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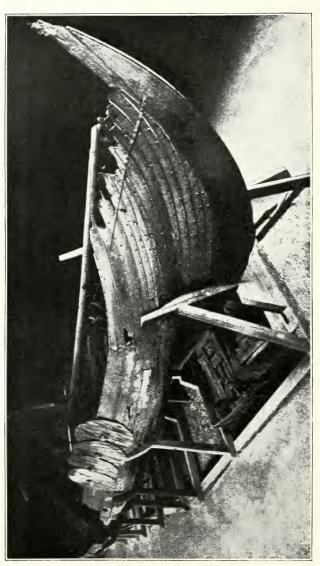
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AMERICA AND MEDIAEVAL EUROPE BY LEWIS SPENCE

EVEN the most conservative historians now agree that the records relating to the Norse discoveries and settlements on the North American continent during the tenth century bear the stamp of authentic and acceptable narrative. But alert as our generation may be in research, it seems either to have lost sight of, or fails to appreciate at its proper value, the later mass of evidence which leads to the amazing conclusion that the descendants of these early settlers maintained a connection with Europe until the middle of the fourteenth century, that the Crusades were actually preached to them on American soil by missionaries sent thither for that purpose by European prelates, and that Peter's Pence were contributed for the upkeep of the armies of the Cross by the people of at least one Norse-American colony in 1282 and 1325. These tithes duly found their way across the Atlantic to certain Italian banking-houses, as documents in the Vatican definitely bear witness.

Nor does it seem to be generally understood, even in knowledgeable circles, that it was from personal examination of records referring to these lost lands in an Icelandic library that Columbus first received corroboration of the existence of a Western Continent. Indeed the clue to the American connection had never been altogether lost, and it seems now quite apparent that the great discoverer gained his information concerning America from certain Papal officials aware of its existence through the records of the bishoprics which the Norse had established there and which had been preserved in the Vatican. It is now scarcely open to question that he received a strong suggestion from official circles in Rome that, were he to betake himself to Iceland, he would certainly discover there definite evidence of the existence of land in the Atlantic.

Before justifying these rather startling statements it will be necessary to relate briefly the story of Norse discovery in the American Continent, a story so seemingly incredible that it has received the recognition of cautious authorities only after the most rigorous examination of its bona fides. The first mention of Greenland. whence sailed the Norse discoverers of America, is in the Description of the Northern Islands of Adam of Bremen, written about 1070, in which he accounts for its name by saving that its inhabitants derive their blueish-green colour "from the salt water," and that they had adopted Christianity. But "the best informed man in Iceland" Ari Frode, or "the Wise, born in 1067, tells us that Greenland was discovered and colonized from Iceland by the Norseman Erik the Red about 985 or 986. Ari received this information from his uncle Thorkell Gellison, who in his youth had been personally acquainted with at least one man who had accompanied Erik to Greenland

The history of the Norse colony in Greenland is that of a white people, few in numbers, isolated in a dreary and remote region, yet keeping in contact with its parent Iceland, building at least one monastery and producing the beginnings of a literature. But it is not with the Greenlanders we have to do, interesting as is the saga of their courageous struggle against overwhelming conditions and their ultimate and absolute disappearance in a continent of ice. It is rather with their exploration of the American coast, their settlements on its shores, and the contact of these with European civilization with which we are here concerned.

It is in the *Book of Hauk Erlendsson*, an Icelander, that we find the earliest authentic notice of the explorations of the Norse Greenlanders in America. This document was probably written about 1305. The facts as Hauk knew them, are contained in his Book, part of which is written in his own hand, and in another MS. of the fifteenth century, No. 557 of the Copenhagen collection of Arne Magnusson, generally known as *The Saga of Erik the Red.* Portions of this latter document can readily enough be referred, so far as its materials are concerned, to the eleventh century, and the spirit of the work is archaic to a degree. It will be found in its entirety in Mr. A. M. Reeves' *The Finding of Wineland the Good*, published so long ago as 1890. It is obviously a transcript of a much older MS. and contains a number of copyist's errors.

These documents briefly outline the discovery of the North American regions known as "Helluland," "Markland" and "Wonderstrand" by Thorfinn Karlsefni in 1020. Within a six day's sail from Greenland, we are told, these northerly countries were found, but tempests drove the enterprising voyagers far to the south, to "Vinland," where they dwelt for a year, trouble with the Skraelings, or natives, at last forcing them to withdraw. Another manuscript also in the Arne Magnusson collection, generally attributed to Nicholas. Abbot of Thingevri, who died in 1159, seems to corroborate this information, and states that "Southward from Greenland is Helluland, then comes Markland; thence it is not far to Vinland the Good which some men think is connected with Africa. . . . It is said that Thorfinn Karlsefni hewed a timber house and then went to seek Vinland, and came to where they believed this land to be." The topography of these accounts agrees with that of the actual coastline of North America as observed sailing southward from Greenland—first a desolate stony region, next forest-country, and lastly the warmer lands to the south—and seems to point to a voyage past the coasts of Labrador, Newfoundland and the more fertile region of Massachusetts.

In the later *Eyrbyggja Saga*, written in 1250-1260, the *Islendinga-bok* or *Book* of *Iceland*, written by Ari Thorgilsson and the *Grettisaga*, dating from 1290, the story of the Norse discoveries in America is detailed at greater length, and is now recognized as agreeing in substance with the earlier accounts so entirely as to leave little dubiety that its details were drawn from common and authentic sources. It may be summarized as follows:

It was in the year 1002 that Leif Eriksson, son of Erik the Red, sailing from Greenland to Norway, was thrown out of his course by a great tempest, on a coast where he found cornfields and wild vines flourishing and where he wintered. On his return to Greenland, he did not fail to give his adventure every publicity, and in 1020 an expedition was fitted out under the leadership of Thorfinn Karlsefni to search for this land of plenty. It consisted, like the flotilla of Columbus, of three vessels, and was manned by 140 men.

Some days after setting sail from Vestribygdh in Greenland, Karlsefni's ships came in sight of Helluland, or the Land of Rocks, which is now thought to answer to the coast of Laborador. There they found nothing to detain them, so, sailing southward, they arrived in a couple of days at the country of Markland, or the Wooded Land, a region covered with forests and frequented by numbers of wild animals. Pushing south-westwards, they came in turn to Kjalarnes, or the Cape of the Keel, then to Furdhurstrandhir, or Wonder Strand, so called "because it was so wondrous long," where they anchored. Here they sent out two Scottish slaves, male and female, called Haki and Hakia, to forage. These explorers returned to the coast laden with wild corn and grapes.

Once more taking to the sea, the Norsemen sailed onward to a place they called Straumsfjord, or the Bay of Currents, where they discovered an island to which they gave the name of Straumey. Here they resolved to winter, and shortly afterwards came in touch with the natives, to whom they gave the rather contemptuous designation of Skraelings or "chips," because of their small stature. These Skraelings were dark and ill-favoured and were probably of Indian race. Karlsefni had brought his wife Gudrid with him on the voyage, and a son Snorri was born to him at Straumsfjord during the first autumn, "and he was three winters old when they left." Snorri was the first European to be born on American soil.

A feud arose with the Skraelings, and because of the swarming numbers of these people, the Norsemen were compelled to evacuate their winter quarters and set sail again. Passing Markland they found five Skraelings there, and seized two of their children, whom they took to Greenland and taught the Norse Language. This concludes the account as given in the Saga of Erik the Red and elsewhere. But in a manuscript known as the Book of Flatey, supplementary details are given relating to even earlier Norse discoveries in America. We are told that Björn, the son of Herjulf, an Icelander, when sailing to Greenland in 985 or 986, was cast by a tempest on the coast of a strange land, and discovered regions known as Helluland, Markland and Vinland, Voyaging to Norway in 994, he gave an account of his discovery to Jarl Erik of that country, and to Leif, who afterwards reconnoitred the coast. The account given of the regions discovered by Leif is similar to that in the Saga of Erik the Red.

But Leif's voyage led to a second expedition, that of Leif's brother, Thorwald Erikson. Setting out with one ship and 30 men in 1004, he found without difficulty the place where Leif had wintered, and thence he pressed southward, coming upon a land well-

wooded and fertile. At Kjalarnes, he and his company fell foul of the Skraelings, and several were slain, Thorwald himself being killed by an arrow. He and his dead followers were buried at a place called Krossness and the rest of the expedition returned to Greenland.

That the Norse people of Greenland at this time or later actually founded a colony in an American locality known as Vinland is now a matter of history. Grapes grew in Vinland, we are told, so that it must have been situated in a comparatively warm climate. Professor Hovgaard has even suggested that there may have been two Vinlands, that of Leif being much farther south than that of Karlsefni.

But Mr. G. M. Gathorne-Hardy has argued very convincingly that the country in which Karlsefni wintered and where Snorri was born was actually the Hudson River end of Long Island. Long Island is of interest to naturalists as a meeting place for equatorial and arctic species of birds, and was formerly the centre of a whaling industry, which accounts for the Peter's Pence of whalebone which, as we shall see, the Vinland colony paid as a tithe to the exchequer of the Crusades. But if Mr. Gathorne-Hardy credits the discovery of Vinland, he appears to be of the impression that no colony was ever settled thereon. This, however, can be proved by existing documentary evidence.

At the close of the thirteenth century, the influence of the Scandinavian race extended from Palestine to America. Its devout pilgrims were numerous in the Holy Land, and the Church, realizing the zeal of the northern nations, made efforts to enlist their hardy sons in the ranks of the Crusaders by preaching the holy war in Norway, Iceland and Greenland. Nor was its propaganda limited to these countries, for the missionaries dispatched thither actually travelled in furtherance of their labours to that Vinland discovered in America by Leif and Karlsefni some centuries earlier.

Abundant evidence exists that this isolated American colony of the Norsemen was not only well-known to the Europe of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but that it was familiar to the Vatican through missionary effort and correspondence. Pope Gregory X, as Archdeacon of Liege, had accompanied the Frisian Crusaders to Palestine in 1270, and was well acquainted with the geography and seafaring conditions of the north. In 1273 he con-

¹ The Norse Discoverers of America, 1921.

voked at Lyons an ecumenical council, the purpose of which was to organize crusading effort in western and northern Christendom, and to Sighorte, Canon of Trondhjem, and Arne, Bishop of Skalholt, in Iceland, he entrusted the task of propaganda throughout the Scandinavian realms. Bertrand Amaury, Canon of Rheims, was moreover dispatched as papal legate to these dominions and was instructed to extend operations to those outlying Norse colonies to which crusading endeavour had not as vet penetrated. Lapland, Finland, the Orkneys and Hebrides were embraced in the scheme, and their settlers, impressed by the necessity for liberating the Sepulchre, contributed generously according to their means. In Iceland Arne Thorlaksson preached the Cross with a fervour unsurpassed by Peter the Hermit himself and its clergy willingly agreed to resign a tithe of their substance to the crusading war-chest, while its manpower, with equal readiness, enlisted under the banner of the Church militant.

King Hakon of Norway had dispatched Olaf, as Bishop of Gardar to Greenland in 1261, with instructions to keep the Norse colonies both there and in America more closely in touch with the motherland. Olaf made further good use of his time while in Greenland by preaching the Crusade. For some years prior to this a republican or separatist spirit had appeared in the colony at Greenland, precisely as some centuries later it was to do in the British transatlantic settlements and, perhaps, for similar reasons. But equilibrium had been restored. In 1276 the Pope authorized the Archbishop of Trondhjem, Jon the Red, A Scot, to dispatch a commission to Greenland to assist Olaf in his crusading efforts, and to insure that the edicts of the Council of Lyons were being carried into effect. In 1279, seizing the opportunity of a vessel sailing to America, Ion sent "a grave and discreet person" thereon to preach the Holy War and to recover the tithes due from the colonists. The name of this American Peter the Hermit we do not know, but his commission was confirmed by Pope Nicholas III, in a letter dated from Rome, January 31, 1279, conferring on him full powers to further the crusading movement by every lawful means. Three years later this emissary returned to Norway with a cargo of sealskins, walrus-tusks, and whalebone, the offerings of the American colony of Vinland to the soldiers of the Sepulchre. Archbishop Ion, embarrassed by the strange nature of the tithe, which he could not

dispatch to Italy, communicated with the Vatican as to the best method of disposing of it, and in March 1282 Pope Martin IV replied, authorizing him to sell it in the best market. This was done, and the sum realized was sent to Italy, to the banking houses of Squarecialupi and Giudiccioni. The correspondence relative to these missions and payments still exists in the archives of the Vatican and in the national records of Iceland and Norway.²

After the Council of Vienna in 1312, we find Arne, Bishop of Gardar, acting as agent and collector of Peter's Pence for that council in respect of the American colonies. It would seem that the zeal displayed in these far outposts of the Scandinavian world had lapsed somewhat since 1276, and that efforts were once more made to awaken it. In the same year Laurence Kalfsson and a certain Björn ardently preached the Crusade in Iceland, whose hardy sons were greatly in request in the ranks of the Cross. That emissaries were once more dispatched to Vinland in America at this time is undoubted and is, indeed, proved by the results, but who they may have been, and what were their adventures, we have no means of discovering. In the event a Vinland ship arrived at Greenland in 1325, bearing the tithes of the colony, consisting of 127 lispounder of walrus tusks, which were duly sold to Jean du Pré, a Flemish merchant, for 12 livres, 50 sous of Tour.³

This shows that Vinland must have existed as a dependency of the Norse Crown until 1325. If Vinland was of sufficient importance to be the object of a special crusading mission, it must have had at least several thousands of a population. What was the fate of the Vinlanders? Probably they were overwhelmed by the invading Red Men, who would speedily destroy all traces of their occupation. Perhaps they mingled with them, as did the Norsemen of Greenland with the Eskimo. Charles Godfrey Leland, in his Algonquin Legends of New England showed how Norse influence has penetrated Indian mythology. He believed that the Norse tale of Balder is to be found as an Indian legend, and indicated that the name of the Scandinavian evil spirit Loki, is connected with it. Moreover he reproduced ancient Indian drawings showing Norsemen pursued by Indians.

Now there can be no doubt that documents relative to the exist-

3 Paul Riant, Expedition et Pélérinages Scandinaviens.

² Riant, Expeditions et pélérinages Scandinaviens, p. 364; Torfæus, Hist. Gron. p. 25; Malte Brun, Lib. 18. tom. 1., p. 289.

ence of a Norse colony on American soil are to be found in the Library of the Vatican. More than one of the Catholic writers who have evidently had access to them allude to such sources. The Rev. Wm. F. Clark S. J. of St. Joseph's Church, Philadelphia, a Catholic priest, mentioned them in his centennial discourse, delivered on July 4, 1876, and Mrs. Marie A. Shipley, a Protestant American lady, in her "English Re-discovery of America" (1890) writes:4 "I have obtained a mass of corroborative testimony from Roman Catholic sources proving the statement in my book The Icelandic Discoverers of America that in the Vatican and other monastic libraries of Europe are the records and documents that will fully establish the fact that Norse colonies existed there for several centuries." A memorial submitted to the Congress of the United States in 1888, asking for research on the subject and signed by over a thousand persons of influence states that: "there is a vast amount of evidence in the shape of documents, records and manuscripts of all descriptions that has been buried for centuries in the libraries at Rome—in fact the Church annals of six centuries, containing the minute details of the ecclesiastical work and establishments, the succession of bishops for 263 years, etc., etc., in the colonies of Greenland and Vinland. . . . These it is the right of the American nation to incorporate in its archives."

That the mother of the first European born in America actually went later in life on pilgrimage to Rome and gave the Papal officials there an account of her transatlantic adventures is a fact sufficiently historical. That Gudrid who was wife of Thorfinn Karlsefni, and who had accompanied him to America, "went abroad," says the Book of Flatey, "and made a pilgrimage to Rome." Later she became a nun at Glaumbæjar in Iceland. At Rome she was well received and her accounts of the new countries beyond the seas were listened to with attention by her spiritual advisers as relating to a new field for the preaching of the gospel.⁵

Only 152 years elapsed between the last known attempt of the Greenlanders to reach Vinland and the visit of Christopher Columbus in a Bristol ship to Iceland in 1477. That the discoverer visited Iceland with the definite object of collecting information relative to the existence of lands west of Greenland is not now open to question. Indeed he himself recorded the fact, and the letter in which

⁴ P 62.

⁵ Shipley. The English Re-discovery of America, pp. 110-111; C. Gravier, Discovery of America by the Northman.

he did so was published by Diego Columbus, his son, in the first, and perhaps the best biography of the world's greatest adventurer. "In the year 1477, in February," he says, "I navigated 100 leagues beyond Thule, the southern part of which is 73 degrees distant from the equator, and not 63 as some pretend; neither is it situated within the line which includes the west of Ptolemy, but is much more westerly. The English, principally those of Bristol, go with their merchandise to this island, which is as large as England. When I was there the sea was not frozen, and the tides were so great as to rise and fall 26 fathoms."

It is certainly strange that more attention has not been directed to the circumstances of this extraordinary visit, for if it proves anything, it shows conclusively how indefatigable was the discoverer in his researches concerning the character of that part of the globe he proposed to navigate in his search for an uninterrrupted seapassage to India and China. That he voyaged hundreds of sealeagues from Spain to Britain, and from Britain to Iceland for the purpose of verifying statements in certain Norse sagas relating to a north-western land lying in the Atlantic from the lips of the authority best qualified to enlighten him, is now well authenticated.

It is also recognized that while in Italy and perhaps at Rome, Columbus had heard or read of the Book of Flatev, that beautiful manuscript volume, in which the saga of Thorfinn Karlsefni was incorporated. At that period its manuscript was still in Iceland. though now housed at Copenhagen. Fin Magnusen, the learned Icelandic scholar, makes it abundantly clear that in the year of Columbus's visit to his island, Magnus Eiglfson, Bishop of Skalholt, then the greatest living authority on Icelandic literature, met and conferred with the discoverer. Since 1470 Magnus had been abbot of the monastery of Helgafell, where many venerable documents relating to the discovery of Greenland, Markland, Vinland, and the other parts of the American continent settled by the Norsemen of Iceland were carefully preserved. It was, indeed, from this very district that the most distinguished of these early pioneers had gone forth. The contents of these documents were familiar to Bishop Magnus, as indeed they were to most Icelanders of that period, and it is therefore in the highest degree improbable that Columbus should have omitted to seek for and receive information respecting them. primed as he was with the clues to their existence which he appears to have collected at Rome.

He arrived at the port of Hvalfjardareyri, on the south coast of Iceland, at the season when that harbour was most frequented, and it has been found that Bishop Magnus visited the neighboring churches during the winter or spring of 1477, the year of his arrival. From the records at Helgafell Columbus must have learned how the coasts of Vinland, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland were first sighted by the Icelander Bjarni Herjulfson in 983, and how Leif and Thorwald, sons of Erik the Red, the colonizer of Greenland, made an exploration both of the coast and the interior.

In the archives of Iceland is to be found authentic corroboration of the circumstances of Columbus's visit. In the letter quoted by his son the discoverer states that the sea at the time of his arrival was free from ice, and this is confirmed by the public records of Iceland, which refer to the unusual circumstances of the port of Hvalfjardarevri being ice-free during the months of February and March in the year 1477. It may have been merely by chance that Bishop Magnus happened to be visiting the port in question, which was situated in his diocese, at the very time when Columbus arrived in the haven, but it seems more probable that the bishop had been apprised of his coming beforehand through ecclesiastical channels. In any case they met and conversed in Latin, and it is on record that Columbus questioned Magnus "concerning the western lands."⁷ What precise information he actually received from the bishop we cannot tell, as record is silent on this point. But that he obtained what he came so far to seek can scarcely be doubted.

Sailing to Iceland from Bristol, Columbus must have heard many traditions of land in the western Atlantic from the mariners of that port, who, from 1491 to 1498, according to Pedro de Ayala, the Spanish Ambassador to England, had annually dispatched three or four caravels "in search of the isle of Brazil and the Seven Cities." Through their long commercial associations with Iceland the Bristol traders could scarcely have failed to hear the many traditions of the former existence of the Norse colonies in America, and to have picked up clues to the probable sea routes thither.

But if Columbus received while in Iceland information so authentic concerning the existence of a western continent, why did he not take steps later to verify this by sailing towards the latitude

⁶ O. Moosmüller, Europeans in America before Columbus.

⁷ Rafn., Antiquitates Americana, p. xxiv, note 1.

indicated by Bishop Magnus instead of steering almost due west from Palos, as he did 15 years later on his first voyage of discovery? The fact that he did not make for Vinland is a powerful vindication of the theory that his intention was not so much to discover a new continuent as to find a new sea route to India and the Orient. The very knowledge that the north-western Atlantic was occupied by land would naturally militate against his acceptance of it as a feasible route to the rich Indies of his dreams.

This evidence notwithstanding, it is strange that not a single trace of the Norse occupation of North America exists to-day. Fairly abundant ruins and recognizable sites of the presence of Norse colonies are to be found in Greenland, but despite the quests of archaeologists in more southern American latitudes, no authentic relics of Norse colonization have as yet been encountered there.

Yet many antiquaries have endeavoured to prove that vestiges of Norse buildings and inscriptions are to be found on the American Coast. Perhaps the most remarkable of the latter is the Dighton Rock inscription on the River Taunton in the State of Massachusetts, which Rafn believed to be Runic, attesting the presence of Thorfinn Karlsefni. But Sir Daniel Wilson doubted these conclusions. At last an Indian Chief, Shingwauk, assured Schoolcraft, an authority on Indian customs, that the inscription was the work of Wabenaki Indians and was pictographic in origin.

On the Island of Monhegan, on the coast of Maine, was found another inscription which seemed much more akin to the Runic, but this also Wilson disallowed as a genuine piece of Norse ant'quity, attributing it to the agency of ice. Still more romantic is the Tower of Newport, Rhode Island, on which Longfellow wrote a striking threnody. Rafn hailed this also as a relic of Norse occupation. But it was found that Governor Arnold, ancestor of the notorious American traitor, had built it after the model of Inigo Jones's mill, which still stands at Chesterton in Arnold's native Warwickshire.

More recently, 1890, Mr. E. N. Horsford startled American antiquarian circles by announcing his discovery of the ancient Norse city of Norumbega in New England. But this site was proved to have been discovered previously by Verazzano and others, including Sir John Hawkins, who visited it in 1569, and it was certainly an Indian town.

To account for this surprising absence of the remains of the

Norse Occupation of American soil is indeed difficult. In all probability the colonies or settlements—and Vinland seems the only one among them the existence of which has been authenticated were small and not very thickly populated. If, then, we take it that a colony actually flourished in the vicinity of Long Island, as the evidence goes to prove, it must not only have occupied a most isolated position, but have had little power of resistance because of its inability to draw to any great extent upon the population and resources of the parent colony in Greenland. Yet it is evident that bishops and missionaries were dispatched thither with some regularity. In 1059, Bishop Jon of Iceland went to Vinland, and fell a martyr beneath the arrows of the Skraelings whom he was endeavouring to convert to the Christian faith, 8 He had been especially consecrated for work in the North by Adalbert, Archbishop of Bremen-Hamburg. In 1121 Erik, Bishop of Gardar in Greenland. travelled to Vinland, and seems also to have been assassinated there.9 Pope Nicholas V mentions in a letter written in 1448 that the Greenland colonists had then been Christians for six hundred years, and the last Bishop of Gardar in Greenland, Vincent, was consecrated so late as 1537, forty-five years after the discovery of America by Columbus, and nearly five hundred years after the erection of the see.

Mr. J. C. Shea in his *History of the Catholic Missions Among the Indian Tribes of America* states that Bishop Erik led a body of clergy and colonists to Vinland in 1121. The incident is indeed, alluded to in the Icelandic annals under that date, and is also referred to by a late Danish writer, Lyskander, in 1609. The Icelandic annals also tell us that in 1347 a Greenland ship arrived in Iceland which had been to Markland in America, but had been driven out of her course on her return.

The above facts seem to indicate actual contact between the American colonies and Europe in the years 1059, 1121, 1282, 1325 and 1347, and it seems almost incredible that, if communication were feasible during periods so widespread, it was not also available between these occasions. It is indeed most unlikely that, had no connection been maintained between Iceland and America from 1121 to 1282, missionaries would actually have been sent from Iceland

⁸ Mallet, Introduction a l'histoire de Dannermarc, t.l. p. 254; Islendnamabok, p. 396; Torfæus, Historia Vinlandiæ, Antiqua, p. 71.

⁹ Rafn, Antiquitates Americana, p. 261.

to America in the latter year, and the very fact that they were then dispatched goes far to prove the probability of the statement in the Icelandic annals wih reference to Bishop Erik's colonial enterprise in 1121.

But we must wait patiently for the results of research in the archieves of the Vatican, where the original records of episcopal and missionary effort in Vinland would appear to await discovery. Is not the quest peculiarly one for the generous and enthusiastic spirit of American scholarship?