia*.

† This circumſtance is worthy of obſervation. *Ruyſbroeck* had before remarked it, (our Author remarks it too) and ſo does *Buſbeck*. Father *Mohndorf* met with many of the ſlaves in the galleys at Conſtantinople, who were deſcended from 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 relicks 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 *Ulfilas*'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 here compares the

From 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 likwiſe came into uſe. All theſe people profeſs the Greek religion, as do likewiſe the *Tſcherkaſians*.

And as I have before made mention of *Tumen* and *Githercan* (which latter is otherwiſe called Citracan and Aſtrakhan) 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 Erdir, 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 gallies, 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 ſturgeons (*Schenali*). One may ſail up this river to within three days journey from *Muſco* (Moſcow, or Moſkwa) in *Ruſſia*. The inhabitants of *Muſco* go with their ſhips every year to *Githercan* to fetch ſalt: and down to this

difference between the language of a Goth of Crimea, and that of a German, to the difference between the dialect of the inhabitants of *Furli* 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.

place the paſſage is eaſy, as the river *Moſco* 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. Croſſing the river, and going 15 days journey to the north-weſt of *Moſco*, along the ſame river, one meets with innumerable hordes of Tartars. But, if one travels to the northward, and reaches the confines of Ruſſia, one arrives at a ſmall town called *Riſan* (or Rezan) which belongs to a relation of the Grand Duke of Ruſſia, 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 *Boſſa** 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 *Moſco*, where John, Duke of Ruſſia, reſides. Through this province runs the river *Moſco* (Moſkwa, or Moſcow) which in ſeveral places has bridges over it, and from which in all probability the country takes its name. The caſtle 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 Ruſſia an inebriating liquor, prepared from millet, which is called *Buſa*, 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 *Sani* (or ſledges, which are to them what our waggons 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 journies. 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 bruſcandoli) 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 buſineſs 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

Before this period the Ruſſians paid tribute to the Emperor of Tartary; but now they have conquered a country, called *Kaſan*, which ſignifies *Kettle*, and is ſituated at the diſtance of five miles from Moſcow. This country lies to the left of the river *Ledil* (or Wolga) as one goes to the ſea of *Bochri* (or Bakhu). This country has a conſiderable trade, and a great quantity of furs is got from thence, which are carried by way of Moſcow to Poland, Pruſſia, and Flanders. Theſe furs come from the north-eaſt, at a great diſtance, out of the empire of *Zagathai* *, 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 ſtrait 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 when alive.

* Zagathai 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*, *Mawaralnchara*, and *Kuareſm*, in the ſequel theſe provinces were called the empire of *Zagathai*.

** Moxia is the country of the *Morduanians*, part of whom give themſelves the name of *Mokſcha*.

Laſtly,

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 ſables, 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 deſart. There are, it is true, fire-places from place to place, where the inns are beſpoke before-hand, 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

* *Trocki* is likewiſe called *Troxk*, and is a well-known town in Lithuania, in the neighbourhood of *Wilna*.

out

out of the road. Going 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 *Merſaga*†, 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 *Slonym*, which was formerly a place of great note, and uſed to be a duchy allotted to the appenaged 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 *Maſurea*, or Maſovia.

*** By *Varſonich* in all probability is meant the city of *Warſaw*.

† Of *Merſaga* 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 by it *Meſeriz*, or *Miedzyrzyez*, 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 Joſaphat Barbaro 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. May not the greater progreſs

Now we muſt ſay ſomewhat concerning *Giorgiania*, 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 *Trebiſonde*. 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 around, which they ſuffer to remain, in the ſame manner as it is practiſed by our Abbots, who have a good income. They wear whiſkers above 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 ſtrait 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 ancles 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 thruſt one's fiſt 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

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. Other proviſions we had not.

In this country there is a great number of large woods and mountains. There is in it a diſtrict called *Ziſilis* (Tiflis) beſide which runs a river named *Tigris** (or Tygris): this is a very good country, but thinly inhabited. It has likewiſe ſtill a fortification †, *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 *Zenos*, in Venice, is very ancient, and is not only of the higheſt rank of nobility, but is likewiſe celebrated for the performance of great actions, as alſo by reaſon that the higheſt offices and dignities in the ſtate had been filled from time immemorial, by men of merit belonging to this family. About the year 1200, *Marin Zeno* aſſiſted in making the conqueſt of Conſtantinople, 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 *Rinieri 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 *Tbiliſſi*, but rather the *Kur*, or the *Kyrus* of the ancients, and the *Mrknari* of the Georgians.

† Not far from *Tiflis*, and to the weſtward of it there is a place called *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 *Guria*, ſituated between the *Phaſch* and the *Bathum* (or Bathys).

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 ſirname 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 a war, in which the power of almoſt all Europe was joined againſt her. The ſecond ſon, *Nicolo*, was a Knight, and having ſhewn great valour in the laſt-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 expence, 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 at length caſt away on the coaſt of *Frieſland* (Friſlanda); 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 bro-

ther Antonio, inviting him to come to Frieſland, who accordingly ſoon arrived there, and lived four years with him, and afterwards ten more with Prince Zichmni alone. The whole of this relation was written by *Franciſco 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 *Frieſland*, 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 Frieſland, which were called *Porland*, 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

thern parts, I (i. e. Antonio Zeno) have drawn up a 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 Nicolo'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 Nicolo 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

* Though this *Frieſland*, together with *Porland* and *Sorany*, 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, inveſted with the Orkneys, a perſon 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 appellation of *Faira*, *North Fara*, *South Fara*, or *Fara's Land*, have probably given riſe to that of *Frieſland*. *Porland* muſt be the Fara Iſlands (the *Far-ver*, or *Farland*) and *Sorany* is the *Soderoe*, or *Sereona*; i. e. the weſtern iſlands. Add to this, that the names of the *Shetland* Iſlands correſpond with many of thoſe conquered by Zichmni in Eſtland: *Bras* is indubitably *Braſſa Sound*, *Talas* appears to be *Yell*, or *Zeal*, *Broas* is *Braſſa*, *Iſcant* is *Uuſt*, *Trans* is probably *Trondra*, and ſtill more ſimilitudes 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, Britania, 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. *Nicolo Zeno* viſited likewiſe *Eaſt Greenland*. But Eſtotiland and Drogio, which were diſcovered afterwards, appear to be ſome country that lies to the ſouthward of Old Greenland. Perhaps *Newfoundland*, or *Winland*, 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.

rowed with oars; the reſt were 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 *Ledovo* and *Ilofe* *, and divers other ſmaller iſlands; and turning into a bay called *Sudero*, in the haven of the town named *Saneſtol*, 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 *Nicolo 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 *Nicolo Zeno*, determined to go aſhore, at a town called *Bondendan*, with a view to get intelligence what ſucceſs *Zichmni* had in his wars; where they heard,

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

** This a very early mention made of ſalted fiſh, but yet within the life-time of William Beuckels John, the ſuppoſed inventor of the art of pickling herrings, who died in 1397. But Profeſſor Sprengel has ſhewn, that herrings were caught at *Gernemve*, 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. 431.

to

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, inſomuch 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 ineſtimable 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*, *Britania*, *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* ſtaid 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

miral of the fleet ſent out on the expedition to *Eſtland*, 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 ſaved upon *Griſland*, a large iſland, but uninhabited. The King of Norway's fleet was overtaken by the ſame ſtorm, and periſhed. Of this Zichmni 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) *Broas* (Braſſa Sound) *Iſcant* (Unſt or Vuſt) *Trans* (Trondra) Mimant, Dambert, and *Bres* (Braſſa) all of which he plundered, and built a fort in *Bres*, 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, Groenland, 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 Ætna 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

* *Griſland* ſeems to be the name of the iſland, which lies in the neighbourhood of Iceland to the eaſtward, and is by the moderns called *Enkhuyzen*.

victuals;

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 conveniencies, 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 bending 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 *Trondon* (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 get away

by

by reaſon of the ſea being frozen over, but wait for the ſpring of the year, to diſſolve the ice. The fiſhers 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 ſound 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 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 *Eſtotiland*, which lay above a thouſand miles to the weſtward of Frieſland. 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 fiſhermens 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 do 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 ſpring 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 with

* In Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages, Vol. III. p. 124, 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

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 *(cervoſa)* 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 loadſtone, and know nothing of the uſe of the compaſs: on which account theſe fiſhermen were held in high eſtimation, inſomuch that the King ſent them with twelve ſhips to the ſouthward, to a country called *Drogio*. 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 mens 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; inſomuch that he made war with the other Lord with whom the fiſherman was before; and in the end prevailing, as he was more

to that quarter of the globe. 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.] E. T.

powerful and a better 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 chace. 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 farewel, he fled through

through the woods, by the way that led to *Drogio*, and was received with great 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 ſtaid 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 *Eſtotiland*. 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, inſomuch 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 expence 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 to have been, for Zichmni went in perſon; and upon this ſubject I have a letter to the following purport:

" Our great preparation for the voyage to *Eſtotiland* 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 ſtaid 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 *Iloſe*; 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 *Icari*, after the name of its firſt King, who, according to them, was the ſon of *Dædalus*, King of Scotland, who conquered 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 foraſmuch 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 *Zichmni* 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, ſo 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 proviſion, 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 deſcried at a ſmall diſtance a huge mountain that emitted 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 ſuſpect that this delightful place was deſolate and uninhabited. 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 to 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. Likewiſe 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 Ilofe, 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, ſent all the reſt, with the ſhips, back again, and choſe that I, though ſore againſt my will, ſhould command them.

"Taking therefore my departure (as indeed I was obliged to do) I ſailed 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 ſailed 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

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

† Hakluyt tranſlates it thus, "built a town." The original ſays, *Fece una terra*,

ſee

ſee 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 *Frieſland*, *Iceland*, *Eſtland*, the kingdom of *Norway*, *Eſtotiland*, *Drogio*, 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 Meſſer 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, Frieſland, Eſtland, Porland, Sorani, Eſtotiland, Drogio, and Engroveland, are no longer any where to be met with. But after I had narrowly inſpected it, and tranſlated it myſelf from the *Italian* of *Franceſco Marcolini*, preſerved 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

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 inconteſtible 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 alledged 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 *Zichmni*, 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

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 ſlags, 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, Otaheite, 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 *Porland* 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 *Eſtland* appeared to me very much to reſemble the *Zetland*, or *Shetland* iſlands; and on comparing the names of *Talas*, *Broas*, *Iſcant*, *Trans*, *Mimant*, *Dambere*, and *Bres*, with thoſe of *Yell*, or *Zeal* (probably *Teal*) *Burray*, (or *Bura*, of which name there are two places, *Weſtbura*

Weſtburn and *Eaſt-Bura*, when taken collectively called the *Buras) Unſt*, *Tronda*, *Mainland*, *Hamer* (a place in Mainland to the northward). *Braſſa*, or *Breſſa*, the reſemblance appeared to me ſo 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 verſo Scotia*) it lay on one ſide of Scotland. Here the *Soderoe*, or ſouthern iſlands of the Normans and Danes, naturally ſuggeſted themſelves to me, iſles, 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 *Soröer*, 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 iſles of *Ledovo* and *Iloſe*. Now theſe are the *Soderoe*, and the Iſles of *Lewis* * and of *Ilay*. *Saneſtol* appears to me ſituated near the iſle of *Lewis*, and to be that cluſter of iſlands which are called *Schantſoer*, whence the word *Saneſtol* 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, is eaſily transformed to *Bondendon*.

* The Iſle of *Lewis* was by the Normans called *Lodhus*, from which appellation probably originated the name of *Ledovo*. Vid. *Pennant's Tour in Scotland, and a Voyage to the Hebrides*, 1782, Part I. page 326, the 2d or 4th edition. The Soderoe were all the Weſtern Iſlands that lay to the ſouth of Point *Ardnamurchan*, in Scotland, in 57 deg. N. lat. and thoſe that lay to the north were called the *Northern* Iſlands.

From this conqueſt of the *Weſtern Iſlands*, Zichmni'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 *Faira*, 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 *Eſtland* 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 Zichmni'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 *Grimſ-ey*, which lies to the north of Iceland. Indeed I ſhould rather take it for the iſland of *Enkhuyzen*, 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. *Kerguelen* 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 *Enkhuyzen* 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* is the *Grimſ-ey* of the moderns. For this latter word, according to the old orthography, might very well be written *Griſland*. 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 *Griſland* 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 *Yaltaland*, 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 *Breſſa*, in the Shetland iſlands, a voyage to *Greenland*; for his *Engroveland*, as well as the *Engroneland* 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 *Eſtotiland*, and, on this occaſion, informs us by what accident it was diſcovered. He

ſays, that it was 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 *Eſtotiland* 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 ſurprizing, 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 country might have been carried thither by him.

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.——From *Frieſland*, i. e. *Faira*, in the Orkneys, the fleet goes

goes to *Ledovo*, or *Lewis*, one of the weſtern iſlands, and then to *Iloſe*, viz. *Ilay*, or, as it was probably called, *Ili-oe*. When they had ſailed 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 *Icaria:* after this follows a ſtrange ſtory of one *Dædalus*, 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 *Icaria* took its origin; and the name of *Icarus*'s father muſt of courſe be *Dædalus*, who, in all probability, was ſome Scottiſh Prince, with a name ſounding ſomewhat like this word. From this place they ſailed 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 Nicolo 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 natives of Greenland.

land. 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 well 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 *Porrland* likewiſe belonged to the domains of Zichmni, and that by this name in all probability are meant the *Faroer*, or *Faro 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 Orcadian 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

The ancient Earls of Orkney, the deſcendants of the Jarl *Einar-Torf*, were extinct; in conſequence of which the King of Norway, *Magnus Smak*, about the year 1343, nominated *Erngiſel Sunaſon 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* forbad, 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 overy *Le-ard*, granted.

At

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-Ard*, 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 *Hialtaland*, (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 *Siclair*, is eaſily taken for *Zichmni* by an Italian who only hears the word pronounced; and as this *Sinclair* vanquiſhed *Alexander Le-Ard*, 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 *Roſt* Iſland. Here he wintered, and the fol-

lowing ſummer travelled through *Drontheim* to *Wadſtena*, in Sweden, and arrived again in 1432 at Venice. He has himſelf given an account of the voyage, and two of his fellow-travellers, *Chriſtopho Fioravante*, and *Nicolo di Michiel*, 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 Megiſerus*, in a work called *Septentrio Novantiquus*. Printed in 8vo at Leipſic, 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 *Cadiz*, 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

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 Finiſtere*, 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 *Sorlingian*, (or *Scilly*) Iſlands. The wind now encreaſed 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 bounds, or limitation, 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 conſtructed, out of the mainmaſt 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 encreaſed 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 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 encreaſed 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 baled 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 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, thay 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

ſelves up to drunkenneſs, and had hovered continually 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 ſea-water, which haſtened their deaths, while others had recourſe to their own urine, and this latter beverage, joined with the precaution of eating as little ſalt 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, ſailing 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 ſtedfaſtly 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

diately ſet 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 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 ſtaid 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 a-ſhore 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 inconſiderable 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, appeaſed their hunger. The day

after,

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 a-ſhore again. They now made of the oars and ſails 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 ſo great a 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

* It is highly probable that this obſervation is founded on fact, as well as that mentioned a little before, viz. that the hardeſt 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 are 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 perſons of unqueſtionable veracity. A veſſel on its voyage from Jamaica to England had ſuffered

they 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 round 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 200lb. weight, and to be quite ſweet and freſh. This fiſh was cut

fered 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 inſtructions, but at length grew weak, exhauſted, and died of hunger and thirſt; nay, 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 19 days, and at the end of that period were taken up by a veſſel which was ſailing 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.

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 œconomical with it in future, ſo that it laſted them ten days longer. Thoſe three that ſtaid 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 muſcles.

Having made an end of their fiſh, they were obliged to return to their firſt reſource of picking up muſcles 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 iſlot, which (as *Fiovarante* informs us) was called *Santi* (Sand ey, or Sand ee) to ſeek after ſome cattle which had ſtrayed away from them. The ſons went ſtrait 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 meet the lads, who, on their

parts, were terrified at the ſight of ſuch a number of poor, famiſhed wretches. Indeed, theſe 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 unadviſeable 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 *Ruſtene* (Roſt, or Roſtoe) 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 *Ruſtene* 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 the hand, and deſired him to chooſe out two of his company to go along with him. Quirini accordingly pitched upon *Francis Quirini*, of Candia, 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 ſtaid 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 hoſts, 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 Roſt 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 *ſtockfiſh* (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 ſtockfiſh 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 manœuvre 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

* Fioravante ſays, that from the 20th of November to the 20th of February the night was 21 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.

Bergen,

Bergen, a place in Norway, about 1000 miles diſtant from them; whither likewiſe at this time of the year a great number of ſhips, from 300 to 350 tuns burthen, carry all the produce of Germany, England, Scotland, and Pruſſia; together with every thing neceſſary in regard to food, drink, and cloathing; and theſe fiſh 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 the 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 amongſt 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

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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 curſing. At the death of their relations they ſhewed 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 ſhewed ſo little of extrava-

* 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. Aubrianæ Francof.* 1620 *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 Jul. Capitolin. in Marco. Heliogabalus*, on the contrary, bathed himſelf along with the women, and as it was countenanced by the Emperor's example, this practice muſt again have become univerſal. *Æl. Lamprid. in Heliogabalo and Alexandro Severo:* for his ſucceſſor, *Alexander*, prohibited it afreſh. Theſe laws, however, ſeem to have fallen into oblivion, ſince even the Chriſtians retained this immoral practice, affording occaſion to many ſynods to compoſe decrees for the prohibition of it. The Council of Laodicea, in the 30th canon, forbids the bathing of men with women. But this decree, though often rigorouſly inſiſted 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. Ruſſia 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 rods, is alſo uſed in Ruſſia. The Ruſſians, indeed, always run immediately out of their hot baths into ſome neighbouring pond, and in the winter time roll themſelves in the ſnow.

gant

gant lamentations and grief, that it appeared 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 ſhe herſelf as well as her gueſts, appeared in their beſt clothes; and on this occaſion ſhe intreated 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 Roſt is ſurrounded by a great number of ſea-fowl, which the inhabitants in their language call Muxi *. They are fond of living

* The Norwegians call this ſpecies of ſea-mew or gull, *Maaſe*. 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. Phipps (now Lord Mulgrave) *towards the North Pole, London*, 1774, p. 187, 188, is called *Larus eburneus*; and in *John Miller's Plates, Plate XII. Larus Albus*; but in Otho Fabricius's Fauna Groenlandica, p. 103, and in *Muller's Prodrom. Zool. Dan.* p. VIII. it is denominated the *Larus Candidus*, and ſeems to be the ſame bird with that which in *Frederic Marten's Voyage to Spitſbergen*, p. 56, Tab. I. a, is called the *Raths herr*; and in *Leem's Deſcription of Lapland*, the *Wald Maaſe*.

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ing near mankind, 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 *Roſtoe* 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 hoſts 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 hoſts, ſpoke of the reception they had met with in the higheſt terms; and as Quirini had ſtill remaining a ſtring of amber

The Greenlanders, however, give it the name of *Vagavarſuk*. It is a very bold bird, and is found only a great way to the northward, in Finmark, Norway, Iſland, Greenland, and Spitzbergen. This *maaſe*, or ſea-gull, is probably the white ſea fowl *Muxis* deſcribed above by Quirini.

beads, which 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 Roſt made them preſents of fiſh, 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 Roſt, 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 day-light. 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 recompence. 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.

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In the courſe of their voyage they met the Biſhop of *Trondon* (Drontheim) who, with two gallies, 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 *Trondon*, his archiepiſcopal ſee, 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, but 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, *Giovanne Franco*, whom the King of Denmark had knighted, and who reſided at his caſtle of

Stichimborg (Stegeborg, in Eaſt Gothland) in the 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 matraſſes. As nothing was kept locked up, they took ſome of the victuals 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 them with all the particulars, upon which their aſtoniſhment was mingled with compaſſion, and they gave the travellers every neceſſary without taking any recompence, 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 Drontheim.

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 haſel-hens, and heath-cocks, which were as white as ſnow (probably ptarmigans, *tetrao lagopus)* and pheaſants of the ſize of a gooſe (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 Gyrfalcus)* goſs-hawks *(falco aſtur Briſs.)* 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 *Vaſthena* (Wadſtena) 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 *Wadſtena*, 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 Wadſtena 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

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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 Lodeſe (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 *Stichimborg*; 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 Lodeſe 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 *Baſil*, 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,

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and that ſuddenly; 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

* Though the day-light laſted very long, or rather, though it was but one continued day, when Quirini went from the iſle of Roſtoe to Drontheim, his guides uſed 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 *Ohther*'s deſcription of his voyage to *Sciringes-heal* (Vid. ſupra p. 67) where he ſays, "No one could fail to

in winter, 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

to it in a month, if he lay-to at night, though he had a fair wind every day;" ſo that it was the cuſtom to lay-to at night with their veſſels, even in the caſe of continual day-light; and this cuſtom ſubſiſted ſo early as in the time of Ohther, and was obſerved alſo in Quirini's time, 533 years afterwards. It is evident, therefore, that this ſeemingly-ſuſpicious expreſſion was not uſed without deſign or meaning, but had its origin and foundation in the manners of the country.

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and rivers, formerly 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 luxury, carried perhaps too great a height, ſunk again into a wild and dreary deſart, 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 inſolent 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 diſorderly 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. Popery, 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 chaſtiſements, 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 miſe-

rable ſyſtem of barbariſm 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 feudatory 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 pourtrayed 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 deſtined. In fact, it is theſe inordinate deſires, theſe inſatiable paſſions, this wild enthuſiaſm,

thuſiaſm, and this fanatical ſuperſtition, by which the Author of our exiſtence conducts us again into the paths of virtue and knowledge, and to a ſtate of exalted felicity.

——— Deus ille fuit ———
Qui princeps vitæ rationem invenit eam quæ
Nunc appellatur ſapientia; quippe per artem
Fluctibus e tantis vitam, tantiſque tenebris
In tam tranquillo, & tam clara luce locavit,

Lucret. Lib. V. v. 7---12.

In the eaſt, at Conſtantinople, the altercations 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 crouds into thoſe parts, to viſit the holy ſepulchre, were received very favourably. But the Seldſchukidian Turks, as well from ſuperſtition as from a miſtruſt 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 ſummons 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 himſelf 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 ſcum 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 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 feoffees 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 theſe 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 ardour, 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 every where 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

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was had to the long-forgotten 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 a great 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 cruſades 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 œconomy. 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

Europeans 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 every where, by which means the rude and unpoliſhed weſtern world was prepared for a long time before-hand 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 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 ſubjecting 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 Knight-errantry, too, and the deſire of atchieving 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 encreaſing 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 *Hanſa*, or Hanſeatic 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

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 IId, 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 ſojurned, 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 encreaſing 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.

STRICTURES *and* REMARKS *on* BOOK II.

I. *Of* Andanicum, *or* Steel.

PAGE 135: According to the account given here by Marco Polo, of the province of *Chinchintalas*, 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, to the 2d Part of his Collection of Voyages, has prefixed a *Dichiarazione d'alcuni luoghi ne libri 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 ſabre 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 Chinchintalas 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 جنگ dſchenk, which means *war*, I conjectured 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, *Dſchenkſchi*, 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 *Daniko*, or *Al-Daniko*, or, by eliſion of the *l*, *Ad-Daniki*, which comes pretty near to *Andanicum*, or *Andanico*. 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 جنگ *dſchenk*, or *dſchanck*, which apparently makes the neareſt approaches of any to the word *ad-danck* and *al-danck*, and thus may have given riſe to that of *andaniko*.

Our ingenious Profeſſor, Dr. *Knapp*, ſuppoſes, that this *Andanicum* might have been alſo called *Andalicum*, and this been derived from the Arabic لق, to *unſheath the ſword*, or from نلق of which many ſubſtantives are formed, which ſignify *ſharpneſs*, *point*, *poliſh*,, &c. obſerving, at the ſame time, that the words انلق or انلق *acuminatus*, *mucronatus*, *politus*, 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 intitled to judge of the matter.

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 *Hadſchi 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.

Hadſchi Mehemet (called here Chaggi Memet) had been himſelf to *Succuir* 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 *Succuir* 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 *Hadſchi 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 1294 to 1307, 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 Perſian and Bukharian 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 *Mim*, which had expelled the Moguls out of China. Probably at that time *Tſchi-tſong*, or *Kiat Sing* 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 *Hadſchi Mehemet* calls him *Daimir-Khan*, I confeſs I cannot in the leaſt comprehend.

The town of *Succuir*, in the province of *Tanguth*, 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 *(Saſſoſe Montagne,)* on which there are a great many ſprings, and foreſts conſiſting of different kinds of high trees. The ſoil, however, is of a red (roſſo) colour, and almoſt always boggy, on account of the great quantity of rain that falls, and of the 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 mammole)* 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 cheſnut-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 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 ſun-beams 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, ſpungy, 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 ſoldi) 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

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 *Tſchiai Tſchin* (Chineſe tea) which grows chiefly in the province called *Katſchianfu*. 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 head-achs, 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, *Mehemet Hadſchi* 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 therein,

* 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 *Kiſillaſch* (or Redheads).

even

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 journies, conſiſting of eight *farſengs* (paraſangs) 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 (Kampition, Kampicion, or Kantſcheu, in the province of Schenſi, on the river Etziné-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 waggons 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 ſable 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* * (according to Marco Polo, Suckur). From Succuir you

* 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 *Souck*, or *Suik*, on the river *Suck*, which diſcharges itſelf into the river Pegu, to the northward of Tibet, and to the ſouthward of *Kokonor*: 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 *Sobuk*, *Subuk*, or *Sukuk*, into which the 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*.

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 *Turfon* (Turfan) it is 13 days journey. From *Turfon* they went through three towns, the firſt of which, named *Chialis* (Goez calls it Chalis, it is alſo called Cialis) is 10 days journey from thence; the ſecond is called *Chuchi* (according Goez, Kuſcha) at the diſtance of 10 days more; and, laſtly, *Acſu* (Akſu, the white river) 20 days journey farther on. From *Acſu* to *Caſcar* (Chaſcar, Caſſar, Kaſchar, Haſicar) it is 20 days journey through a horrid deſart, but till then they had paſſed through inhabited regions. From *Caſcar* it is 25 days journey to *Samarkand*; from Samarkand to *Bochara* (Bokkara) in *Coraſſam* (Khoraſan) five; and from Bochara to *Eri* (Heri, Herat) 20 days journey. From *Eri* to *Veremi* (*Varami* to the ſouth-eaſt of Kaſbin, in Irakadſchemi) one may travel in 15 days; from thence to *Caſibin* (Kaſbin) it is ſix; from *Caſibin* to *Soltania* (Sultania) four; and, finally, from *Soltania* to *Tauris* (Tevris, Tebriz) which is a large town, it is ſix days journey.

From this circumſtantial relation of *Hadſchi Mehemet* 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 ſtratum 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 Sileſia; as likewiſe in Upper Sileſia. 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, and that the proper methods of cleanſing and drying it be purſued. Perhaps the information here given may ſerve to promote the culture of Rhubarb in Europe,

rope, 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 170 the reader will find, in the narratives of *Ruyſbroek* and *Joſaphat Barbaro*, an account of ſome Goths in the Crimea, who ſpoke a language reſembling the German. This has been confirmed by *Buſbeck* 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 feſtal *Programma*, explained and illuſtrated a feſtival celebrity of the Court of Byzantium, called ΤΟ ΓΟΤΘΙΚΟΝ. 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 (οικειον μελος) accompanied by the Pandure. Upon this, Conſtantine Porphyrogeneta, in his Book *de Ceremoniis aulæ Byzantinæ*, p. 223, cites ſome foreign ſounding words, which, in all probability, conſtituted part of the οικειον μελος. At page 224 and 225, there is added a Λεξικον των εν τω Γοτθικω αδυμενων (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 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 intitles it οικειον μελος, a domeſtic (i. e. a Gothic) ſong. Kodinus ſays, that in his time, at the Court of Byzantium, the Wæringers at Chriſtmas had paid their duty to the Emperor, and wiſhed him health and happineſs in their own, i. e. in the Engliſh, tongue (Ιγκλιϛι). Another party, viz. conſiſting of Wardariotians, likewiſe paid their compliments in their, viz. in the *Perſian* language (περϛιϛι). 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 Conſtantinople 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 Wæringians, Saracens, Perſians, Farganians, Chazarians, and other nations, as the late Profeſſor Reiſke 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 ſet about arranging and explaining them in the manner in which it appears probable that they were ſung by the two choruſſes.

γαυζας· βονας· βηκηδιας· αγια· γαυδεντες· ελκηϐονιδες· ενκερτυς· αγια· ϐονα· ωρα· τυτυ· ϐαυλες· βονα αμορε· επισκυαυλες· ιδεταλϐαλϐυς· νανα· δευς· δευς· ϛεϐακιϐα· νανα γυϐιλυς· γυϐελαρες νανα· τυ γεγδεμα· δε τυλϐελε· νικατω τυλδο· νανα· ιβερ· ιβεριεμ· τυ ιγγερυα· γεργερεθρω· νανα· σικαδιας· πρετυρες.

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

Γαυζας, is in my opinion Gothic, and tranſlated into Latin in the next word βονας. *Gods*, or *Goda*, in the Gothic language, is the German word *Gut*, 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 ζ; and conſequently it is properly tranſlated by *bonas* or *bonæ*.

βηκη, is alſo written ϐικη. The *week*, in the Anglo-Saxon, is called *weoc*, or *wic*, which comes from the Gothic word wik, a

* The word *Waurd* itſelf is in Engliſh *word*, in German *wort*; farther, the Gothic word *Daur* is in Engliſh *door*, and in German *Thor*; and *Dauds*, ſignifying dead in the Gothic, in Dutch is *dood*, and in German *todt*.

ſeries or order of things which return in conſtant rotation: βικη therefore is *wike*, or week. The Latin correſponding with this, has only διας, or probably διες; and, in my opinion, Z ſhould be prefixed to this latter word; ſo that *wike* is tranſlated by ſeptem dies.

αγιαγαυδενſες ſhould be read thus, αιγονγαυδεν τεγ or ταγ, and ſignifies *ſpecial good days*, ελεκτη ζονι διες. *Electi boni dies.*

ενκερτυς. In the Gothic language, as well as in the Engliſh and modern German, the ſyllable *un*, prefixed to a word, imparts to it a ſignification contrary to that which it otherwiſe bears: e. g. *unable*, *unfeeling* in our own language, and in the Gothic we have *unagein*, without fear; *unbairands*, unfruitful; *unbarnahs*, childleſs; *unbrukja*, uſeleſs; *ungalaubjands*, unbelieving, &c. and, in the preſent caſe, *unkauridas*, ενκορτας, *without trouble or ſorrow*, *happily*, *in good time*. ζονα ωρα, *bona hora*.—N. B. The αγια put here after ενκερſυς is not to be found in the firſt interpreter, and is probably redundant.

τητε ζαντες ſhould perhaps be ΓΟΔΑ ΒΑΝΣΤΑΝΣ, *Goda banſtans*, or *banſtins*, good crops, or barns; *bona horrea*, βονα ωρρεα inſtead of ζονα αμορε.

ſπισκυαντες. The Latin words immediately following this, viz. ιδε σαλβατες, which Profeſſor Semmler very properly reads, *vide Salvatos*, muſt be uſed here for the purpoſe of aſcertaining the Gothic; and though it requires a conſiderable change in the letters, we cannot read otherwiſe in the Gothic than ſαικ, *ſee*, *vide*; as the Greeks could not expreſs the Gothic *q.* or *qu*, otherwiſe than by their κ, and after ſαικ, λαυσιτς, or λαυσιτες; which together make ſαικ λαυσιτες, *behold the ſaved*, βιδε σαλζατες.

γανα

ναναα δεους. I explain this firſt by the ſubſequent Latin, which here, indeed, is δεες σεβα, but ſhould doubtleſs have been written δεες σερβα, Deus ſerva, *God ſave*, or *preſerve*. Now this in the Gothic might be, Fανα Λαυσει, *Fana lauſei*; as the copyiſt probably not well knowing what to make of the ancient digamma, took it for an N; and the Λ in Λαυσει is eaſily miſtaken for a Δ. But Fana lauſei ſignifies *Lord* or *God preſerve*.

κιβα ναναα. In the expreſſion δευμονογυγγυ immediately following, Profeſſor Semmler thinks he deſcries the word *Domino*, or rather as it appears to me, *Dominum*; and the phraſe κιβα ναναα is probably the Gothic *quivaiz Fana*; which means the *Lord alive*. δομινον υιουν *Dominum vivum* (ſc. *Deus ſerva*).

βελε γυβιλες. The Latin following this ſhould be γυβε ιλαρες, jube hilares; conſequently the Gothic might poſſibly be written βιλια γυβιλονς, 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

time the Goths in the Crimea were no longer much known. Theſe people, however, have continued 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.

BOOK III.

OF THE DISCOVERIES MADE IN THE NORTH IN MODERN TIMES.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

THE ſtate of improvement in which Europe was with reſpect to knowledge and general information, the extenſion of commerce, the liberty beſtowed on bondſmen 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 Mauritanian Arabs from entering into

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any confederacy with thoſe that ſtill remained in Spain, and thus cauſing freſh diſturbances, the Portugueſe went over to the coaſt of Mauritania, 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 Gonſalez 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 weather was fair; and, ſailing 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 *Gonſalo 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 occaſion 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 ſtocked with cattle.

At this period it was that *Antonio Gonſalez* 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

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. Miguiel* (or St. Michael) one of the *Azores*. *Lanzorote* took a great number of priſoners on the coaſt of *Africa*, and *Cadamoſto* made the diſcovery of the river *Gambra*. 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 *Capo Verde*, and alſo the *Capo Verde Iſlands*, which lay over-againſt it. Between that period and the year 1449, the reſt of the *Azores*, *St. George*, *Gracioſa*, *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 Von Hurter*, by the Portugueſe called *Jos: de Utra*, and *Hura*, 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 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 encreaſed there. In the year 1472 ſome attempts were made likewiſe to people the *Capo Verde* iſlands; and the year before the iſlands of *San Tomaſſo*, *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 Arabians *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 Cam*, or *Jacob de Cano*, and *Martin Behaim*, from Nuremburg, 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 *Jobſt 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 Eu-

* *Leo Afric.* p. 369. Ed. Elzevir, 160.

rope.

rope. 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 Portuguſe continued exploring the whole of this coaſt with great diligence and attention. *Bartholomeo Diaz*, with three ſhips, ſailed farther to the ſouthward than any of his predeceſſors, and at length got ſo far that, in 1486, he deſcried the ſouthernmoſt promontory of Africa, which, on account of the violent ſtorms that prevailed there, he called *Cabo de todos los Tormientos*; 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 van Dagora*, which latter aſſumed the name of *Silveira*, 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 Capo 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 enterprizing 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 expence, 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 the them 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 *Ternaubel*, near *Sagre*, in *Algarva*, in geography, navigation, and in the art of laying down charts and maps, by a very ſkilful mathematician of *Maljorca*, 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 Covillam*, 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 *Calſadiſſa*, 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 *Kathay*, or North China, and to *Cipangu*, or Japan; hence, too, we find drawn upon this globe

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the *Greater* and *Leſſer Java*, and the iſlands of *Kandyn* 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 ſuppoſed to be India. A Genoeſe, *Chriſtopho 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 Mniz Pereſtrella*, the daughter of *Bartholomeo Pereſtrello*, who had been one of the firſt that contributed to ſettle *Porto Santo* and *Madeira*. It was impoſſible for him to have been ignorant of the important diſcoveries which the Portugueſe 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 *Cipangu* (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 *Roderic* and *Joſeph*, all of whom looked upon the opinion commonly entertained concerning the ſituation of Marco Polo's Iſland of *Cipangu*, 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 ſollicited 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 enterprizes, 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 ſtaid, 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 ſollicitations of two of her courtiers, men of enlarged views and unprejudied 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 inconteſtible 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 Colom*,

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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*, ſailing round the Cape *de todos los Tormientos* (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 Alvarez Cabral* ſailed 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 *Braſil*.

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 Nunnez de Balbao* 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 Spaniards, a nation which

* Abulfeda Tab. XVI. exhibens Inſulas maris Orientalis. *Lameri* eſt matrix ligni Braſilli & cannæ Indicæ.

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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 encreaſing 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 tracks

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 ordo.——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 poſſeſſed 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, miſtruſtful, and œco-

nomical 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 Cabota*, or *Cabot*, who had three ſons with him, *Lewis*, *Sebaſtian*, and *Sanches*. *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 enterprizes; 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 ſix ſhips, of 200 tuns burthen and under, on new diſcoveries. He did not ſail, 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 expence; but the merchants of Briſtol ſent with him three or four ſmall veſſels laden with coarſe cloth, caps, and other trifling wares. He ſailed 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 ſailing, on the

24th

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 trended 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 67½ 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 new-diſcovered land alſo *Baccalaos*, from the circumſtance of his having found there an immenſe quantity of large fiſhes, which the inhabitants called *Baccalaos*. This word *Baccalaos* is by the inhabitants pronounced with the Spaniſh double *ll*, *Baccaljaos*, whence the Germans and Dutch have taken their term of *Kabbéljau*, bearing the ſame ſignification. 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 ſtags and white bears, which uſed to catch the Baccalaos fiſh 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 ſailed 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 *Cheſapeak Bay* in *Virginia*. 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 Braſil, 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 ann. ſterling; 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 enterprize 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 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, 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 *Ohther*: going farther on, they arrived at *Roſt*, where *Quirini* had wintered, and proceeding farther ſtill, at *Laſot* and *Seynam* (Senju). Directly after this, the *Edward Bonaventura*, 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 ſhallow-

neſs

neſs of the water. He ſuppoſed it to be 160 leagues 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 at 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 *Swjætoi-Noſs*. For, that *Willoughby* ſaw Spitzbergen, is not at all probable; though *Wood* aſſerts 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 Waſſielewitſch*. 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

merchants of the Hanſe-towns took great advantages over them in matters of commerce. It could not therefore but have been very agreeable to *Ivan Waſſielewitch* 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* ſold 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 Waſſielewitſch*, 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 Waſſielewitſch*, 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 Sebaſtian Cabot. Their Majeſties wrote likewiſe a letter to the Grand Duke *Ivan Walſſielewitſch*, and empowered *Richard Chancellor*, *George Killingworth*, 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 Waſſielewitſch*, and having obtained from him a grant, with very extenſive privileges, diſpoſed very profitably of their cargo at *Kolmogori*, *Wologda*, *Moſcow*, and *Great Nowgorod*. 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 mean time intelligence had been received concerning the two ſhips loſt on the firſt voyage, and the *Bona Eſperanza*, as well as the *Bona Confidentia*, ſet out alſo on their return home with rich cargoes. The Grand Duke, Ivan Waſſielowitſch, 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 *Oſep* (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 merchandize, 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 audience, 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 Cabot* 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 81. *Burrough* went to the coaſt of Norway, ſaw *Lafot* and the *North Cape*, which latter he had named thus on his

firſt

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 *Kanyn-Noſs*, or *Kanda-Noſs*. 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 *Morſchiowez* (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 *Colgoive* (*Kolgow oſtrow*). After this he came to *Swetinotz* (Swjætoi Noſs); from whence he ſoon arrived in the dangerous mouth of the *Petſchora*. 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 *Colmogori*; though the Ruſſians ſaid much to him in favour of the mouth of the river *Ob*, and concerning the great quantities of morſes, (or ſea-horſes), to be met with

* *Waygats*, 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 a ſtrait, and is called *waaigat*, 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 *Loſhak*, 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 ſtraits, in conſequence of which he called it *Afgoeden-hoek*, *the Cape of Idols*. Now, in the Sclavonian tongue, *Wajat* means to carve, to make an image. *Wajati-Noſs* 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 *Wajatelſtwoi Proliw*, the Image Straits.

there. In *Nova Zembla* they ſaw not a human being, but caught a great number of birds, and ſaw ſome white foxes and white bears. On the main land were the *Samojedes*, a heathen nation, who, living in the neighbourhood of the river Petſchora, 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 Forbiſher* 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 a-ſhore 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, *(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*

biſher was again Commander 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 ſailing 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 buſkins 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*.

The

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 peaſe, 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 ſounds, 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

* Works of the Society at Drontheim, Vol. III. page 13, 28.

ſea.

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 inſupportable.

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 reſiſt 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 the Europeans had the laudable intention

of

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 rapaciouſneſs 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.

All

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 preſerved 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 œconomy 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 *Kathai* (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*, *Beſt*, 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, goldrefiners, 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. 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 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 ſhock 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. Frobiſher was of opinion that the cauſe of this current was that the ſea flowing conſtantly from the Bay of Mexico towards Ireland 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 *Frobiſher's Straits*, and round the *Queen's Foreland*, which was an iſland, again into thoſe Straits, which he had before miſtaken for *Frobiſher'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 vallies 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 Beſt, 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 the *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 Buſſe *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 ſailed 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 addreſſed 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 aſſerted 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 ſound 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 expence 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* ſhewed, in 1776, that when Fahrenheit's thermometer is at 27½ 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 that ſome ice mountains may be produced in the ſpring from the ſnow and torrents of freſh rain-water; 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 theſe 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-eaſtward 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

northwards 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 Streights of *Le Maire*, we obſerved a ſtrong current coming from the eaſt, which we alſo took notice of even near *Staaten 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 *Aedelſiors* 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.

It

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 Buſſe *Bridgwater* really, and *bona fide*, found a land overgrown with woods and graſs 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 conſequence 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 30th of May, and after

ſome

ſome time reached the *North 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 ſailed 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 ſounded, they ſoon came to ground; that is to ſay, they had from 4 to 33, 68, 70, and 95 fathoms. Not far from *Colgoyeve*, or *Kolgow*, they ran upon a ſand-bank. They ſaw the land *Hugri* (or Jugria on the banks of the Petſchora) and the Bay of *Morzowetz*. 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

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 Aſhhurſt*, 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 cotemporaries, 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 vobiſcum*, 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 gulph, 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 *Arambec*. 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 Briton*, 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 *Baccallaos*, and afterwards ſailed along the coaſt of America as far

as *Cheſapeak Bay*. With regard 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 proviſion decreaſed, ſo that they were neceſſitated to eat ſome fiſh which an oſprey 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 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 feaſting; and when he was informed of it, went, it ſeem, 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 tuns burthen. Moreover, there came about 50 Portugueſe ſhips to fiſh for cod, and their ſhips might carry about 3000 tuns. Finally, there came alſo from France, and that chiefly from Britanny, 150 ſhips, carrying all together about 7000 tuns. 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 *Humphrey 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

a royal ſquadron; but juſt as they were ready for ſailing, 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 ſtocking 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 *Cauſon* (Cauſand) *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 ſtock of fowls. After this, they repaired to the Iſland of *Baccalaos*, 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 there on

* 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*.

account

account of the cod-fiſhery. Sir *Humphrey 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 *Sablon* (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 any thing equal to it elſewhere. In the bays and rivers there were ſalmons and trouts, and in every part of the ſea bonitos, turbots 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 ſtake 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 chuſe to have this

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 a ſhore, 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 expence. 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, who ſeized all the Portugueſe ſhips,

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 *Sablon* 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 of wild oxen, hogs, and fowls on the iſle of *Ti-*

nian; 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 theſe 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 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 wiſhed-for paſſage. After four days ſailing, they again ſaw land on the 29th of July, in 64 deg. 15 min. N. lat. in

which

which land they found many convenient harbours and deep ſounds, one of which they named *Gilbert's Sound*. They went on ſhore, and ſaw ſome of the inhabitants, cloathed in ſeal 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 promiſed 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 *Moſcovy glaſs (Mica membranacea Linnæi)* as alſo 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 purſued his courſe 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 ſound 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 Walſingham*, after the then Secretary of State, Sir *Francis Walſingham*. Here they met with four white bears, three of which they killed, and the next day they diſpatched another enormouſly large one, the paws of which meaſured 14 inches in breadth. On the 8th of Auguſt, *Davis* ſailed 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 ſailed round it, he found a large ſtrait, 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 laſt the paſſage. He ſailed up the ſtraits 60 leagues, and in the middle of them found many iſlands, and an open paſſage on both ſides. In making this reſearch, he divided his ſhips, ſo that one of them was to explore the north 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 buſhy tails, one of which animals had a collar about its neck. Two ſledges, 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 ſounds 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 ſix 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 were alſo extended as far as this

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 ſhew him to have been an honeſt, and, at the ſame time, enterprizing 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 good-will 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 aſſertion 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,

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 tranſparency 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 kinds 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 *Statenhoek* 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

ſtealing from the Europeans, even before 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 theſts 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 grous) Barbary hens (meaning the *Tetrao Canadenſis*, or ſpotted grous) Partridges (viz. the *Tetrao togatus*, or ſhoulderknot grous) Wild-geeſe, ducks, blackbirds, jays, (meaning the *Corvus Canadenſis*, or cinereous grous) 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 fiſhers 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, ſlipt their cables, and bore up to the ſhore; but the miſchief was already

ready 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, the 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 begining 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 *(Raia 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 ſtrait 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 *Deſolation*, 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 ren-

dezvous; but *Davis* had ſet ſail from thence 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 Thames, 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 *Good 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 *Nantucktuht*. 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 *Eywucktoke*. From whence they ſoon haſtened eaſtward for England. The voyage of the other ſhips is full as indeterminate. However the firſt part of

Iceland

Iceland they met with ſhould ſeem to have been ſomewhere about *Bardeſtrandſyſſel*, in the *Weſtfildinga Fiordung*, perhaps in *Patrickfiord* 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 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 enterprizing 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 peaee; their attacking the Engliſh with ſlings 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 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 deſtined to the purpoſe of making diſcoveries, the two others being intended for fiſhing. Leaving *Dartmouth* on the 19th of May, they ſailed ſtrait 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 fiſhery 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. as alſo N. W. by N. 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 *Cortinous*. 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 Linnæi) 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 ſail any farther to that point of the compaſs; however, *Davis* called point of land *Hope Sanderſon*, after Mr. *William Sanderſon*, who con-

tributed the largeſt ſhare in fitting out the ſhip for the diſcovery, and then ſhaped his courſe to the weſt. After ſailing 40 leages, 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 waſted 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 paſſed 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 were come, 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,

like

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 had nothing but fogs and calms for ſeveral days, they came at length to an iſland, which Davis, after Lord *Darcy*, named *Darcy*'s *Iſland*. On the top of it they found ſome animals of the ſtag 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 fiſh here, and to wait for him till the end of Auguſt, their veſſel ſtruck upon a rock and ſprang 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 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 to 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's being extremely hot in 72 and 66 deg. N. lat. The cauſe of this great heat can therefore 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 adviſeable 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 of the

* *Obſervations made during a Voyage round the World.*

other

other veſſels; but he with great magnanimity refuſed it, and reſolved at at all events to keep his poſt. However he took this opportunity of writing by the other ſhips to England. In his letter he aſſured 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 62 deg. 30 min. N. lat. This declaration from a man of ſuch extenſive knowledge in navigation, and who had 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 Turky Merchants reſolved, therefore, to have this paſſage ſought for at their joint expence; 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 ſtrait 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 aſunder 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 that a whirlwind carried the ſea-water to an extraordinary height in the air. He had ſailed 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 Turky 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 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 ſailed along the coaſt of the continent to the northward of China): or elſe, in caſe they ſailed 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 *Kamtſchaka*, 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. † 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 the iſlands of ice, upon the enormous maſſes 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 intire 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 maſſes 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 either 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 by the leaſt

leaſt puff of wind, and fall on the heads of the ſailors; when the ſails 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. N. 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

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 ſhe 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 begun alſo to ſet up the ſloop, 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,

brother, to the upper part of the iſland. The two men that 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 ſloop, 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 ſloop, and at length, with their leaky ſhip and the ſloop, 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, baſting it with oakum, applied it on the outſide 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

death of this deſerving man. It was probable the former cruelties 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 ſet 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,

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 ſlags; for they contained no metal, but reſembled Glacies Mariæ, or Moſcovy talk.

As they could neither find any minerals, nor induce the inhabitants to carry on any further trade, they left *Rummels-Ford* (Rommels-Fiord) in 67 deg. N. lat. where the needle varied 24 deg. 16 min. and arrived the ſame day at *King's Foord* (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 *Baals Rivier* they ſaw a little grove of trees not

more 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 Sphondylium*, or cow's parſnep; 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, ſalmons, 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, *Ilyout*; 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 ſtedfaſtly 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 ſailed, too, a ſecond time, in 1601, to the Eaſt-Indies, as Commander of a fleet belonging to the

* David Crantz's Hiſtory of Greenland, Part I. Book IV. Chap. 5. § 35.

newly-eſtabliſhed 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 unwearied aſſiduity, 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. 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 the vicinity

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, contract 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 ſailed thither on the whale fiſhery, were Engliſhmen. 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 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. Hudſon, 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 enterprize.

XVII. Hudſon having in vain ſought for this paſſage directly by the north, the members of the Society at whoſe expence and under whoſe direction the firſt voyage had been undertaken, reſolved to make another attempt the very next year, and *Hudſon* 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 Hudſon ſailed by this route. The reſult not anſwering his expectation, he ſailed 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 find, on the furthermoſt 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

poſſible haſte to ſearch for this 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 ſailed to the N. N. W. and in about 80 deg. 11 min. N. lat. again diſcovered land, which proved an extenſive country. They ſailed 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 expence, which in 74 deg. 55 min. N. lat. diſcovered an iſland, on which a tooth of the ſea-horſe (Trichechus Roſmarus) was found, as alſo lead ore. This iſland the ſailors called *Cherry Iſland*, in honour of Sir *Francis Cherry*, and alſo took poſſeſſion of

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. *Welden*, 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 ſailed 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 *Peſzi*, 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 hogſhead. 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 ſtaid 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 hogſheads 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 *Vogel-hoek*. 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 here, he judged that a paſſage was as likely to be found in this place as any where 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 expence 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 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, graſs, 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 centinel, 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 Ruſſia 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 ſtaid in *Croſsroad*, off Spitzbergen, till the 16th of June, on account of the ice and the badneſs of the weather. After this he ſailed 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 ſtood 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 Ruſſians 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 chace 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

* See alſo on this ſubject Georgi's Edition of Brunnich's Mineralogy, pag. 201.

farther

farther ſtill, was 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 alledged 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 diſſentions 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 every where ſur-

rounded with ice. On the 9th he was off Frobiſher's Straits. On the 15th he deſcried the Land of *Deſolation* in 59 deg. 27 min. N. lat. He ſailed 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 ſailing to the weſtward in 62 deg. 19 min. But now he plyed 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 champaign land covered with ſnow, and named it *Deſire provoked.* He continued ſtill plying 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 paſſed 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 plyed 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 ſailed 14 leagues farther W. S. W. and at about midway found the ſea full of whirlpools and currents.

currents. Having ſailed ſeven leagues 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 ſailed 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 Hudſon'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 Hudſon was near the *Land of Deſolation*, 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 Hudſon 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 drift-wood lying aſhore here. Then they came again amongſt 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

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 Wolſtenholm*. 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 loſt the anchor, but fortunately ſaved the cable. In the dark they ran a-ground upon a rock.

a rock. The tide carried them however off from it again without their having received any damage; and after ſailing to and fro for a long time, Hudſon 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 out a fit place, they ſecured the ſhip by running her aground, and here ſhe was frozen in, ten days afterwards. Hudſon 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 Diggs*, where the ſea-fowl bred. In the mean time he propoſed rewards to thoſe that killed either beaſt, fiſh, or fowl. In the middle of November died the gunner, in conſequence, as it is here inſinuated, of the hard and unkind treatment he had met with from Hudſon. Hudſon 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, Hudſon 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 ſailor, and in Iceland he had ſeverely beat the ſhip's ſurgeon. Hudſon had, however, always taken his part. Now the ſeaſon being far advanced, and the ground covered with ice and ſnow, Hudſon 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 Hudſon had not given orders for the building of the houſe till the ſnow and froſt had ſet in. In the courſe of this quarrel,

Hudſon was ſo much provoked as to beat the carpenter; and this latter now being about tobegin 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 grous, 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 moſs, 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 diet 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

in America) the *buds* of the *ſpruce fir (Pinus Mariana & Pinus Canadenſis)* 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 Hudſon had, with tears in his eyes, diſtributed all the remaining proviſions in equal ſhares. Immediately after the departure of the ſhip, *Green*, together with ſome others, and in particular *Wilſon*, *Michael Pierce*, and the diſcarded mate, *Ivet*, 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 ſloop, to whom they only gave one gun, ſome ſpears, with a very ſmall ſtock of proviſions, and then abandoned them to their fate, with a want of feeling hardly to be equalled. Thoſe who remained in the ſhip ſailed along the eaſtern coaſt. They landed often, and not being able to catch any fiſh, they gathered a herb they called *Cockle-graſs* (which it may be preſumed was a kind of *tang*, or rock-weed, perhaps the *Fucus 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 *Bylot*

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 encreaſing, 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 Ivet* died. They had put their laſt fowl in the ſteeping-tub, and were at the end of their proviſions, 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 poſſeſſed by ingratitude of a blacker die, than that of the infamous villain *Green*. Hudſon had ſaved 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 miſdemeanors; notwithſtanding which, this outcaſt of ſociety had the wickedneſs 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, dwelt; 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; 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 expence 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 *Eſkimaux* 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; and is only inſerted here to be contradicted. [E. T.

Hudſon

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, *ſorrel*, 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-ſorrel *(Oxalis)* pepperwort *(Lepidium oleraceum & piſcidium)* and a new ſpecies of ladies-ſmock *(Cardamine ſarmentoſa)*; and at New Zealand and Tierra del Fuego, a ſpecies of wall-creſſe *(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 plants 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 is it 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 ſoil and ſituation are beſt adapted to the growth and encreaſe

creaſe of theſe 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 every where 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 intellective 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 kind 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 forecaſt in every thing, ſhould not have taken care to have preſerved 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 weſterly 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 created 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 Hubbart*, 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 Pricket*, 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 *Diggs's Iſland*, where they ſtaid 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 *Carey'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

* 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, theſe were likewiſe the names of the ſhips employed on that expedition.

land, which 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-grous. *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 wind and weather, the tides, &c. ſo that nobody could find leiſure from idleneſs and want of employment for ſuch dangerous aſſociations. 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 *Hubbart* to name this part in his map, *Hubbart*'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 ſailed, 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 grous 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. 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 58½ 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 *Gibbons*'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 *Moſſen 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 this Book.

as

as we could diſcern." On the 1ſt of Auguſt they ſailed from *Fair Haven* (a place ſituated between *Hakluyt*'s *Headland*, which is likewiſe called *Amſterdamer Iſland*, and the iſland of *Vogelſang*, 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 ſailed from *Cape Barren*, or *Vogelſang*, 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 the 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 *Fotherby* was again ſent out to the north, in the pinnace *Richard*, by the Ruſſia Company. He could not get farther this 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 comprized 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

Company ſeems 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 ſhip now entruſted to his care, with *Hudſon*, *Button*, and *Gibbons*. He had with him 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 *Fotherby*, 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 aſſert, 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. 264, 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 *fathom* 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 infers, *that it was* 140 *fathoms*, or 1680 *feet from the bottom*. Vid. Purchas's Pilgrims, Part III. p. 837.

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in ſnow-water; therefore ice in ſea-water may probably be only 1-10th 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 Iſles* (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 ſledges 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 ſea 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, the ſhallower it grew. This cape

was

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 *Diggs*'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 expence, were willing to ſet on foot one more. The gentlemen alluded to were Sir *Thomas Smith*, Sir *Dudley Diggs*, Mr. *John Wolſtenholme*, 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 *Graveſend* 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 ſailing 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 ſound, 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 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 ſailed 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 waſted 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 ſailed 20 leagues to the weſtward, without finding any more ice. On Midſummer-Day all the ſhip's tackling 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 foggy, 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 inlet he

* Theſe horns are very improperly called by the name they bear; for it is well known that the *narhwal*, 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.

named *Wolſtenholme*'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 ſouth-weſt 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 deg. 30 min. 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 deg. 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 ſail 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.

* The mariner's compaſs is divided into 32 different points, or winds. Now the whole compaſs comprizing 360 degrees, each of theſe 32 points or winds muſt amount to $11\frac{1}{4}$ degrees; conſequently five points are equal to $56\frac{1}{4}$ degrees.

He could have wiſhed 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 ſound, 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 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-graſs *(Cochlearia officinalis varietas Groenlandica)* ſorrel *(Rumex acetoſa)* and orpine *(Sedum acre)* in great quantity. They boiled the ſcurvy-graſs 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

probable that it is entirely loſt. The female Greenlanders on *Women's Iſlands* had black ſtreaks on their faces, raiſed above the ſurface of the ſkin, and the ſame kind of decoration has been obſerved to be uſed among the *Tunguſes* in Siberia, as alſo on ſome *Jakutes* *. The gradually decreaſe of the tide to the northward 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 chace 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 enterprizing 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.

* Vide *John Geo. Gmelin's* Travels to Siberia, Part I. page 79. Part II. page 208. Georgi's Travels, Vol. I. page 254.

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 expence 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 *James*, which took place in 1631; becauſe the ſame writer places it expreſsly before his own.

Hawkbridge ſailed 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 pinnace again, which had ſailed 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 ſouth-eaſt. 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 *Seahorſe Point*. On the 11th 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 ſtaid a few days

off

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 loſt her boat, and probably he haſtened home, for here the account breaks off.

This attempt of *Hawkbridge*'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 enterprize 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 Brigges*, 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 Brigges*'s death. In the mean time Capt. *Thomas James* had perſuaded many merchants in Briſtol to ſet on foot a voyage of diſcovery in the north, and theſe ſolicited Mr. *Brigges* 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, aftewards Sir *John Wolſtenholme*, was to be Treaſurer

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 20th 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: firſt, *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

lay a large ſtone, weighing at leaſt 5 or 6 tuns; 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 ſtrait 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 1ſt 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 ſtir 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, 6 feet long and of a black colour all over, excepting juſt at the tip. The ſame evening he ſaw 20

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 ſharpneſs 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, 1ſt, the minerals, by which poſſibly the needle was ſtrongly attracted (as for inſtance, it is in the iſle of Elba) 2d, 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 wiſe man, *There is nothing new under the ſun?*

ſide,

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 fiſhy 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 Henbanes, or petty Dancers, which were conſidered 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 *Carey's Swans Neſt*, where they chaced 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 ſea burſt impetuouſly 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 poſition.

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 not an oſtrich (probably it was a ſpecies of crane). Their dog purſued for a long time a reindeer, but the quarter-maſter, 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 off the main land, which he kept conſtantly in ſight, and before which there lay a great many ſmall rocks. On the 20th the maſter went on ſhore on a ſmall iſland, on which he found a conſiderable quantity of ſea-fowl (viz. black guillemots, the *Colymbus Grylle Linnæi)*. 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-graſs on board, from which *Fox* ordered the juice to be preſſed out, and mixed with a hogſhead 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*

* This is the conſtant complaint of all the Commanders of ſhips at ſea. The private men will never ſubmit to any innovation being made in their manner of living; and were they to be ever ſo ſick, will not make uſe of preſervative remedies. The infuſion of malt, ſour crout, together with the biſcuits made at the Cape with rye flour, and prepared with ſour leven, were held by our crew in abhorrence; and it was only with great difficulty, and after having ſeen the officers make uſe of all theſe means, and obſerved the benefits reſulting with regard to their health and preſervation againſt the ſcurvy, that they conſented to take them too. It was juſt the ſame when at *New Zealand* Capt. *Cook* ordered a kind of celery and creſſes to be boiled with the peaſe-ſoup;

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 Neljon*, at the mouth of which he ſaw ſeveral white whales. Here he ſet up his pinnace, and here he 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 they never grow tall, and are

ſoup; for many refuſed to eat it till they ſaw the Captain, the officers, and all the reſt of us 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 Fugo*, as alſo ſeals fleſh; but indeed, at length, from our example, the crew learned to eat almoſt any thing.

eaſily

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 take 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 choaked up with ice. To *Cape Henrietta Maria* *Fox* gave the name of *Wolſtenholme*'s *Ultimum 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 *Seahorſe Point*, and on the 15th ſaw *Mill Iſle*. The ſails 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 20th he ſaw another promontory, ſituated

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 merchants at Briſtol, in a ſtrong-built

* It would therefore be better to call this land *Fox's Iſland*, the extreme northern point of it having been diſcovered by him.

ſhip of 70 tuns burthen, named the *Maria*. *James* went up to London, and was preſented, by Sir *Thomas Roe*, to King *Charles* I. and like *Fox*, 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 10th they were off *Cape Deſolation*, from whence to the iſlands of *Reſolution* it is about 140 leagues. They ſaw a great many high mountains of ice: between the ice were many grampuſſes *(Delphinus Orca)*. The ſea looked black, the fog was continual, thick, and ſtinking. 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 endeavouring 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 purpoſely 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 caſe, or of the beſt means of ſaving himſelf in ſuch a ſituation. The want of experience with reſpect to this point expoſed him to inexpreſſible ſufferings between the ice, and to the moſt imminent danger of periſhing in it, together with his ſhip and crew. Having at length worked through Hudſon's Straits with incredible difficulty, he ſtood ſtrait on to the weſtern ſhore of Hudſon's Bay, where the veſſel ſtruck more than once on the rocks. He ſeldom got ſight of the land on account 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 *Wolſtenholme*'s *Ultimum Vale*. Then,

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 himſelf 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-houſe. 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 loſt, they ſet about building a ſmall pinnace, 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 reindeer, and ſome

arctic foxes. On the 31ſt of January the atmoſphere was ſo clear, that Capt. *James* 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

* 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 œconomy of our ſyſtem. Short-ſighted 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 poſſeſſes 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
temperat 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 increaſe 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 without foundation.

Heat

of February, that 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 eye-lids, 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 withinſide, 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 dwelling. 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

Heat and cold, as long as we do not judge of them by a certain unalterable ſtandard, are, with reſpect to the human body, mere relative ideas. Now the external air in the month of June being much warmer than it is in December, the coldneſs of the ſea-water muſt naturally have affected the bodies of the ſailors more ſenſibly in June than in December; to this we may add, that in the ſpring Capt. James's people were almoſt entirely debilitated by cold, fatigues, and ſcorbutic complaints, which was not yet the caſe in December, juſt in the beginning of the winter.

into one lump. When afterwards 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 ſmoak; that which was dry, on the contrary, was full of turpentine, and produced ſo much ſoot, 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, they could never ſee

from

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 likewiſe 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 before, 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 diſorders 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 dreſſed for the ſick. During the whole month of May the north winds chiefly prevailed. On the four firſt days of June they had much ſnow, ſleet, 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

newly-waſhed 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 ſound and well, and their teeth were no longer looſe, 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 *(Culex 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 2d of July they ſet ſail again. At *Cape Henrietta Maria* they met with ſome ſtags, 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 the ſeaſon for making

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 ſtraits; 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. 2d. *Fox* found

many whales near *Brook Cobham* Iſland (Marble Iſle) 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 eaſtward, 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 Groſelie*, or *De Groſſeliers*, an enterprizing man, and who had travelled very much in thoſe parts, had happened to come with the Canadian ſavages into the land of *Outauoas* (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 *Pinaſſiwet 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 ſportſmen, 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 ſix 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. *Groſeiller* afterwards explored the whole diſtrict, and returned with his brother-in-law, *Ratiſſon*, 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, *Ratiſſon*, 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. *Montague*, who was afterwards created Duke of *Montague* (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 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 ſtood 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 ſtiled 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 their undertakings, ſuch diſco-

veries 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 facto-

ries 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 ſum which conſtitutes the original funds of this Company, amounts to 10,500l. 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 entitled 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, braſs 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, vermilion, 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 5250l. per cent. But from this we muſt deduct the duties, the expence of fitting out the ſhips, the pay of the officers and ſailors, 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.

Bay. 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 ſanctity 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 increaſe the manufacturing buſineſs, and would provide for a conſiderable number of poor, and give them employment and maintenance. 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 intenſely 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 merchandize 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 huntſman 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; or elſe he ſinges 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 merchandize 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 thus wantonly and without occaſion. Conſequently, by making more new ſettlements of Europeans in the country, the quantity of merchandize 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 encreaſe 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 ſeals, 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 excellent 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 ſtaves in abundance, an article which at preſent begins to be ſcarce almoſt every where,

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 dock-yards would be ſupplied with ſtores of good ſhip-timber and maſts at a much cheaper rate than they at are 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 Peeps*, Capt. *Herbert*, Mr. *Dupey*, and Mr. *Hoopgood*, bought a pink 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,

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 *(Balæna 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. Eaſt. On the 26th of June they ſaw two 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 overſetting 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. *Flawes*'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*

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, ſalter 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 Hoek*, or *Comfort Corner*, 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 *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 expence, 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 alledged 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 ſeas, 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 ſeas and coaſts,

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 ſloop, for the purpoſe of making diſcoveries. According to Ellis's account, this happened in 1719. On the contrary, *Drage*, the clerk of the *California*, aſſerts 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 ſloop 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 ſloop 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 ſouthernmoſt 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 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 pre-ſuppoſed, 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 diſmiſſed, 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 *Piſtol*'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;

only to induce him to tack about, and 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 enterprizing 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

to create confuſion, is not very ſollicitous 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. *Scroggs*, 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 every thing 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

Swans Neſt, and to purſue the ſame 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 ſet the two *Eſkimaux* he had with him aſhore, 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 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 ſtick 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 diſcharge themſelves which ſtreams alſo come out of woody countries; the *Petſchora*, for inſtance, the *Ob*, the *Jeniſea*, the *Lena*, the *Chatanga*, the *Anabara*, the *Jena*, 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 ſea. What vaſt

quantities of wood the rivers of the American continent, in *King George's Sound*, *Sandwich Sound*, and *Turnagain River*, in the *Cheuweren*, 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 aſſerts, 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

Baffin's *Bay*, *Davis*'s *Straits*, and *Hudſon*'s *Bay*, ſets 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 opake, 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 opake ice, till the winds drove the flakes over each other, and thus formed a maſs, compoſed of alternate layers of tranſparent and opake 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 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 thunder-ſtorms.

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 *Eſkimaux*, 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 *Bowden's Inlet*, after the ſecond pilot, mate of the California; but others named it *Cheſterfield's Inlet*. In *Wager Water* they ſailed in boats quite to the end of it, where it terminates in rivers and in a freſh-water lake,

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ſo that there is certainly no paſſage to be expected in that water. The Eſkimaux ſold them freſh buffaloes fleſh (probably fleſh of the *muſk ox* of theſe parts, a kind of baſtard ox, not mentioned by Linnæus) 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 ſailed 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-Taheite* 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-Taheite*, 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 ſailing 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 ſouth-

ern 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 ſailed *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 choaked up with ice, his Britannic Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to gratify the wiſhes of the Royal Society, by ſending two ſhips out in 1773, for the purpoſe of exploring the Frozen Sea near *Spitzbergen*. The one was called the Race-horſe, commanded by Capt. *Conſtantine John Phipps*, 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 ſounded with a very heavy lead the depth of 780 fathoms, without getting ground. At this depth Farenheit's thermometer was at 26 deg. and in open air at 48½ 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 Spitſbergen, in 78 deg. 22 min. they found to be 1503 yards, or 4509 feet high. On a low Iſland oppoſite the *Waygats*, 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

were feeding along the ſhore. The middle of the iſland was covered with moſs, ſcurvy-graſs, and ſorrel, and a few ranunculuſes 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 immoveable 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, ſet 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*

mouth on the 1ſt 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 on to *O-Taheite*, 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-Taheite*, 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. lat. 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 extended far into the land. Farther to the weſtward he found another *ſound*, 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 *Oonalaſhka*, 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 *(Pleuronectes 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 encreaſe 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 *Tſchucktſchi*, 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 Deſchnew*, a Coſſack Chief (or *Kaſatſchia Golowa)* who in 1648 firſt went out of the *Kolyma* with two Siberian *Kotſchi* (a kind of ſhip) to the *Anadyr* and the *Olutora*, and conſequently was the firſt who ſailed through theſe ſtraits: or perhaps after the Geodæſiſt *Gwoſdef*, who, in 1730, ſailed between 65 and 66 deg. from the coaſt of the Tſchuckſchi to a foreign coaſt oppoſite to it. Nevertheleſs it would be ſtill more proper to make this ſtrait a

kind of monument to the very deſerving 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 deſerving 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 inſiſt 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 198 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 every where on a low deſart 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 *Oonalaſhka*, in *Providence Bay*, which the inhabitants call *Samganoodha*; 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 254lbs. 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 foremaſt 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 *Terreeoboo*, in order to perſuade him to go on board his ſhip, intending to keep him

* 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.

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 truly paternal 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 himſelf, 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 buſied in repairing the maſt, and others that were filling the water-caſks. Being prevented from filling their caſks by the throwing of ſtones and other acts of violence, 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 proviſions at the other iſlands, they ſailed at firſt for ſome time weſtward, and then ſtrait on to *Kamtſchatka*, where, on the 30th of April, they entered the harbour of *Awatſka*, 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 contrary. On the 15th they were ſurprized by the eruption 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 ſailed again through *Bering*'s *Straits*, and fell in 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 obſerved near Spitſbergen, 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*, 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 *Kamtſchatka*. 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 extravagancies 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 ſailed 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. On the

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 Pickerſgill* 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. *Pickerſgill* 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 *Pickerſgill*'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 *Pickerſgill*'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 was committed was

Michael

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 conſequently 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*. Diſſenſions 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 ſlipt, 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, dumdivers, &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 *Muſkito 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 behind

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 every where 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. II.

Of the Diſcoveries made in the North *by the* Dutch.

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. Conſequently 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 Kathay 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

ing for this paſſage. So that intereſt and the powerful 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. *Balthazar Moucheron*, a merchant of Middleburg, in Zealand, propoſed, that a new paſſage ſhould be attempted to *Kathay* 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 *Enkhuyzen* 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 Enkhuyzen the *Mercury*, and that from Amſterdam the *Boot*, or *Meſſenger*. The command of the firſt was given to *Cornelis Corneliſſon Nay*, who likewiſe was appointed Admiral on this expedition; *Brand Yſbrands*, or *Tetgales*, was Captain of the Enkhuyzen 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 Linſchoten* gave the relation of the adventures of the Zealand and Enkhuyzen 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 *Kilduyn*, in Finmark, or the Ruſſian Lapland. By the 29th *Barentz* had got under ſail, and it was agreed

that they ſhould meet again at *Kilduyn*, in caſe they did not ſee each other near *Waigatz*. At *Kilduyn* there is a good cod-fiſhery. The other ſhips ſet ſail on the 2d of July. On the 4th they were 26 leagues from *Kolgoy*, 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 chaced 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 *Swætoinoſs* to the *Petſchora* 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 *Waijats* 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 *Waijats* 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 Samojedes, 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

nations 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 *Tihhi*, or *Souls*; and alſo uſed to ſet victuals before them. The Dutch thought theſe images were Idols, and thence named the promontory on which they found them, *Afgoden hoek*, 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-noſs*, 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 *Koedeſnicks*, 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 *Koeſdeniks* 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 *Waigatz*, from *Loſchak*, 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

* The real *Waaigat Strait*, which is alſo called *Hinlopen*, is near Spitzbergen, and is ſituated between the real Spitzbergen and the eaſtert part of it (which is alſo called *New Frieſland*, and *Sudoſterland*).

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-Oſtrof* 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 *Wardhuys*, 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 *Langeneſs*, 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

Sudoſterland) and the iſland ca'led the *Nordoſterland*. This name has, in fact, been given to the ſtrait by Spitzbergen, on account of the violence with which the ſouth wind blows there; for *waaien*, means to blow violently, and *gat*, means a ſtrait, gap, or hole; conſequently it might be tranſlated, *windhole*. But the Ruſſian *Waijat* has another origin. Vide Note to page 273.

name.

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 *Admiralty Iſland*. In 75 deg. 20 min. N. lat. there was a promontory, which they called *Zwartenhoek* (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 croſſes, a circumſtance which occaſioned them to name it *Croſs Iſland*. A point of land in 76 deg. 30 min. they named *Cape Naſſau*. From thence they went on to *Trooſthoek* (Comfort Point) and *Yſhoek* (Icy Point) and to the *Orange Iſlands*. Here turning back again, they ſailed paſt all the before-named places, till they came to an iſland lying beyond *Langeneſs* 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 *Cruyſhoek* (Croſs Point). Then he came to an *inlet* named St. *Laurenz-hoek*, and 3 miles farther to another named *Schanſhoek* (or Fort Point). Proceeding ſtill farther, they diſcovered a fine ſafe harbour, where they

* 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 *Conſtint Sarch*, can hardly be ſupppoſed 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.

found

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 *Matſeoi* and *Dolgoy*, they ſaw the Zealand and Enkhuyſen ſhips which were juſt returned from *Waigatz*; and the people on board of which imagined, that *Barentz* had ſailed 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 Enkhuyzen, 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 Dolgoy Oſtrof). On the 19th they were oppoſite *Waigatz 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 *Twiſthoek*. 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

bad weather, they were by the 10th 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 expences 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 von 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 merchandize on board of her. On the 18th of May they ſailed out of the *Vlie*, and on the 22d ſaw the Shetland Iſlands and *Fayerhill*. On the 2d 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 *Waigatz 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 ſailed 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 ſailed 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 ſail 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 *Croſs-Iſland*, where they found two croſſes erected. They went up to the croſſes 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 *Trooſthoek*, about which there was a great quantity of ice. On the 19th they ſailed 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 ſledges 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 *Joppen 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 choaked 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 ſtock 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 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 the crew having eat 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 Andreiſs*, died on the 20th. They came often into great danger between the ice. They alſo loſt a conſiderable quantity of proviſions and merchandize; neverthelſs 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 noſs) and alſo got ſome proviſions from ſome Ruſſian veſſels, but were ſeparated from the ſmall boat by a ſtorm. In the mean time they ſailed 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,

Kola, two of which were juſt ready to ſail. They 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*, *Barentz*, 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 after 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 fiſh 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 *Hackluyt'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 ſome reindeer, caught and ate

ſeveral

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 Hackluyt's Headland) near Spitzbergen. That ſame year again ſeven more ſailors were left on the iſland, by their own conſent, but died of the ſcurvy 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 Yſe*, 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, 1634, from the harbour of the iſland of *Ternate*; theſe were the *Caſtricom*, commanded by Captain *Martin Herizoom van Vriez*; and the *Breſkes*, under the command of Capt. *Hendrick Cornelis Schaep*. 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 *Jeſo*. The *Breſkes* ſailed through the ſtrait between *Jeſo* 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. 36 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. 16 min. as alſo in long. 172 deg. 53 min. they had ſight of ſome high mountains. They alſo ſaw ſtill more land in lat. 47 deg. 8 min. and long. 173 deg. 53 min. We ſee from this relation, as well as from that of the *Caſtricom*, that the iſland Jeſſe contains, in fact, a quantity of iſlands, at preſent known to the Ruſſians under the name of the Kuriles. The Dutch imagined they had diſcovered in *Jeſo*, 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 *Acqueis*, which the Ruſſians call *Atkis*. The ſtrait between *Matmai* and Japan is about 60 werſts (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 *Teſſoi*, which ſeparates *Matmai* from the continent, and has alſo a ſtrong, rapid current. This country ſeems to have got the name of *Jeſo*, or *Eſo*, from the people who inhabit it. The Japaneſe call the Kuriles *Jeſo*, 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 *Caſtricom*, 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-oi* will anſwer to *Company Land*, and the ſtrait between *Urup* and *Tſchirpo-oi* will be the *Straits* of *Van Vriez*. 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 *Rachkoke*, or *Rakchotki*, the effects of which cauſed likewiſe a dreadful earthquake, and which occaſioned great ravages and devaſtations in the iſlands of *Ketoi*, *Schimuſchir*, *Tſchirpo-oi*, and *Urup*. Now, though we ſhould allow the authenticity of the accounts of the Dutch, who in the *Caſtricom* and *Breſkes*, 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 *Caſtricom* and the *Breſkes* 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 *Sewerenberge*; but there being not a ſufficient quantity ready to complete the full lading, the Captain finding the ſea quite open, ſailed ſtrait on to the northward, and at the diſtance of two degrees from it, went twice round it. This he uſed to relate publickly, 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 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 *Edges 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 wiſh 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

* *Edge*'s *Iſland* is probably one of the iſlands belonging to that group diſcovered by *Ryke Yſe*, Capt. *Thomas Edge*, who made 10 voyages to Greenland, diſcovered this iſland A. D. 1616; and in 1617, an iſland lying off *Spitſbergen*, was, after Mr. *Wyche*, called *Wyche*'s *Iſland*.

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. *Dirk Alberts Raven* had loſt his ſhip the *Spitſbergen*, in the ice near *Spitſbergen*, 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 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,

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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 ſailed, without ſeeing any ice at all, to the northward of the *Seven Iſlands*, a great way beyond the 81ſt deg. then he ſailed eaſtward, and at laſt ſouth-eaſtward, ſo that he always kept to the eaſt of Northeaſt-land, 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 *Miſcellanies*. 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 enterprizes 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 politicks which occupies itſelf only with trifling objects, thereby

neglecting 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 enterprizes 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 Portugueze, do not appear to have had ſo much effect on the French as to excite them to ſimilar enterprizes. A ſhadow of falſe grandeur had faſcinated her Kings and Nobles. The alluring baits which engroſſed

engroſſed her whole attention 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 every thing 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 intitled. 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 Braſil 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 ſurprizing 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 *Bacallaos*, 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 Britanny 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* ſailed with his pilot *Camart*, a native of *Rouen*, from *Honfleur* to Newfoundland. He is ſaid to have been the firſt who laid down and publiſhed a chart

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of the coaſt of this country. In 1508, a navigator, by name *Thomas Aubert* (according to *Ramuſio*, Vol. III. page 423, but *Prévot*, in his *Hiſtoire des Voyages*, calls him *Hubert*) went with a ſhip called the *Penſée*, from Dieppe to Newfoundland, and brought the firſt ſavage native from thence to Paris. The ſhip belonged to the Captain's Father, *Jean Ango*, Viſcount of Dieppe. But all theſe are rather looſe hints than regular accounts of the empires and places explored by the French; neither has any thing 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 preſerved to us, was *John Verazzani*, by birth a Florentine, who, in the ſervice of Francis the Firſt, ſet out with four ſhips on a cruize 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 Britany. He continued to cruize againſt the Spaniards with ſucceſs, and at length reſolved to undertake a voyage with the *Dauphin* 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 Portugueze *Ilhas Deſertas*; the Engliſh call them the *Deſerters*. They are ſituated to the eaſt of *Madeira*.

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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 ſtrait 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 cypreſs, 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 ſailed 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 north-eaſt 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 degree 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 ſtupified 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 careſſed 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 *Staaten Iſland*, or perhaps on Long-Iſland.—They now ſailed farther 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

three children of her 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 on a 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 $7\frac{1}{2}$ 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-

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 ſtrait on to France, whence he dated his letter 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 aſſures 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

* In an old map I have ſeen the land *de Nurumbega* laid down juſt where *Nova Scotia* is at preſent. At page 290 I freely confeſſed that I could not rightly comprehend the name of *Arambec*, 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 Nurumbega*, or *Norimbega*. Nevertheleſs 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 *Nuremberg* manufacture, and that thus, by the name given to the country, they meant to preſerve the memory of this fact.

on

ſet on foot by them. Spain employed *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 he ſailed

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, finding 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 ſet ſail again on the 15th of Auguſt, he arrived on the 5th of September at St. *Maloes*.

IV. *Cartier* gave an account of his voyage, and this induced the Vice-Admiral, *Charles de Mouy Sieur de Melleraye*, 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.

* This derivation of the name of *Canada* from the Spaniſh *Aca-nada*, having been ſo often recurred to, I cannot help ſtating ſome objections againſt it. The Spaniſh word for *here*, is not *aca*, but *aqui*; 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 *Ca: da Nada*, or *Promontorium Nihili*. But, from a *Canadian* vocabulary, annexed to the original edition of the ſecond voyage of *Jaques Cartier*, Paris, 1545, it appears, that an aſſemblage of houſes, or habitations, i. e. a *town*, was by the natives called *Canada*. *Cartier* ſays, *Ilz appellent une Ville———Canada*; and nothing ſeems more natural than that when the French aſked 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*.

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On the 26th of June they met together again at their general place of *rendezvous*, in the bay of *Newfoundland*. On the 1ſt 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 *Aſſomption* (or Aſſumption Iſland) but which by the ſavages was called *Natiſcotec*, 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 *Seguenay*. Then he ſailed farther, and named an iſland which he ſaw covered with hazel-trees, *Iſle 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

* One of the chief and ſtrongeſt objections that has been made againſt the opinion that *Newfoundland* was the *Winland* of the ancient *Normans* (vide page 83) is, that no vines grew there ſpontaneouſly: but *Cartier*'s *Bachus Iſland*, or the *Iſle 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 iſle 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.

groves

groves and foreſts, 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 *Donnacona*, 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 palliſadoes. 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 cloathing, 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-

* At preſent this place is no longer called *Hochelaga*, but *Montreal*. The firſt 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*.

tree

tree (*Pinus Canadenſis Linn.* 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 ſilly 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 ſlighted 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 *Bacallaos*. 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 Champaigne, and fitted out two ſhips at his own expence. *Cartier* was to go before as Captain, as he himſelf

could not be ready with his two ſhips ſo ſoon. *Cartier*, therefore, ſet ſail with five ſhips on the 23d of May, 1640. After meeting with many ſtorms, he landed at length in *Newfoundland*, in the harbour of *Carpon* (probabably *Quirpon*, or *Kirpon*, on the northern point of the iſland). *Roberval* not arriving, *Cartier* went ſtrait 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 ſowed different ſorts of garden ſeeds, ſuch as cabbage, navew, and lettuce, which immediately ſprung 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 chryſtal-ſtones, and even of gold-duſt. *Cartier* armed two boats with a deſign to go over the water-falls to *Saguenay*, 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 proviſions, 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 Britany.

* 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 *Charleſbourg*, about this ſpot.

VI. *Roberval*

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 1598, 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 *Iſle de Sable*, and ſtood 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 *Iſle de Sable*. In France many misfortunes befel 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 the *Iſle de Sable*, ſent *Chetodel* to bring them away. After ſeven years ſtay on this miſerrble iſland,

only 12 of them were alive, whom the King deſired to ſee, juſt as they were 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 *Otſchagah* (perhaps one of the *Otſchagras* nation) has ſaid of the paſſage from *Lake Superiour* into *Lake Bourbon*, 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 Geographiques et Phyſiques*, *Paris*, 4*to* 1753, mentions the voyage of a Captain *Frondad*, 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.

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 expence. Government has ſeldom given its ſupport to enterprizes 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 expence; 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 1492, by the immortal *Genoeſe, Chriſtopher Colom.* The important advantages which they reaped from this diſcovery,

very, 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 enterprizes. The great diſcoveries made by the Portugueze in Africa, the circumnavigation of the Cape of Good Hope in 1496, 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 endeavoured to extend its diſcoveries, and to profit by them as much as poſſible. Ships were ſent out every where on voyages of this nature. *Vincent le Blanc* aſſerts, 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 *Nevado*, 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.

I. 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 Portugueze, 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 *Tordeſillas*, 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*, *Bugey*, *Tunis*, and

and *Teleſin*; 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 Commiſſaries at *Badajoz* 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 enterprize could be brought to bear, the Emperor Charles V. in the year 1524, ſent *Eſtevan Gomez* from Corunna, to find out a paſſage to the Mollucca 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 Portugueze *Caſpar Cortereal*, to find a paſſage, and of his having already diſcovered a ſtrait, and named it *Anian*. In conſequence of this 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 *Cortez* 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 Vaſquez Coronado*, as alſo by ſea, under that of *Franciſco Alarçon*, for the purpoſe of finding out the ſtraits known by the name of *Anian*, and of exploring the coaſt to 53 deg. N. lat. *Alarçon* 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 *Io: de Laet*, *novus Orbis ſeu Americæ utriuſque Deſcriptio*; *Antwerp et Lugd. Bat. ap. Elzevir. fol.* 1633.

II. The news of *Alarçon*'s ill ſucceſs having reached Spain, orders were given for another expedition. *Juan Rodriguez de Cabrillo*, a Portugueze 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. Howewer, 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 Nadividad*, the whole

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 nobleman 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* coming 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 entreated him to obſerve a profound ſilence with reſpect 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 himſelf, viz. the King of Portugal. This *Urdanietta* was, in fact, no more than a Monk, but had an extraordinarily extenſive knowledge of mathematics and navigation; in conſequence of which he was employed on many voyages and expeditions, particularly on that undertaken to the Philippines in 1564, under the command 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 connected 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 ſetting from the north and "north-weſt, till I had ſailed above 700 leagues, and was at the diſ-"tance of 200 leagues only from the coaſt of New Spain (or California);

" and it was not till then that I loſt the currents and the hollow ſea.
" Whence I am firmly of opinion, and ſtedfaſtly believe, that a chan-
" nel 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, *Scomber Thynnus)* a great number of which are
" caught near Gibraltar in Spain; as alſo *Albacoras* (Scomber Hippos)
" and *Bonitos* (Scomber Pelamys); all which are fiſh that uſually haunt
" channels, ſtraits, and currents of the ſea*; and all theſe circum-
" ſtances, 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 *Cephalonia*, 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 Dowlaſs*, 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 Vice-

* 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 Maire*.

† Vide *de Couto Decad.* 10. *lib.* 5. *cap.* 3. and *Routier de Linſchoten, cap.* 54.

roy

roy of Mexico, as 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 *caravell* and pinnace, to diſcover theſe ſtraits. Now, having ſeen, between 47 and 48 deg. N. lat. that the land trended to the north and north-eaſt, 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, 166; and Purchas Pilgrims, Book IV. Part 3.

VI. The great atchievements 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 *Anian*, and encreaſed the uneaſineſs of the Spaniards, as the whole coaſt, from *Culhuacan* (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 Gallicia, and to *Port San Sebaſtian*, where they took in water, and inveſtigated the coaſt for more than 100 leagues to the northward. In one place they loſt 17 men, and were obliged, for want of proviſions, to return to New Spain.

VII. After this fruitleſs voyage, King Philip III. ordered his Vice-roy, *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 Mendocino*, 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

venient and ſecure harbour, affording 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; together with beautiful lakes, fine paſturage, and excellent land for ploughing. Here were bears and wild oxen of two different ſizes; the one as large as a buffalo, and the other of the ſize of a wolf, yet made like a ſtag, with a long neck and large horns like a ſtag's horns, and a tail of 3 feet long, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot broad. Their hoofs were cloven, like thoſe of our oxen.

Add to this, there were ſtags, rabbits, hares, wild cats, geeſe, ducks, pigeons, partridges, blackbirds, kites, and cranes in abundance; of various ſorts of muſcles there was great plenty, as alſo of lobſters; and beſides that, there were ſeals and whales. The harbour was ſurrounded by Indian habitations *(Rancherias)* the inhabitants of which were a well-made, good-natured people. This harbour they named *Monterey*, 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 returned to the coaſt of New Spain. The ſmall boat ſaw a promontory in lat. 43 deg. which they named *Capo Blanco*. Enſign *Martin Aguilar*, who commanded the boat, and the pilot *Florez*, 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 Monarquia Indiana*, 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 ſtraits*, 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 beginning of the year 1603.

VIII. Now we are coming to a very famous expedition which, if it was to be depended upon in every reſpect, would leave us not the leaſt

doubt

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, *Bartholomeo 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*, 4*to*. 1761. The author was *Theodore Swaine Drage*, the ſame 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 inſert the *Archipelagus of San Lazaro*, the *Rio de los Reyes*, the *Lago Bello*, the river *Parmentire*, the *Lago de Fuente*, the *Eſtrecho de Ronguiello*, the river *Haro*, the river *Bernardo*, the *Lago Velaſco*, and the peninſula of *Conibaſſet*; 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 far-

ther, to 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 much 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 ſailed 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 Bukarelli e 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 ſmalleſt 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 ſailed 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

San Carlos, commanded by *Don Miguel Maurrique*. The author of this relation was *Don Antonio Maurelle*, 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-Taheite*, 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 inſanity, 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 Baſſanus) and Tropic-Birds (Phæton Æthereus) as alſo Boobies (*Bobos*, *Sterna Stolida*). They had contrary winds and currents to ſtrive againſt. They did not, however, run into Monterey, but reſolved rather to ſail 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 rock-weed. 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 ribbands, which is uſually called *Zacute 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 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 reſemble 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, purpoſing 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 ſnow, 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 a harbour, which they called *de la Bodega*, after the Lieutenant of that name; here they loſt 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.

CHAP. 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 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 Braſil, 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 indolence and ſordid 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 Braſil, 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 œconomy, and is not ſollicitous 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 enterprize 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 *Caſpar de Cortereal*, a man of birth and family, with the reſolution 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 Agricolæ*. 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 farther was ever heard

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 Cortereal*, 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, *Joan Vaſquez de Cortereal*, 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 tuns burthen. 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 was ſtill univerſally conſidered

* This relation is taken by *Fox*, from *Purchas*'s *Pilgrims*, Part III. page 849. E. T.

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, had 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 ſailed through a gulph near Newfoundland, according to his reckoning in 59 deg. 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 ſtrong 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 M. *Buſching*'s Extract from *De Foe*'s Romance, intitled, "A New Voyage round the World, by a courſe never ſailed 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 that no paſſage is to be

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, *Deſchneff*'s *Straits*, might likewiſe juſt as well be called the *Straits of Anian*.

IV. The Jeſuit *de Angelis*, a native of Portugal, went in the years 1620 and 1621, to the coaſt of Matſmai, as did alſo Father *Jacob Caravalho*. Both of them relate, that on the iſland of *Eſo*, or *Yedſo*, in the vicinity of the town of *Matſmai*, 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 criminals 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 *Matſmai*, 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 *raccon*, and a ſkin coſts about 20 crowns. Every inhabitant of *Matſmai* 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 weapons 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 fiſhes; 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 ſort of people. Theſe few particulars are all that is known of the nature of the land of *Eſo* and *Matſumai*.

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 *Joao 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 *Joao 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 *Samuſſir*, or *Schimuſſyr*, the latter of which is about 130 werſts, 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 *lo 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 *Lo*

* *Terra q. uio Do Joao da Gama Indo, da China pera Nova Eſpaha.*

Padre eterno, on the 16th of March, 1660, and to have ſailed 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 ſailing 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 Portuguſe and Spaniards have been abſolutely baniſhed from Japan, and that for ever. How then was it poſſible for a Portugueſe ſhip, 22 years after that period, to ſail 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.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Diſcoveries and Voyages of the Danes *in the* North.

THE deſcendents 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 *Helgafjæl*, 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 *Drontheim* in Norway, to the Archbiſhop: but, on their return, the Biſhop had left him in this convent of *Helgafjæl*, 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 *Zenos*, except that he had added ſome more

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 aſhore therefore in the boat, clambering over the ice as well as they could. Near the ſhore they found a dead Greenlander 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 Kathay; 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 Blefken*'s *Iſlandia, ſive populorum, et mirabilium quæ in ea Inſula reperiuntur, 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;

Gotſke Lindenau, 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. *Lindenau*, after ſtaying here three days, detained two of them forcibly on board his ſhip, who, however, made a ſtout reſiſtance, while, 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. *Gotſke Lindenau* 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 *(narhwal)* ſea-horſe teeth, and whale-bone. Having ſtaid 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* amongſt 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 ſalmons, 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 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 1ſt 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 *Helſingor* Road.

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 *Gotſke 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 reindeer; but the ſavages treated them in a very hoſtile manner, though at firſt they had began to trade with them for iron. At their departure the Danes took five ſavages priſoners, one of whom leaped overboard, and was drowned. On their way home they found the ſhip again that had been ſeparated from them, and at length on the 5th of October, arrived in Copenhagen.

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 Richardt*. 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

their way to the land through the great quantity of ice, by which it was ſurrounded, the ſhips were ſeparated. *Richardt*, after making ſeveral fruitleſs attempts, was obliged to return home, without having done any thing; 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, *Chriſtian* 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 *Deer's 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 ſables. 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

Munck 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 *Munck*'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 *Munck* 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-ſalmon-and whale-fiſheries,

nor

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 Uhlefeld*, 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 Roſs 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

Cook will never fall into oblivion, though ten ſuch 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 expence to carry into execution a plan from which ſhe 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 *Northern*

thern 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, *Slaw*, and *Slawne*, or Noblemen; whence again all ſuch as were either renowned for, or even capable only of performing great atchievements, 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 *Laba*, or Elbe. The *Pomeranians* dwelled *po moru*, or near the ſea. The *Havellanians*, near the river *Havel*; the *Maroaro*, or *Moravians*, or *Marahani*, on the banks of the river *Morawa*. The *Warnabi* had once their reſidence near the *Warnow*, and the *Polotzani* on the banks of the *Polota*. In the mountains *(Chrebet)* lived the *Chrobates*; the *Tollenſians* were named after the river *Tollenſea* in Pomerania citerior, which empties itſelf into the *Peene*, near *Demmin*. From *Sidin*, or *Sedin*, the Stettin of the moderns, one tribe was named *Sidinians*; another from *Brizen* (Treunbrizen) *Brizanians*; from *Kuſſin*, a town ſubſiſting in thoſe early times, the *Kiſſinians* took their name, the traces of whom are ſtill to be found in a village near Roſtock, called *Keſſen*, or *Kiſſen:* and laſtly, the *Lutitzians* were named after *Loitz*, on the river Peine. But there are alſo ſome names of theſe tribes which are original; as for example, the *Sorbs*, or *Serbs*, the *Tſchechs*, or Bohemians,

Bohemians, the *Lachs*, *Lechs*, or Polatzes, i. e. the Poles; and from the more modern Waregian *Roſſi*, 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 Turky* (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 *Wlagi*, or *Wolochi*, or *Wologars*, or *Wolgars*, 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 Aſconian Turks extended on this ſide of the *Wolga* from *Uwieck*, 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 *Madſchiars*, *Maſcharts*, *Paſcatirs*, or *Baſchkirs*, a tribe of Finniſh origin, near the mountains of Uſal and the Bielaia. Soon after this came more Turkiſh tribes, viz. the *Chazars*, the *Petſchenegs*, the *Uzians*, and the *Polowzians*, 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 conteſtations and deſtructive civil wars. But in the 13th century, on

* The ruins which at preſent go under the name of the ruins of *Madſchiar*, appear to be rather the remains of this town of *Kumager* on the banks of the *Kuma* and *Bymara*. 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*. شهر قوصه قمير *Shæhr Kumakir*.

the banks of the rivers *Onon* and *Kerlon*, there ſtarted up a new empire, which gave celebrity to the before-unknown nation of *Mongols* (or *Moguls*) under *Temudſchin*, who in 1201, ſoon after his victories over the *Taiſſu*, and over the *Naimans* and *Mekritts*, or *Merkitts*, and ſeveral inroads made into the Land of *Tangut*, had the name of *Zinghis Kan* 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*. *Tuſchi 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 *Yemba*, and all the nations that lived to the weſtward. The *Komanians*, the *Wlachs*, the *Bulgarians*, and *Hungarians*, or Madſchiars, were conquered by Tuſchi. His ſon, *Batu Khan*, attacked the Ruſſians and Polowzians, and defeated them in a great battle near the river *Kalka*, 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 diſſentions and wars, decreaſed in power, and the Ruſſian Princes at length became aſhamed to worſhip ſuch a mere ſhadow of power

* *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.

and grandeur, 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 Ruſſias, came to the throne in the year 1533. He made the conqueſt of Caſan and Aſtrachan, and extended the power and dominion of Ruſſia to a great diſtance. He found that the Coſſacs 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 Temoſeeff*, a valiant Coſſac, 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 Tſchuſſowaya, 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 *Baſchkirs*, *Wotes*, *Oſtiaks*, and *Tſcheremiſſes*, 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 *Chimgi*. His army, however, was now diminiſhed to 1636 men. He defeated the Tartars once more in the year 1587;

1587; 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 Irtiſh and purſue his victories; at length, having totally routed Kutſchum Khan, and put him to flight, he made his public entry into *Sibr*. The *Oſtiaks* and *Woguls*, Kutſchum'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 Irtiſh. Sibir, and all the new conqueſts were loſt for a time; but greater forces were ſoon ſent, towns built, peopled, and fortified, and in a few years the victories and acquiſitions of the Ruſſians went in rapid progreſſion from one river to another, from one wandering tribe to another, till in the year 1639, Dmitrei Kopiloff 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

in

in order to get an idea of the ſtedfaſt, 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 and

cultivated, and is continually advancing in wealth, population, and happineſs.

This Hiſtory has been written at large by *M. John Eberhard Fiſcher*, of the Academy of Peterſburgh, 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 Collections*, 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 every body, 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 Jeniſei. From the Jeniſei they reached the Lena, by travelling partly by water and partly by land. From the Lena they went to the eaſtward as

* The Engliſh reader will find the want of theſe authors in a great meaſure compenſated by Mr. *Coxe*'s elegant *Account of the Ruſſian Diſcoveries between Aſia and America*, 4to. 1780.

far

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, ſucceeded. 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 *Catherina* II. the *Catherina Archipelago*. It extends from Kamtſchatka to the point of land called *Alaſka*, in North-America. From this very ſame land of Kamtſchatka a chain of iſlands extends to Japan. Kamtſchatka, North-America, Japan, the Kuriles, and alſo the Catherina 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 ſouth-weſt, and taken its courſe to the north-eaſtward, has alſo formed here the point of Kamtſchatka, called *Lopatka*, together with the bay of Ochotſk, and the Penſchinian 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 acceſſory proofs of the truth of my ſyſtem, viz. that iſlands are formed from the continent being broken into a great many pieces.

Theſe *Catharina Iſlands*, and the adjacent continent of North-America, would afford to a diligent naturaliſt a thouſand 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 ſhe rules, and by which ſhe would acquire eternal honour and fame from a grateful poſterity.

Nos ſequimur probabilia, nec ultra id quod veriſimile occurrit progredi poſſumus, et refellere ſine pertinacia et refelli ſine iracundia, parati ſumus.

M. Tullius Cic. Tuſculanor. Quæſt L. II. p. 340. edit. Elzevir.

GENERAL

GENERAL REMARKS

ON THE

DISCOVERIES made in the NORTH;

TOGETHER WITH

Phyſical, 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

8th 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 ſteatites 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 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 Kamtſchatka, 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. Eaſterly 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

offenſive ſmell.—Thunder and lightning are very rare in theſe parts; partly by reaſon that the northern lights, which often are very frequent, conſume and waſte 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. Paraheliums and mock moons are ſeen very frequently in the north, inſomuch that they have been remarked by many travellers. 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 unpre-

pared

pared and unfit to receive and harbour the plants committed 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 ſeed brought to it by the wind, at firſt there is generated a dimunitive 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 nurſes 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 parts 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

wards dying, add to the unguinous nutritive particles of the earth, and at the ſame time diffuſe over this new earth and moſſes, more ſeeds, 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-graſs, and other plants of this claſs, preſent themſelves to ſeafaring 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

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 train-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 dexterouſneſs, 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 he doeth for the children of men!*

FINIS.

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—— 8, l. 1, *for* warehouſe, *read* ſtorehouſe.
—— 40, l. 11 from bottom, *for* Holaku Chan, *read* Holaghu Khan.
—— 53, l. 10, *for* Ormeſta, *read* Hormeſta.
—— 65, l. 7, *before* tranſlated, *read* has.
—— 70, l, 15, the parentheſis ſhould include Fionia.
—— 75, l. 19, *dele* and.
—— 83, l. 22, *for* mother, *read* brother.
—— 84. l. 1, *for* Niſs, *read* Neſs.
—— 85, l. 2 from bottom, *for* tohography, *read* topography.
—— 87, l. 16, *for* every where, *read* all over the country.
—— 91, l. 14, *for* Zuka, *read* Zakut.
—— 92, l. 6 from bottom, *for* Holanghu, *read* Holaghu.
—— 98, l. 11 from bottom, *for* martmurt, *read* Mari murt.
—— 101, l. 16, *dele* to.
—— 104, l. 16, for *Travels into Ruſſia*, read *Account of the Ruſſian Diſcoveries.*
—— 106, l. 2, *for* Kara Korum, *read* Karakarum.
—— 126, l. 14, *for* Fal coniſus, *read* Falco niſus.
—— 138, l. 6 from bottom, *for* Kathey, *read* Kathay.
—— 140, l. 16, *before* the great, *read* in.
—— 144, l. 22, *for* Zinhis Chan, *read* Zinghis Khan.
—— 158, l. 15, *prefix* XI.
—— 174, l. 4, *for* Mawaralnchara, *read* Mawaralnahara.
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—— 128 l. 5 from bottom, *for* truth, *read* fact.
—— 201, l. 1, *for* Weſtburn, *read* Weſtbura.
—— 211, l. 19, *for* without bounds or limitation, *read* without limits or moderation.
—— 218, l. 11, *for* Sandee, *read* Sand-oe.
—— 242, l. 4 from bottom, *for* انلاق *read* انلاق and l. 19, *for* Dſchhankſchi, *read* Dſchenkſchi.
—— Ibid l. 6 from bottom, *for* بلاق, *read* دلاق
—— 246, l. 19, *for* Mehemet Hadſchi, *read* HadſchiMehemet
—— 308, l. ult. *before* point, *read* this.
—— 341, l. ult. *after* truth, *read* to ſupport it.
—— Ibid, l. 3 from bottom, place the aſteriſk higher up after *refuſal.*
—— 348, l. ult. *for* this, *read* his
—— 383, l. 12 from bottom, before Bear Sound, *dele* the.
—— 385, l. 3 from bottom, *for* Comfort Corner, *read* Poi t Comfort.
—— 408, l. 8 from bottom, *for* dumdivers, *read* dun divers.
—— 415, l. 9 from bottom, *read* Sconce, or Fort-Point.
—— 425, l. 10, *for* Jeſſe, *read* Jeſo.
—— 455, l. 14, *for* e, *read* y.
—— 463, l. 2 from bottom, *for* Deſchnew, *read* Deſhneff.
—— 470, l. 19, *for* Deer's Iſland, *read* Rehe-or Deer-Iſland.

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