CHAPTER XVII

AT the end of this time I and my comrades were recalled from Kronborg and summoned to Copenhagen, which we all regretted. We were well received there by good friends.

And now I will tell how I first went on voyages in the service of his gracious Majesty and of the kingdom. It happened the year after I entered military service in 1616, and after the two royal men-of-war had seized a mighty and notorious freebooter called Mandaus[1], off the coast of Russia, and our story begins there as follows.

It was the custom of His Majesty every year to send war-vessels out into Danish waters for the protection and deliverance of all honest sailors who had written permission to sail these waters and who plied between one country and another with their wares. These letters of permission, with the seal of the kingdom, were issued in Denmark, Holland[2], England and other parts where His Majesty had his agents. When men wrote 1615, the year in which I sailed hence with the English as is told before, the King sent two ships, the *Victor* and the *Jupiter*, into the North Sea to Norway and Russia. And when they landed in Norway they heard news of a pirate vessel which was commanded by the afore-mentioned Mandaus, and which had recently come from the Faroes, and just before they arrived had made a descent on the shore and seized cattle at Flekkerø for their provisioning. And when the Danish admiral Jørgen Daa[3], who was on board the *Victor*, heard of this great pirate, he lost not a moment, but started instantly in pursuit, accompanied by the *Jupiter* from that harbour, and they pursued the pirates as hotly as they

[1] His real name was Mendoza. Cp. p. 31 *supra*.

[2] See Introduction.

[3] Jørgen Daa of Særslev belonged to the Fyn branch of an ancient noble family. He seems to have been poor and to have made an unfortunate marriage (see p. 51, *n.* 3 *supra*), but was rewarded for his skill and valour in the Kalmar War (1611–13) by the fief of Holbæk. He served at sea from 1609 to 1617, and died in 1619.

could[1]. And whenever they touched land or entered harbours, as they proceeded northwards along the coast of Norway, they heard of these pirates, that they had recently been there and had sailed away. And when the King's ships come to Kildin[2] in Russia, they are told the pirates had been there two nights and that three nights ago they had sailed away in a north-easterly direction, along the Russian coast, to the White Sea. At once the admiral had the trumpets sounded for leaving the harbour, and accordingly the anchors were weighed and the sails hoisted.

Four sea-miles out of the course lay an island called Malmis[3]: the admiral despatched the small vessel, *Jupiter*, there, to see if they had repaired thither, which, however, they had not purposed to do, but rather, as said before, to lie in wait in the White Sea for a Dutch ship of which they had information and which was to pass through Veigat, coming by that route from India. It is not a customary route, and only three ships have succeeded in getting through[4]. But this is not the place to write more fully of that, rather we must relate how the admiral enters the White Sea and catches a

[1] In Jørgen Daa's own report to the King, preserved in the Rigsarkiv in Copenhagen, it appears that he left Copenhagen on May 15, heard on May 20, in the Faroes, that the pirates had left there four days previously, sailed straight to Vardø, where he could obtain no news, and then eastwards. Off Kildin a Flensborg skipper tells him that Mandaus is in the harbour there, but he finds he had left six hours earlier, and starts again in pursuit. Off the Seven Islands (Sem Islands) he saw and pursued two suspicious vessels, and gave orders to put on all sail, but had to desist because the *Jupiter's* topmasts were carried away. The next day he sees them again and fights for two days and nights, apparently himself out of range of the pirate's guns, for only at the end, when the pirate approaches, does his vessel receive any damage: the bowsprit halyard is shot away. The pirate throws overboard a mass of cargo to lighten himself for flight, and because of leaks down in the hull, but, pursued by *Jupiter*, runs aground.

[2] Kildin, a small island off the Kola peninsula. Off its eastern end there is excellent anchorage. There is a bird's-eye view of the island in J. Th. de Bry, *Zehender Theil der Orientalischen Indien*, II, Frankfurt, 1613.

[3] Malmis, a town about eight miles from Kildin on the mainland. Sivert Grubbe, in 1599, says: "In old days this town was called Kola, and it used to belong to Norway, but by the carelessness of the Norwegian commandants (at Vardø) it is now Russian." (*Danske Magasin*, IV R., 2 Bd. p. 396.)

[4] No ships had succeeded in getting through at this time. Cp. note 2 to p. 31 *supra*.

sight of Captain Mandaus under sail. And, there being a good wind in their favour, the admiral made the most of it, and trimmed his sails as advantageously for the wind as he could; flinging water on to the mainsail and lacing the bonnet on under it, and lee sails along the edges, so as to increase the spread of canvas[1]. When the others saw this furious pursuit they did the same. Yet the King's men succeeded presently in overtaking them, so that they could reach them with cannon-balls. The pirates fired back, but did the Danes no harm. All the balls which the Danes shot into the enemy ship Mandaus had exhibited to him and brought down to his cabin that he might examine their size. They had a Danish lad as cabin-boy, and Mandaus asked him whether he thought that the Danes, his countrymen, had larger guns on board. The lad said he was well acquainted with their habits, that they usually fired the smaller cannon first, and the larger later; for the lad was fain to see the pirates come to their death. Mandaus believed him, and therefore never turned to fight, but made off as fast as he could, until they came to the Seven Islands[2] in the White Sea: then the *Jupiter* arrived. Her captain was Enevold Stygge[3]. And that vessel being surpassingly quick under sail she got across their course.

The pirates now tried every trick: they cast overboard many packets of silk and velvet, so that their pursuers should dally to hoist them on board, which the Danish admiral forbade. And because the *Jupiter* crossed their course they had to run the vessel on the shallows. Nevertheless they would not yield themselves up, but hoisted their blood-banner on their stern[4]. The Danish admiral sent two men to the ship,

[1] In 1599, when pursuing an English vessel, the *Victor* had had four men on the mainyard hoisting up buckets of water and pouring them on the sail. (Jonas Charisius' Diary, Schlegel, *Saml.* I, p. 81.)

[2] Sem Ostrovov, small islands in the White Sea.

[3] Jørgen Daa does not mention the Captain of the *Jupiter*. We find Enevold Stygge Captain of the *Unicorn* in 1616, see p. 130, *n.* 2 *infra*.

[4] "It was the Eve of St John (June 23): then I had my flag flown from the main-top: the freebooter did the same on shore: then I sent my jolly-boat ashore with three men to ask if he would yield himself or no, and hand over ships and goods to me with all they contained: then he answered me back again, that he would not do so, but would fight so long as he had a man standing, but if I would send my Lieutenant as hostage, he would

one was his own servant Morten, and another, by name Gottschalk, a gunner, with a written message. Mandaus received them well, and had them generously entertained with ale and food, and on this account there was some delay, which greatly displeased the admiral, so that they were within an ace of being punished, but escaped because it seemed that they had not been responsible for their actions. Mandaus sent two men to the admiral with a few written words, of which the purport was that he would not yield himself up as matters now stood, but presumptuously challenged him to a battle on land. This message somewhat discomfited the admiral at first, for he was aware that his soldiers were untrained and that there were few on board who were reasonably expert with the musket, however, for his life he durst not refuse it.

Then they disembarked from the ship with beating of drums and loud pealing of trumpets, and each side ranged itself in battle-array, and stood ready for the fight as soon as the signal was given. But because the hour of doom for Mandaus and his comrades had struck, and he knew himself in a strange place without a ship (for it was damaged and riddled by shots, and was moreover fast aground on a sand-bank), it seemed better to him to give himself up: so he calls in a loud voice to the admiral and courteously enquires if he did not stand in high favour with the King his master? The other says yea to this. Mandaus then asks further, whether the admiral could be confident of securing pardon and life for him and his captain and ship's master[1]. The admiral gladly consents

come aboard and negotiate." The Admiral sent his Lieutenant, Jens Munk (afterwards famous for his voyage to find the north-west passage), and there was a long delay: the Admiral does not say why, but he had agreed with Jens Munk that after firing one shot he would go ashore with his whole crew. The shot was fired and Jens Munk said to the pirates: "Let me return at once: else there will be an entertainment not of the best." He returns with a demand for quarter. The Admiral sent Jens Munk ashore with musketeers to shoot from the shore "and I made him [the enemy] anxious and alarmed, both with the guns of *Jupiter* and the musketeers on land" and the pirates went aboard again. The Admiral got two guns ashore, "and when they saw that they wanted to make terms."

[1] "I promised the Captain's people quarter until they had come aboard H.M.'s vessel, then I would consider the matter further; when they came on board I had 55 cast overboard besides those who had been injured

to this, and says that his lord would never put such a man to death, which Mandaus firmly believed, and so went and gave himself up to the Danish admiral, a fortunate victory for the Danes, but the ruin and death of the others, whom vengeance claimed. Mandaus then had to part from all his ill-gotten gains, and he and four others gave themselves up to the Danes, namely, himself, Captain Bra, his skipper, his mate, by name Jacob, who was a wise and pious man, and had never consented to their piracy, and had joined them unwittingly, thinking them righteous seamen when he took service with them. And the Danish lad received pardon at the same time as the mate. The Danes took all the others and put them to death, in such fashions as they themselves chose, namely that they all had their throats cut, even as they had done to others, and were cast in the sea in couples, fastened to a gun-breech so that they might reach the bottom the more quickly. The Danes took over all their wealth and conveyed it to their own ships, namely eight chests full of every kind of silver coinage, which were so heavy that when they came home it took four men to bear the smallest of them. These were kept for a while in the Castle at Copenhagen. The ninth chest was full of coins of pure gold, and it took ten men to carry it up to the Castle, and no such rich ship was known ever to have come to Copenhagen before[1]. Finally the Danes set fire to the pirates' vessel in that same place[2].

Afterwards they set sail for home safe and sound, and gave glory to God; and three days after their arrival these three, namely Captain Mandaus, Captain Bra and the skipper Rubentzius, were led to the gallows, which was erected outside the East Gate; but the mate and the Danish boy were pardoned. Mandaus presented the threefold gold chain which

(in the fighting) who might be about 24. But to Captain Mandaus and Captain Walther Bhrae and their skipper Linnert I gave quarter until we should arrive in Copenhagen, and then such quarter as was deserved."

[1] Jørgen Daa and his crews got two-thirds of this booty as prize-money. (Lind, p. 171.)

[2] Jørgen Daa says that as he could not get the vessel afloat, he set fire to it after saving all that he could. The document is dated Sept. 6, 1615. (D. Canc., Indlæg til Registre og Tegn. 1613–16. Læg 1615 6/9 Jørgen Daa.)

he wore to Admiral Jørgen Daa, embracing him before his execution, and saying that the chain should be his because he had overcome him honourably. And when they were conducted to the place of execution they went bare-headed with song and merriment. Mandaus said he thanked God that he was permitted to receive his due punishment here, hoping for God's grace, the forgiveness of his sins, and eternal life for the sake of Jesus Christ alone. A new gallows was set up for them of the shape here figured. To the best of my remembrance they took the sacrament before they were led out to their death, according to what worthy persons who had been present, told me when I came to Copenhagen that autumn. When I first arrived, the pirates still hung there with no outward damage or hurt upon them, in their silken clothes with gold laces, and gold rosettes in their shoes. All this their outward magnificence became the property of the master who hanged them, and even their under-linen. And so we here finish the tale of Mandaus and his piracy, which he carried on for fifteen years, and of his ill-fortune, defeat and final melancholy demise and burial, and may the same be a warning and reminder to all the ungodly, to turn them from sinful and ungodly acts.



CHAPTER XVIII

AND when his five brothers[1] received the news they were filled with wrath and raged mightily in spirit (as I related before), and threatened great vengeance on the Danes. Our King sent out many ships of war against them every year, in case they might some time seek to carry out their threats. Now after Easter in the following year, late in April, 1616, the King ordered six fine ships of war to be prepared for fighting against these or other enemies of the kingdom or pirates who should seek out honest sailors or merchants on the waters, to their let and hindrance, and to the danger of their life or property.

It so chanced that about this time the King held a High Court at Oslo in Norway[2]. It was about this time, too, that Christian Friis, the Chancellor, who was over fourscore years, passed away one night, after he had been conveyed from the King's table out to the mighty ship of war *Fides*, of which I have spoken before.

Now I return to my proper subject again and to the story which I set out to tell at the beginning of this chapter, namely, how I and my beloved comrade Jón Halldórsson were for the first time ordered on a voyage in His Majesty's ships of war for the good and advancement of the kingdom. In the name of God, with prayer and blessing, we sailed out from Copenhagen about midday on a Thursday, either in April or early in May, I am not able to remember clearly which; and in the evening we reached the coast off Elsinore, where Kronborg Castle stands by the Sound, and the next day thereafter we held on our course north-west out of the Sound between the two countries. Sjælland[3] lies to the west right out to the Skaw, and Skåne and Halland to the east; and it is said that the distance out of Øresund away to the Skaw is twenty-four sea-miles. Then we held north along the coast of Norway,

[1] Cp. pp. 31 f. *supra*.
[2] See p. 52 *supra*.
[3] Jón must mean Jutland.

until we came to Flekkerø. There we learned that a pirate ship had appeared and had seized a small vessel off the coast of Norway, and manned it with ten of their own crew, but had put the others to death, all save three. The leader of these men was one Laurids Magnusson of Norwegian stock: he was the mate of this vessel and a very sagacious man, exceptionally gifted in many matters: one who had often been in great difficulties both on sea and land. While we were together he related to me the whole story of his life, in which much was horrible to hear.

These English pirates were sent by the brothers of Mandaus to commit piracy and murder on the Danish and Norwegian coasts. They loaded the small vessel with every kind of stolen goods, clothes and many other things, and so quitted the harbour to sail northwards along the Norwegian coast on their old errand of piracy.

Now I must tell what Laurids Magnusson set about after their departure from the harbour. They had commanded him to wait there with the other pirates who were left behind on the vessel. One day he asks for two men to accompany him ashore in a boat, and also for his own two, who had been captured with him and every day pretended to serve the pirates willingly, and he gives out that he wishes to go into the country, where there were few people, there to plunder cattle to provision himself. They willingly consent to this. And when they reach the shore Laurids Magnusson seeks out the farmers who lived nearest to the harbour, and with them he makes a faithful agreement, with solemn oaths, to put these pirates to death. Early one morning this enterprise was successfully accomplished. It was agreed that Laurids Magnusson was to send them up to collect sheep, but the farmers were to lie in ambush, while his own two men were to keep near the boat and at once row away from the shore. Soon more than twenty farmers had assembled, and by signals and the signs agreed upon from the ship, gathered together in a secret place close to the shore and slew all the pirates. Thereupon the farmers went out and put the vessel into a safer harbour. Laurids Magnusson paid the farmers for their

trouble. All this had happened only a short while before our arrival from Copenhagen. Our admiral Jørgen Daa despatched the vessel to Denmark, to His Majesty

The officers on the admiral's ship, the *Victor*, were these: first we must mention the admiral Jørgen Daa, next Holger Rosenkrands[1], who was captain and who later became Governor (in Iceland), and a Swedish nobleman, Laurids Brems[2] by name, who with his wife and children had given himself up to our gracious lord the King in the recently concluded Swedish war of 1613. The master was Peter Nielsen[3]; our chaplain was Master Knud; the master of the guns was Rasmus Winter, and his mate was Jens Laurzen, a widely-travelled and experienced man, and an old warrior. On the admiral's ship were in all 130 men, if we reckon in the gunners, of whom there were 24. There were two noble squires on board, tried men, who later became yeomen of the royal guard. One of them was the sister's son of the admiral, Jens Brandt[4]; the name of the other I cannot recall.

Let us now return to our story at the time of our departure from Flekkerø, when in company with these six vessels we sailed northwards all about the coast of Norway, in and out of harbours, seeking for the said pirates, whom we did not

[1] Holger Rosenkrands of Rosenholm, 1574–1642, of a distinguished noble family, was a very learned man, a leading theologian of his time, as well as a sea-captain. He became a member of the Council at the end of this year, most of which he seems to have spent in theological studies in Germany. But it is known (Lind, p. 189) that he was Captain on the flagship that summer.

[2] Laurids Brems was made Captain on March 30, 1613, and was Lieutenant on *Victor* in 1616. (Lind, p. 206.) It is not known that he was Swedish, but the date of his appointment makes it likely. If Jón is right about his origin he might be of the von Brömssen family, which before receiving a Swedish patent of nobility in 1678 was called Bröms, and was of Livonian noble origin. (Cp. *Sveriges Ridderskaps och Adelskalender*, Stockholm 1922, von Brömssen.) In the last decades of the 16th century many Swedish nobles had for political reasons sought service with the King of Denmark. (*Danmarks Riges Hist.* IV, p. 138.)

[3] Peter Nielsen, the master on the flagship, must be distinguished from the Peter Nielsen mentioned on p. 130, who was Captain of the *Jupiter*.

[4] Jens Brandt was presumably a son of Henning Jørgensen Brandt of Mullerup. The relationship to Jørgen Daa cannot be demonstrated. [Communicated by the late Mr Anders Thiset, Archivist in the Rigsarkiv. R.C.]

find. Everywhere we heard of them, also when we came to the fishing-station off the Russian coast[1], to which Finns and Russians resort, called Kildin[2], where there were fifty-two fishing-boats. One-third of the crew of each is composed of Finns, and they have three men as magistrates. On the way thither lies the island Vardø[3], on which stands a huge castle with walls of natural rock, which surround it in regular formation, and on which stand large guns for purposes of defence[4], for this island lies far from the land, off Finmark. There is always a noble in charge who has the castle as a fief and is the chief magistrate over the Finns. At the time when we came thither on this journey, a nobleman called Hans, of Scots extraction, was governor there[5], the same who was

[1] The Russian, Swedish and Norwegian (Danish) frontier had never been fixed and fluctuated very much. Christian IV claimed the country as far as Kandalax. (Helland, *Norges Land og Folk*, XX, pp. 698 f.) In 1520, 1598 and 1608 we hear of Lapp villages in the mountains paying taxes to the King of Sweden, the King of Norway, and also to the Grand Duke of Muscovy; and in 1614 villages by the coast are said to suffer in a similar way. (*Norske Rigsregistranter*, III, pp. 537 f. and IV, pp. 227 ff., 299, 529, and *Norges Land og Folk*, XX, p. 324.) In the Peace of 1613, the Swedish King had to renounce all his rights to Lapland, but the Russian penetration was more successful. By founding monasteries the Russians gradually got a hold of the whole country, and Malmis, the present Kola, originally a Norwegian trading-station, became more and more Russian and for a time actually had a Russian vojvod (*e.g.* in 1588), though we find Christian IV, in 1617, still exacting taxes from it. (*N. Rigsregistranter*, IV, p. 635.) The old Russian term for Lapland was Murmanskaja Zemlja—the Norwegian coast. (*Norges Land og Folk*, XX, p. 696.) Christian IV claimed toll from all vessels which passed Vardø. Cp. A. Ræstad, *Kongens Strømme*, pp. 228 f.

[2] Kildin, see above p. 119.

[3] A contemporary Dutch bird's-eye view of Vardø, for the use of pilots, is reproduced in Eidem og Lütken, *Vor Sømagts Historie*, p. 214. In the *Merchants' Mappe of Commerce*, Lond. 1638, Vardø is said to have taken the place of Bergen as the most important trading-station of the North.

[4] A member of the King's party to Vardø in 1599 describes the castle as very wretched, consisting of six small block-houses surrounded by a little rampart with four iron cannon. (Jonas Charisius, in Schlegel's *Samlung zur dän. Gesch.* I, 4tes Stück, pp. 62–3.) In 1620 the castle is reported as very decayed, but the King refuses to spend money on it. (*Norske Rigsregistranter*, V, p. 118.) The cannon were needed to exact submission from foreign vessels, which were obliged to pay toll here.

[5] Jón evidently means John Cunningham (d. 1652), a Scots noble, habitually called Hans Koning, or Køning, in official documents, a name which presumably gave rise to such explanations as Jón gives. He had

sent to our gracious King Christian IV at his coronation with the present of a magnificent ship called *Red Lion*, and for this reason he was called King Hans. He was eccentric and very unaccountable in his ways, especially when in his cups. The King once ordered him to the Sound with a ship of war, called the *Black Knight*, to waylay those vessels which sailed on the easterly side of the Sound in order to evade paying toll. In one summer he captured five vessels[1], which were sent to Copenhagen, with all kinds of goods on board, which were afterwards returned by the special grace of the King and the humble plea of their captains, amongst whom was a certain old Scotsman who begged the King on his knees and in tears to give up his ship and to pardon him. His plea was granted in consideration of his age and of his promises to conduct himself better in the future.

At the end of this year the King ordered Hans to the castle at Vardø, as he had confidence in his power to govern the Finns, and knew that he would not suffer their evil magical practices, for there were continual rumours of such crimes, and most of the castle governors who had been there had not dared to have those concerned put to death. But this one had a whole company of them thrown into fires every year, for which reason the King held him all the dearer[2]. So long

served Frederik II as well as Christian IV, and had been Admiral of the squadron which, with the Englishman Hall as pilot, rediscovered Greenland for the Danes in 1605. But Jón makes a curious mistake in stating that Hans Koning was already Governor of Vardø, though he seems to qualify it later by saying "at the end of this year," *i.e.* presumably 1616. He was the Captain of the *Gabriel* which according to official records was one of the squadron in which Jón was cruising, though he does not mention the vessel. (Lind, p. 167.) We know, however, that the then Governor, Claus Gagge, had had leave to come to Copenhagen in the summer of 1616 (*Norske Rigsregistranter*, IV, p. 572), so that it is conceivable that Hans Koning took over some temporary duties at the castle on his arrival.

[1] In 1609, on the *Mackerel*, off the coast of Bohuslän, he captured some Dutch vessels attempting to export oak timbers without permission: it may be to this exploit that Jón refers.

[2] The King probably appointed Hans Koning because he thought he would be more energetic than his predecessor in upholding the Danish King's rights, and in his letter of appointment Hans Koning is instructed not to allow Swedes or Russians or others to penetrate the country, nor to cede more rights to them than are justly theirs. In a royal letter to his

as I had any knowledge of how matters went, he came to no harm through this action.

This Hans received us well on our arrival with the six ships of war, namely, *Victor*, *Jupiter*, *Unicorn*, *Milkmaid*, *David of Lübeck* and *Leopard*[1]. And on that occasion we remained there no longer than for one night, and thence went on our course to Kildin on the Russian coast, of which I have already spoken somewhat. There we tarried for two nights, and thence set out to the north-eastward of Russia into the White Sea, as far as the Seven Islands. There the sea has the colour of milk[2], and it is at first very strange to look upon, until one gradually becomes accustomed to it. We were nearly a fortnight away from Kildin seeking for these pirates, but we did not find them.

At Kildin we spent six days. On the third day there visited us the commanding officer from Malmis who had 300 soldiers under him. This man was handsomely clad and had for his outermost garment a silk tunic which reached to his feet; another underneath reached to the middle of his calves, and a third reached to his knees and they were adorned with gold lace[3]. When he was come on board and three pieces of cannon had been fired, and the greetings were ended, he threw

predecessor, however (1608), there is the following passage: "And whereas experience sufficiently shows, that the aforesaid Finnish and Lappish folk by nature and custom are inclined to magic, *and therefore Norwegians and other worthy persons do not dare to live near them, much less to settle in the fjords where there are many Finns*, thou shalt be careful to see that those who are convicted of using magic, after judgment held and sentence pronounced, shall be put to death without mercy." Persons suspected of magic are to be expelled from the country. (*Norske Rigsregistranter*, IV, p. 300.) There are records of eighty persons condemned for trolldom at Vardø from 1610–88, but curiously enough only eight of these are Finns. (*Norges Land og Folk*, XX, p. 281.)

[1] Lind, p. 172, does not mention the *Milkmaid*, but says that *Gabriel* was of the squadron.

[2] This is only the case at certain seasons. Mr A. F. R. Wollaston, D.S.C., of King's College, Cambridge, informs me that when he first saw the White Sea in October 1914 the water was "distinctly milky," but that in May 1919 it was brown and muddy, no doubt owing to melting snows and consequent floods in the Dvina river.

[3] Jonas Charisius, who visited these regions in 1599, says that the Russians who visited the *Victor* were handsomely clad in various colours, and had long garments with sleeves which fell half an ell below their hands. Then they had long under-tunics lined with lambskin, for they exchange ermine for lambskin with the English. (Schlegel's *Saml.* I, p. 67.)

off his outermost tunic and went down into the cabin with our masters with great courtesy, modesty and a cheerful bearing. While the ceremony lasted four trumpeters stood aft sounding their trumpets. The twelve soldiers who accompanied him remained in the boat all day until the evening. The admiral sent for the captains of the other ships; they were all of the nobility except one, Peter Nielsen[1] by name; there were eleven of them altogether in the whole fleet[2]. This Russian war-captain was especially pleasant and merry, free with gold and haughty to no man, whether high or low. In a small bag which he carried in his pocket he had a great quantity of Russian money, though it was in small coins, those called denga[3], bright silver of the value of a dried cod; of these he scattered untold numbers among us gunners at every salute with the three cannon, and also among the four trumpeters who blew the bassoon, cornet, and shawm and played on the lute: they played four instruments in harmony with masterly art. This merry-making lasted late into the day: toasts were drunk, both to the King and to the Grand Prince of Moscovia[4], who is the overlord of all Russia and is called *tzar velicoikness*[5] (which may be interpreted, King and Great Chief)—and further toasts to all the royal house and the Danish Council of State, and so also to the great lords of Russia. Afterwards, as the evening drew on and the admiral, the company aiding him, had feasted him as well as they could, and he showed himself ready for departure, he gave his twelve

[1] Peter Nielsen, Captain of the *Jupiter* on this expedition, was made Captain in 1610. He went to India in 1618, and seems to have returned. (Lind, p. 187.)

[2] Jón evidently means officers in general. We know of the following:
Victor. Jørgen Daa, Admiral; Holger Rosenkrands, Capt.; Laurids Brems, Lieutenant.
Leopard. Sigv. G. Akeleye, Capt.; Mourits Prins, Lieutenant.
Gabriel. Hans Koning, Capt.; Henrik Vind, Lieut.
Unicorn. Enevold Stygge, Capt.; Johann Sem, Lieut.
David of Lübeck. Frans Brokkenhus, Vice-Admiral; Jens Munk, Lieut.
Jupiter. Peter Nielsen. [R.C.]

[3] *Denga*. In Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, II, p. 273, this word is translated as penny. For the value of a dried cod, see above, p. 59, *n.* 1.

[4] *Grotfursti*—corrupted from the Dutch.

[5] Russian: tsar i vjelikiknjaz. [S.B.]

soldiers leave to come on board, but not before, nor would they take any food or ale from us save at the last, when they were given leave thereto by their master, but they had ample food of their own, of which they partook twice that day. Before they received leave to come on board all our officers went on deck and took their seats or chairs, the admiral in the middle, Captain Holger on his right and Lieutenant Laurids Brems on his left. The gentlefolk stood round, and outside them our folk with muskets. The officer himself walked within the ring with his rod of authority or staff. Then these twelve men came on board, each with a sword at his side, and first laid down their muskets in a line along the starboard gunwale, and then entered this wide circle of men, three in a row, and out again in the same manner, until they came to the knees of our officers, when they fell on their knees. Each three bore on a painted tray a fine large freshly-caught salmon, split open, and disposed as if it were living and uncut, and each of the three humbly and respectfully knelt before our three officers, offering their salmon with great reverence, afterwards rising respectfully to their feet and withdrawing with deep bows, then very smartly taking their guns and firing them off. The other nine, who came in three parties, conducted themselves in the same manner. And when all this was over they were given gifts with the good wishes of the officers, who drank their health in wine. Thereupon they took their leave, and bowed to each in proper fashion, and so went down the side to their boat, loading their guns, which were a fathom long and all enamelled. And before their commander left he invited our admiral to bring twenty-four men to a banquet at his house, and this the admiral accepted if the wind permitted. Then, after taking his leave, and calling down a blessing on the ship and its crew, he went down the side, cheerful in temper and aspect. Thereupon three cannon were fired off on each vessel, and nine on the admiral's. Three times they waved to us and fired off their guns.

Two days after the events just related the admiral and some of the officers of the other vessels set out in our ship's boat, but we had to turn back owing to the adverse weather, and

reached our ships again with great difficulty and many exertions.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF RUSSIA[1] FOLLOWS FOR THE INSTRUCTION OF THOSE IGNORANT OF THE COUNTRY

Russia, which is also called Moscovia, is a land of vast boundaries with many forests, marshes and deserts, and also with many and large lakes excellent for fishing, and noble rivers. It is 500 (Danish) miles long and 350 (Danish) miles broad. It is a fruitful land, with rye, wheat, oats and wild game, and many kinds of precious furs from wild creatures. On the north side it is bounded by the Arctic Ocean and by Nova Zembla; on the east by the Caspian Sea and Great Tartary, on the south by the Crimea and Podolia, on the south-western side by Lithuania, on the west by Livonia, and on the north-west by Sweden and Courland. One part of Russia lies in Europe, and the other part in Asia. In Europe lie Moscovia and various other lands and districts. In Asia the Russians possess many regions, both of Tartary and other countries, where various savage peoples to the number of twenty-one, have their habitations, far out in the north-east[2]. One lord and governor rules over all these countries, and is called in Russian tzar and velicoikness[3], which being inter-

[1] This account of Russia is taken from the *Compendium Cosmographicum* by Hans Nansen (1598–1667), burgomaster of Copenhagen from 1644 to his death. The first edition was printed in Copenhagen in 1633, others in 1635 and 1646. There are slight differences in them. Jón used that of 1646. (See Introd.) Hans Nansen had been to the Kola peninsula in 1614–15, and in 1619 he penetrated as far as Petchora, spending the winter 1619–20 at Kola. He had also been in other parts of Russia. The first part of the book contains astronomical and other information: the second part, from p. 67 to 217, "tells shortly about all the known kingdoms and countries that are on the earth," and the third part, pp. 217–315, "tells shortly about things serviceable for navigation." The fourth part contains a chronological list "of the more important events since the beginning of the world, specially in Denmark and neighbouring lands."

[2] Nansen mentions the twenty-one countries by name: "Casan, Astracan, Nagai, Volgari, Zeremisi, Mordua, Cassinon, Kirkassia, Igoria, Grusin, Viatka, Permia, Jugoria, Bolgaria, Sibirien, Kabarda, Lucomoria, Udorie, Obdora, Condora, Samoiedi; and several other countries."

[3] Nansen: velikoi kness.

preted is King and Great Chief, and every person conducts himself according to the will of the tzar. Over the spiritual orders is a patriarch[1], and he has certain archbishops and bishops, priests and monks under him; among the monks are many who can neither read nor write. They have the Greek religion, hold masses, pray, read and chant all in their own native tongue, which is called the Slavonic language. There are in Russia many fine large towns, but the houses are almost all built of wood and timber. Such a large town is Moscow, the capital of the whole country, and there are forty other large cities, and many others of which I make no mention here.

Off the Russian coast, far out in the sea, lies an island called Solofci, on which stands a wealthy monastery[2].

From these countries are exported flax, hemp, wax, tallow, and the skins of elks and other animals, sables, martens, foxes, wolves, lynx[3], otter[3], beavers and ermines, and other furs. Also rye, salmon, dried and salted fish, whale-oil and other wares.

The great river Volga springs up in the middle of Russia, and has a devious course until it runs into the Caspian Sea. There are situated the salt cliffs which contain so much salt that it would suffice for the whole of Christendom if they were nearer and more conveniently situated[4]. And here, for the time, we will end our account of Russia. Of their beliefs I know nothing except that I have heard that they worship the Holy Trinity and none of the saints but St Nicholas, who is said to have first offered them the Christian faith[5]. It is said that before burial they place all bodies, whether of young

[1] Until 1589 the metropolitan of Moscow had been subordinate to the Patriarchate of Constantinople: in 1589 a Patriarchate of Moscow was established. (*Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, s.v. Russian Church, p. 870.)

[2] Solovetzki Island.

[3] The MSS. are corrupt here, and these words are from the Danish original.

[4] Here the excerpt from Nansen ends. Nansen goes on to say that these salt cliffs provide salt for Media, Persia, Armenia, Tartary and a large part of Russia. He then describes the course of the Tanais or Don river, and of the Dnieper and Dvina.

[5] Jón may have come to this conclusion because of the frequent occurrence of the name of St Nicholas in the region he visited. The market

or old, in the scales; the body is placed on one side and a wooden statue, made according to each man's age, on the other: if the statue proves heavier than the body, it is said that they hold that man's soul saved, but if the body is the heavier, that he is damned[1].

at Colmogro was held on St Nicholas' Day, there is an Abbey of St Nicholas and a Bay of St Nicholas beyond Colmogro. Cp. Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II, pp. 215 ff., 426. There was a Trinity Church at Petschenga. (*Norges Land og Folk*, XX, p. 326.)

[1] It is difficult to say whence Jón obtained this story. It may be a combination of the common belief that the souls of dead men are weighed in the scales, with a custom which seems to have obtained in Lapland, of burying a wooden image of a man, as an offering to the god Ruto, the god of the dead. (*Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, VII, p. 798.) The Lappish conceptions at this date were much influenced by Christian ideas, and the dead were thought either to go to heaven, or to the god of the dead, Ruto, a kind of hell. (*Norges Land og Folk*, XX, pp. 230 ff.)

CHAPTER XIX

WHEN we had stayed six days at Kildin we felt a desire to depart thence on our homeward journey. Two days previously the admiral, captain and lieutenant had purchased beforehand the catch of one whole day's fishing in fifty-two of their boats, by which they made a triple profit. My good comrade Jón Halldórsson and I cleaned all the fish which fell to the share of the lieutenant, who was a Swede[1], and he gave each of us a rixdollar and a bottle of excellent wine as long as our toil lasted.

Before the Finnish and Russian fishermen of those regions touch their boats or fishing-gear in the morning, they repair to the great crucifix which stands on the spit of land[2] by the harbour not far from their booths[3], huts and settlements, and there they fall down and worship before it. These people eat hard salted fare, and drink brandy as if it were water, and in one drink they will swallow a pint and a half. But of this no more.

Thereupon we set our course out of the harbour and towards home, and came to Vardø castle, where King Hans was governor, and he welcomed us warmly.

During our sojourn there it happened one morning that we went ashore with our boat fully manned. The crew was to fetch water, but among them were gunners, the cook and the cellar-boy, the under-captain and the admiral's sister's son, Jens Brandt; and our purpose in going ashore was to fetch back our linen from the wash. Now it so chanced that the boat's crew had forgotten the bailer, and a storm sprang up from the south-east, the distance from the ship to the land being fully half a league. Most of us were somewhat drunk. As the squall grew in strength the boat shipped seas, but we

[1] Evidently Laurids Brems, mentioned above p. 126.

[2] In 1595 the Dutch found crosses set up on projecting points on the shores of the Veigat Straits. The practice is evidently a survival of the heathen Lappish holy places on the shores or islands of lakes rich in fish. (*Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, VII, p. 797.)

[3] Scheffer describes the dwellings of the Lapps in his *History of Lapland*, Oxford, 1674, ch. XVI.

could not bail. The boat was heavily laden, for there were fifty-two barrels on board, and so at last it capsized and filled; yet it did not sink altogether, but floated water-logged. No help came from the admiral's ship, though a small boat was on deck, for men feared to go out in it in a high sea, and indeed it would have been no use on account of its small size, even if they had ventured to launch it. But those in the other vessels, which lay further out, could not see what was happening, because our own ship blocked their view of us. But by signals, waving and shouting on our ship they at last got help sent to us. We lost five men in all including our cook, who died three days later. Jens Brandt and I sat in the bows, and for that reason we were first rescued. We lay in bed one day, some not at all, and others a week or less.

Two days later we left Vardø and reached the coast of Finmark and Hálogaland[1]. The snow still lay in many places, though it was about Midsummer Day when we arrived. The Finns[2] came out to us in their boats one Sunday morning, their women and children with them, before the sermon began, and stayed until evening. They mostly wear for daily use their clothes of hairy elk-skin[3], beautifully cured and decorated. They turn the rough side outermost, and the women and children, who are rather high-coloured and fine-looking, also wear these skin garments. They sold us fish in exchange for clothing for their women. I and my comrade sold them twelve ells of foreign cloth, half of it red and half of it blue[4]. It is their way to call any man kinsman with whom they are in converse. Their women wear much gold and silver in their ears, also forehead-bands and coral bracelets: those of the poorer sort wear brass, copper and bright tin in their ears[5].

[1] Hálogaland, the old term for the whole of Northern Norway.

[2] For definition of "Finns" see note 2 to p. 137 below.

[3] It was probably reindeer-skin. Scheffer, *op. cit.*, says their daily wear is wadmal, but for best use they have garments of reindeer-skin.

[4] Scheffer (*op. cit.* pp. 88 f.) says they adorn their reindeer-skin garments with red or other coloured cloth, cut into the shape of flowers, stars, etc. They also like strips of coloured cloth on their shoes, and their caps are often of red or other coloured cloth.

[5] Scheffer says their silver adornments are mostly buttons and rings, the better sort have silver and "alchymy" chains, rings, etc. up to a weight of 20 lb.

This people is almost entirely given over to magic[1], reports of which travel far, so there is no need to write further of it in this place. Three kinds of Finns are mentioned: Sea-Finns, Lapp-Finns and Fell-Finns[2]. They give themselves out to be Christians, and some of them take the sacrament: they take their children to Norwegian ministers for baptism, though sometimes not until they are a year old. They are excellent smiths in wood and iron: they are constantly employed in building fishing-vessels[3] and boats, and fashioning various other utensils and necessaries. Finnish settlements[4] are scattered widely over Norway, both by fell and fjord. They are not permitted to inhabit the same spot longer than ten years[5]; then, after obtaining permission, they establish themselves in the forests, where the trees are thick and fine, and these they root up for their needs and establish their settlement and sojourn there for the said ten years; then on their departure the Norwegians take their place and dwelling. They are much addicted to train-oil, butter and all kinds of fat from every kind of creature: this they drink like ale at their meals, and they give the train-oil to their womenfolk in pregnancy, at the time they are delivered.

[1] Even in the old Icelandic sagas the "Finns" are famous for their skill in magic.

[2] An anonymous work on Finmark from the 16th century (Storm, *Hist. Top. Skrifter om Norge i* 16e *Aarh.* p. 169) says: "There are two kinds of Finns, Sea-Finns and Fell-Finns: Sea-Finns who live by the coast and Fell-Finns who live up in the fells, and these latter are called Lapps." Jón has merely made a third category by the combination "Lapp-Finns." As a matter of fact "Finn" is the old Norwegian term for the race the Swedes call "Lapps"—the word Lapp is much later, and in Norway was regarded as a term of contempt. The Swedes probably adopted the word to avoid confusion with the inhabitants of Finland proper, whom the Norwegians called Kuæner or Finlændinger. (In Modern Swedish Finlander means a Swedish-Finn.) The Sea-Finns are generally supposed to be a degenerate branch of the Fell-Finns, condemned by poverty and lack of reindeer to abandon the nomadic life.

[3] Cp. Scheffer, *op. cit.* ch. XXI.

[4] In Jón's time only in the northern parts of Norway. But the old Norwegian laws (13th century) indicate that in old times there were settlements of Finns much further south.

[5] There does not appear to be any law to this effect, but the Finns were naturally nomadic. In the Viking Age they seem to have cleared a great deal of forest land in the North of Norway. (Cp. A. Hansen, *Landnåm i Norge*, p. 199.)

CHAPTER XX

THENCE we held on our course and passed close beneath the mountain called North Cape, which is a headland or crag to the north-west of Finmark or Hálogaland. And one morning early, as we were sailing by, five large vessels were sighted from the mast-head. These vessels were sailing eastwards towards Russia and would meet us, and we dreaded lest they came with hostile intent, which however proved not to be the case. All the hammocks slung under the deck were immediately cut down and, together with all bed-coverings, stowed in the hold with the greatest haste: the port-holes were opened, the cannon made ready, powder stored in bags; and half of the crew were ordered to attend to the sailing in the engagement, while the other half was to handle the muskets, those we call match-locks, in which task many of them were unpractised and awkward. Brandy was brought up in pint kegs and given to the crew, and flags were hoisted. An admiral has his standard or flag on the mainmast head[1], a vice-admiral on the foremast head, a rear-admiral[2] on the mizen head, and the other ships have their flag forward on the bowsprit, on the sprit-mast, which they call *gickmers*; and no one may do contrary to this on pain of death. Afterwards the vessel *Unicorn* was sent to beat up into the wind to get past them, for that vessel sailed the best of our ships, and then it sailed back before the wind. Each of their ships sailed towards us, their admiral last, and on his ship were four trumpeters who blew merrily. We hailed the vessel that came first and asked who they were and whence they came. They said they were sailing from Hamburg eastwards to Russia, to the place called Archangel, with merchandise. The admiral

[1] Art. 47 of the Naval Regulations of 1582. (Secher, *Forordn.* II, pp. 243 ff.)

[2] Jón calls a rear-admiral *skotvanacter*, corrupted from the Dutch *Schout bij nacht*, older Dan. *schout bynakt*. [S.B.]

ordered them to come on board and show their pass or letter of permission granting sailing-leave in Danish waters[1], which they and the other vessels obstinately refused to do until their admiral should arrive. They would not lower their topsail, but ran up into the wind and let their sails flap. Now when their admiral arrived, our admiral spoke clearly and curtly to him, and bade him come on board to us at once with his letter of permission, which he loudly refused to do, bidding us launch our boat, and saying that they were as good as we. When our admiral heard that, standing by the mizen-mast with his battle-sword, he snatched off his hat and dashed it under his feet, and called out in a clear voice, saying in German[2], "Wer bi sein," which may be interpreted, "Each to his place." And when they saw our crew separate each to his work and heard the alarm sounded on the drum, their admiral was quick to run aft with a white linen cloth, which he held aloft, calling out loudly: "Pes! Pes! Pes![3]" that is to be interpreted a cry for peace. Meanwhile, others of them cut loose their boat and launched it, and the officers of all five ships and their admiral came on board our vessel, bowing and demanding peace, and gave as compensation twelve tuns of good Hamburg ale, a barrel of butter, a barrel of cheese and two barrels of salted herrings. And in the evening a feast and entertainment was made for them, and the reindeer which we had on board from Finmark was handed over to them as a gift, and so we parted with farewells and firing of guns and to the sound of trumpets.

The second day after this there was a council or meeting held on the flagship and a great gathering of the officers of all the fleet; and it was decided that we should steer for Iceland, to help the Icelanders, according to the royal mandate, against all piratical enemies, especially the Spaniards, who were expected up here, according to the general opinion, to take vengeance for those Spaniards who were killed here in

[1] The King of Denmark, being also King of Norway, claimed all these waters as "Danish." See Introd.

[2] Low German.

[3] Probably the French "paix," 16th century form "pais."

1615[1]: the which vengeance our heavenly Lord and beloved Almighty Father was pleased to foil. Praise be to His glorious name for all His benefits. Amen.

Thereupon we held away from the North Cape on the course to Iceland. We had a good and fair wind, and were three weeks on the way, and first saw land off Húsavík[2]. We sailed hither about mid-morning, and men held that that course had not been sailed for 300 years[3]. To the east of Húsavík, in the evening, while the evening hymn was being sung, we all but came to harm on a skerry which lies far from the land. But it so chanced, most fortunately, that on that one occasion, though it was not his custom, the admiral was pacing the decks and observed the skerry, though only late because we were steering straight for it and the ship's side hid it. According to custom, we were sailing ahead of the other vessels. And because the vessel veered a little out of its course by accident, while the helmsman turned the hour-glass, the admiral was able to perceive the sunken reef, which else was hidden by the ship, and he shouted to the helmsman in a loud voice to keep the vessel still further out. At his shout every man leapt from his seat, and the ship passed so close to the reef on the starboard side that a man might have thrown whatever he fancied on to it from the gunwale. Thereupon a signal was made with all speed to the vessels that were following. This was one of the uncountable miracles of the Almighty Lord, and after it a general thanksgiving was held on the ship. Then we sailed eastwards along the coast in this direction, as far as Eyjafjöll[4]. There sprang up a gale from the north-west which lasted more than a fortnight, daily increasing in violence,

[1] It was late in 1616 that two wrecked Spanish crews plundered in Strandir (N.W. Iceland). Eighteen were killed by Ari Magnússon and his men at Sandeyri and on the island of Æðey (see map) and thirteen in Dýrafjörð. (*Annáler Björns á Skarðsá*, 1616.) Jón must be thinking of the pirates who came in 1615: cp. note 3 to p. 31. There may well have been Spaniards among them.

[2] Húsavík, on the north coast.

[3] Presumably since the time of the Icelandic Commonwealth, when the Icelanders had their own vessels. In 1618 Captain Niels Rosenkrands is ordered to sail from Iceland to Vardø. (H. G. Garde, *Efterretninger*, 1, p. 93.)

[4] On south coast. Their course evidently lay round the east coast.

and men thought it must be brought on by magic, for those on land would think these six vessels of ours to be the enemy's ships bound for vengeance, which were so dreaded, as I mentioned before. The admiral had planned to bring the fleet in to Hafnarfjörð[1], if fortune had permitted it, and to betake himself to the *Althing* [Parliament], and I and my comrade Jón Halldórsson were to journey thither with him. Meanwhile, half the ships were to lie in Hafnarfjörð, and the other half were to sail hither to Ísafjörð Deeps, to discover whether the Spaniards had come there. This plan was brought to nothing, for the contrary winds foiled it, and we were obliged, willy nilly, to sail off to the Faroes. It was in the evening, about the time that cattle are driven home for milking, that we sailed away from the Eyjafjöll mountains, and the next evening we were off the Faroes, which lie fully seventy (Danish) miles away[2], and yet the vessel ran only under her mainsail, for the foresail could not be used, the wind being dead aft. Moreover, the sea ran so high that no one could go further forward than amidships, and the ship often threw spray from her bowsprit right over her topmast. Two of our vessels could not make the Faroes and did not know where they were, until they found themselves off Lindesnes[3] in Norway, and they ran all that distance in three days from here. Both they and we each thought the other was lost.

We stayed a whole fortnight in the Faroes, and lay in the harbour at Thorshavn, which is the market-town. The ship lay in a fjord called Calaman[4]. Further out in the fjord, at Lambhauge, dwelt the law-man Mikkel[5], whose guests some

[1] Hafnarfjörð, a few miles south of the modern Reykjavík.

[2] See note 6 to p. 16 *supra*.

[3] Lindesnes, the extreme southernmost point of the mainland of Norway.

[4] Jón probably means Sölmundarfjörð, which in ordinary conversation is called Sölmundi: it is a district on Østerø to the east of Skálafjörð. In the map in N. Andersen's book, *Færøerne* 1600–1709, the district is called Solmunde. From thence Lambhauge is "further out," but it is not in the same fjord, but in Lambavík. There is, however, only a narrow isthmus between the fjords, and it is quite natural that Jón should think that Lambhauge belonged to the Skálafjörð district. [Communicated to Mr Blöndal by the late Professor Björn M. Ólsen.]

[5] Mikkel Joensen of Lambhauge was not the law-man (Dan. *Laugmand*) of the Faroes, but only one of the six deemsters, *laugrettesmænd*, members

of us were for two nights, namely I and some others, together with the admiral himself and the captains of the four vessels. We were handsomely entertained with many kinds of food and liquor, *viz.*, three kinds of mead, many kinds of wine, Hamburg ale, Lübeck ale, Rostock ale[1], Trondhjem ale, Copenhagen ale of two kinds, and three kinds of English ale, *viz.*, ale[2], strong beer[3], and ship's ale. There was merry-making of every kind, music of various kinds, and dancing and ring-games[4] after the Faroese fashion, with ballads and singing. We also went with the admiral to a carousal at a widow's house; she was the mother of Jón Ólafsson the Faroese[5], at that time fourteen years of age, whom we took with us to Denmark. He took service with a nobleman and got five farms here in Álftafjörð as a fief for three years.

On the vessel called the *Unicorn* it so befell that the ship's mate was hanged from the bowsprit, not for theft, but for another kind of ugly deed, namely, that out of laziness, in the great storm I have spoken of as we came from Iceland, he obeyed a call of nature (begging my reader's pardon) in the room which was used as a bread-store. He was buried by the

of the Court, of Østerø, an island which formed one of the six districts of the Faroes. The deemsters were, in theory, judges, as in the old Norwegian and Icelandic constitution, but as it frequently happened in the Faroes that not one of them could read, the real authority lay with the sworn clerk or sorenskriver. In 1624 four of the other deemsters of Østerø had it recorded in the records of the annual meeting that they would not sit in the Court with Mikkel Joensen, because he was a hypocrite and slanderer. The law-man at this time (1608–28) was Zacharias Tormodsen of Eide. In his letter of appointment he is called Thormundssøn. (*Norske Rigsregistranter*, IV, p. 248.) Cp. N. Andersen, *Færøerne* 1600–1709, pp. 171 ff., 210, Cop. 1895.

[1] Of these, Hamburg ale was considerably the most expensive. Comparatively little Lübeck ale was imported: in 1615 only 112 barrels to Copenhagen as against over 18,000 of Rostock ale. Cp. Nielsen, *Kjøbenhavns Hist.* IV, pp. 145, 206. Jón mentions all the different kinds of beer with a certain wistfulness, because since 1602 no other ale but Danish might be exported to Iceland. Cp. *Ann. Björns á Skarðsá*, Tom. I, sub anno 1602.

[2] *Ale.* [3] *Strangbýr.*

[4] Ring-dances, danced to chanted ballads, an old form of amusement in the North, preserved to this day in the Faroes.

[5] Jón Ólafsson the Faroese was Sheriff (*sýslumaður*) in Snæfellsnes up to 1640, and later became a tenant of the King in the *sýsla* of Ísafjörð. Cp. vol. II. We hear of him at the Althing from 1635. Cp. B. Benediktsson, *Sýslumannaæfir*, II, p. 84; III, p. 115 and note. [References from S.B.]

Faroese farmers, by leave of the admiral, which yet was hard to obtain. Thereupon another was appointed to his post with grave admonitions, and at a gathering on board the *Unicorn*, when the ships' crews were called together, the admiral in a loud voice sternly enjoined on us all to avoid every kind of fault and breach of regulations, whether open or secret, in deed or in word, and to apply ourselves to our work and calling in the fear of God and all heedfulness, so that none should bring upon himself nor upon his ship-mates God's wrath and condign punishment. All promised to do their best with the aid of God.

When we reached the Faroes there were on the flagship twenty-two men sick of the scurvy, and I and my comrades were ordered on shore in turn to tend them with fresh food, wine and milk, so that none of them died, save one, a Norwegian named Thord. All these were in one room at a farm owned by a man called Olaf, a smith skilled in all kinds of iron work. This man proved exceedingly kind to me. He had learnt his art in Trondhjem. He had two barrels of English strong beer when I came, and kept them chiefly for my use. I gave him one Icelandic book and sold him another; they were: *The Immortality of the Soul*[1] and *Enchiridion*[2]. He read them easily, for there was no great difference between their tongue and ours, and it was the same in many ways with their customs, in the making of sour milk, whipped milk, unsalted food, smoke-hung meat and hammered fish, as also in the costume of the women, their head-covering, cloaks and gowns, footgear and other wear. But now Danish manners have come in there, both in churches and in the world, with the ordinary Danish language. The dress of the men was previously similar

[1] The title is *Christeleg Vnderuiisun Um odaudleika Salarennar*, "Christian Teaching about the immortality of the Soul," printed at Hólar in Iceland, in 1601.

[2] *Enchiridion*, printed at Hólar in 1600, put together by Bishop Guðbrand Thorlákson from the works of Dr Chytræus and Magister Chemnitius. The first part contains a rhymed calendar, followed by instructions for finding the lessons appointed for the day, etc. The second part is a collection of prayers and a selection from the Psalms of David. The name is perhaps taken from the *Enchiridion Theologicum* of the Danish theologian Niels Hemmingsen, d. 1600.

to ours, save that on ordinary days many farmers and labourers wore long breeches, with jerseys of Faroese wadmal, and had hairy shoes, the upper parts and edges of which were like those of the Finns and Courland folk.

They told me that there were fifteen parishes in the Faroes and one rural dean, but no bishop. Of the islands, seven are large and ten small, and on them all there were at that time 300 farmers. The admiral sent an imperative command to them all that they should come to see him, and that each of them should bring a sheep with him for the refreshing of the ships' crews. This they gladly did, one and all, and brought in addition fresh milk and cheeses. The admiral apportioned the farmers among the four vessels, and on four several days a feast was held, one on each of the four ships, as the admiral arranged and ordered it in his kindness, so that honour and service might be shown to the inhabitants by each in turn. The banquet of the first day was held on the *Victor* in especially fine weather. Tables were set up on the decks and seats placed round them; at these tables sat the admiral and all the officers. The trumpets blew three times to call all to table, and then after Grace there was eating and drinking and toasts drunk. Six hundred salutes were fired on that day and trumpets were sounded in between. Their cattle on land became frantic with fear at the sound of the cannon. When the farmers became tipsy, they showed us every kind of entertainment after their fashion, with the admiral's permission. The same was done on the other ships, and the admiral was bidden thither with our other officers. The second day a feast was held on the *Jupiter* in the same style, and 700 shots fired. The third day it was held on the *David* and 800 shots fired: the fourth day on the *Unicorn* and 900 shots fired, and on that occasion a man called Leon Friis was hurt by one of the guns and lost two fingers of his left hand, and was long in healing. That same day a woman on the shore was much terrified because it happened while she was milking her cow in the evening that a cannon ball[1] penetrated a tussock close to the peg to which

[1] In those days salutes were fired with shot, it is supposed because they made more noise. It is said that this preference for saluting with shot

the cow was fastened: the cow was startled and broke away and spilt the milk, and the woman lay long in a swoon. This same evening I had gone ashore to attend to the sick, and with me an excellent man called Gottske, in whose charge I had in some sort been placed for instruction in my calling. He had long been in the service of gentlefolk, and was a clever fellow in many ways, but not fitted for the sea by reason of sea-sickness, by which he was often sorely plagued. I had oft to tend him as if he had been my father, and for this cause I became as dear to him as a son. And when a younger and less experienced man is put under the charge of another older and wiser in their common work, and cannon are allotted to them which they must tend for dear life, keeping water out of them so as to have them in good order when needed, that there be no check or hindrance in them through carelessness or neglect, lest a misfortune should befall themselves, then these younger ones are called by the older prentices or underlings, and such was I to this man. Now I must tell how this same woman came to us weeping and in great terror. We comforted her as best we could and entertained her with what was to hand, so that she recovered herself. We advised her to dig up the ball out of the tussock, and next morning to get a man with a boat and have herself ferried out to the flagship when we had returned to it, and she was to show the ball and we would let the admiral know all that had happened, and so she would get a rixdollar for the ball[1], and perhaps more, if luck favoured her. And so it happened: we had come back to the ship, and when the woman came, I made known to the admiral all that had happened. The woman was called before the admiral and took the ball with her and displayed it to him. He at once handed her a rixdollar and gave her an

was the actual cause of the (Scandinavian) Seven Years' War. Three Danish ships saluting the Swedish fleet in 1563 were unfortunate enough to tear a small piece out of a Swedish sail (Troels Lund, in *Hist. Tidskr.* IV, pp. 199–206, and *Dagligt Liv*, p. 162). A French visitor to Copenhagen describes his horror at finding that the cannon balls fired from the ships are flying close to the horses and carriages where he lands. (*Den Store Bilager*, p. 112.)

[1] A small sum was paid for cannon balls dug up by farmers and returned. (Blom, p. 13.)

old but still good shirt, and much meat and bread, and ordered all on board to treat her well, which was done, so that she got more than five and a half rixdollars with what was given her by the captain and crew of the *Unicorn*, from which the shot was fired. She gave me a blessing whenever she saw me on shore.

After a fortnight's time, we took sail thence and so home to Denmark with no mischance. And when we reached St Anne's Quay[1], we saw one of the King's war-ships sail furiously after us with lowered flag on the topmast, which greatly terrified us, as we thought our King must be either sick or dead. This ship was the *Fides*, one of the finest of the King's war-ships, and it had on board the body of the Chancellor, who had recently died at Oslo, as I have related before[2].

[1] St Anne's Quay: see note 4 to p. 60 *supra*.
[2] Cp. p. 52 above.

CHAPTER XXI

ON this our return, each of us was welcomed according to the friends he possessed. We had been out twenty-two weeks.

The following winter I stood guard at the Royal Arsenal, together with my best comrade, Jón Halldórsson and other worthy men who became my friends, and all went smoothly at that time for all in the service, myself and others. Glory and praise be to God.

The next spring, 1617, the King sent our four war-ships out on a cruise, and that summer we met with no pirates. And when we returned, the King set himself to make trial of his ship, the new *Patientia*, and we with him, and it went aground and capsized in the great storm[1], as I have told before. This ship had previously been called *Caritas*.

The following spring, 1618, twenty-four men from the country of the Biscayans[2] which lies between France and Spain, came in to Copenhagen to our King Christian IV to hunt whales, in pursuance of his gracious command. The winter before the King had two vessels, the *Unicorn* and the *Lamprey*, made ready. They were to pass that spring through Veigat[3], and we were to go with two vessels to Greenland, to the part named Spitzbergen[4]. During the

[1] The order of events must have been somewhat different. The storm was on April 29, so that it is highly improbable that the cruise had taken place before it. It seems that after taking the King to Norway (May 7–14) some of the ships which had accompanied him cruised in the North Sea looking for pirates, so that if Jón was on this expedition he must have left Copenhagen soon after arriving there (p. 60), or else, which seems more likely, not have returned to Copenhagen until some weeks later.

[2] Búskaia. Basques were called Biscayans in English at this period, Buskaier in Danish. They were pioneers in whale-fishery, having already whaled off Greenland and Newfoundland in the 16th century. Cp. Ræstad, *Kongens Strømme*, pp. 218 ff. The name Biscayer's Hook in Spitzbergen commemorates their presence there.

[3] Jón seems to have been thinking of the Kara Straits, but if Veigat was spoken of it must have been Veigat (Disco Bay) on the W. Greenland coast; see below.

[4] Spitzbergen (and also Novaya Zemlja) was reckoned as a part of Greenland, as can be seen in the map of the Icelander Guðbrand Thorlacius, 1606: cp. *Meddelelser fra Grønland*, Bd. IX (1889), Plate II. Hans

winter our officers at the Arsenal sought to discover with fair words those who would be willing to go to Veigat. Some were caught by fair words, others not. Once I was called into the secretarial office where all the officers were seated together, and the master promised me a month's wages and good pay if I would go on that voyage—for at that time I stood high in Adolph Grabow's favour. I answered him and asked for a respite till next morning, with which they were fain to content themselves. The next morning, after the usual muster was over, I was called into the office and again asked what was now in my mind with regard to the matter previously discussed, and I refused entirely, for in the night, while I slept, that journey had been forbidden to me. Afterwards a man called Rasmus Russ was gotten in my stead, a gunner's mate, and I was intended for that same office, if I had been willing to go; the gunner himself was called Niels Skoster, an excellent man. The captain was Jens Munk[1], a nobleman, a cousin of the King's spouse, the Lady Christine. He was an unusually wise man, specially learned in the movements of the heavens and astronomy or navigation; he was therefore

Nansen, *Compendium Cosmographicum* (see p. 132, note 1 *supra*) 1st ed. p. 166, calls it Greenland and says it lies N.N.E. of the North Cape. "Some think it is a part of Greenland: it was discovered by the English: thither sail every year many ships from England, Denmark and Holland: by the Dutch it is called Spitz Bergen."

[1] Jens Munk, b. 1579, d. 1629, the famous explorer, son of Erik Munk, was of an old family, originally noble, from Halland. No connection can be traced between it and the Danish noble family to which Christine belonged (see p. 114 above). Jens' father Erik distinguished himself in naval warfare and was rewarded by various fiefs, but was thrown into prison on a charge of oppression and extortion, committed suicide there and was buried under the gallows. (*Danske Adels Kalender*, XX (1905), p. 324, and *Dansk Biografisk Lexikon*.) Jens' mother was an unfree woman, and as he was moreover probably born out of wedlock, and his father's property was forfeit to the crown, he inherited almost nothing, and went to sea at the age of twelve. After many adventures, chiefly in Bahia, he returned to Denmark and was appointed naval captain by Christian IV in 1611. Of the forty-eight men on the *Unicorn* and the eighteen men on the *Lamprey* only two returned from the search for the North-West passage. With these two Jens contrived to reach Norway on the *Lamprey* at the end of 1620. In 1718 the English found one of his guns, with Christian IV's mark on it, where it had been abandoned in Hudson Bay. Cp. Lind, pp. 193 ff.; Eidem og Lütken, pp. 266 ff.; *Danebrog*, II, 1882, pp. 529–43; Knudsen, J., *Den danske Ishavsfarer Jens Munk.*, Cop. 1902. His own journal, *Navigatio septentrionalis*, is published by Lauridsen.

the commanding officer of both vessels, the *Unicorn* and the *Lamprey*, for which an excellent crew was selected. And in the spring of 1618 these two ships started from Copenhagen at the same time as ourselves and two vessels belonging to citizens, so that we were six together, and those two vessels were bound on a whale-fishing expedition to the same quarter as ourselves[1]. Each of our four whaling-vessels had eleven Biscayans on board and ten whaleboats of the kind called Zelupers, that is to say, sea-runners. These boats consist of four separate parts which can be screwed together, and during the voyage they were in pieces and stowed away in a special part of the ship. We got a fair wind out of the Sound and held on our course all together along the Norwegian coast past the North Cape in Nordland, which was once called Hálogaland and Bjarmaland[2], and which lies contiguous to Finmark. There we parted with Jens Munk and wished each other God-speed. I seem to remember that he steered a nor'-nor'west course, but we a nor'-nor'easterly one. We got a very good favouring wind for a fortnight; and when we caught sight of Greenland, which is a country of monstrously high mountains, and came under its west-south-westerly corner, we were greatly rejoiced.

Now I must say, what I have alluded to before, that in this year a great plague raged in Denmark, so that in Denmark itself 7000 persons died[3]; and this kind of plague had now broken out in our flagship, which was called the *Hector*. Our admiral was Henrik Vind[4], a very great nobleman, brother

[1] Jens Munk does not mention the companionship of the other vessels. He states that he left Copenhagen on May 9, got out of the Sound on May 16, and on May 30 set his course W.N.W. In Christian IV's Calendar it is noted that the *Unicorn* and *Lamprey* started on May 16 (presumably out of the Sound) (*Nyt Hist. Tidskr.* IV, p. 360), but the King would hardly be likely to note whether the other vessels started at the same time. Henrik Vind, Jón's chief, received his instructions on May 7. (Lind, p. 209.)

[2] The old names for the northern provinces of Norway.

[3] For this plague see note 1 to p. 106 *supra*.

[4] Henrik Vind, of Grundet, Aggersvold and Klarupgaard, b. 1594, d. 1633, was of an old Danish noble family. After seeing some service abroad he was made naval captain in 1616, Admiral in 1627. With Niels Hammer he had shared the command of Bremerholm for a time in 1618. (Lind, pp. 60, 208 ff.)

to that Jørgen Vind[1] who, together with Frederik Friis, was sent here by the Chancery at one time. Henrik's lieutenant was also a nobleman, by name Mogens Krabbe[2]: he sickened of the plague and died while we were sailing northwards along the coast, and the admiral paid the whole crew of the vessel to take his body to shore according to ancient ship's custom, which we complied with unwillingly, for there sprang up at once a violent south-east gale, so that we were nearly lost, and our main topmast was carried away. This great storm parted us from the other vessels, so that we did not see them for a whole week, nor come within sight of land until all made vows to God, and He granted us His grace to approach land again at the spot called by the Dutch Thomas Smith's Bay[3], twenty miles further north-west than the place we intended to shelter in. At the end of a long fjord in this Thomas Smith's Bay lay three huge English ships of war, which had also come for whale-fishing, besides four Dutch vessels and the two from Copenhagen which had been in our company and have been mentioned before; their masters were Berndt Berntz and Niels Honning[4].

[1] Jørgen Vind, of Gundestrup, was born in 1593, travelled abroad from 1607–12, became a member of the Council of State in 1640, and in 1643 Admiral of the Kingdom, died as a result of wounds in the naval battle off Kolberger Heide, 1644. In 1618 he had been sent with Frederik Friis on an enquiry into the conduct of the Governor of Iceland, Herluf Daa, which resulted in Daa's dismissal with heavy fines. [R.C.]

[2] Mogens Krabbe became Captain on March 10 (Lind, p. 215), 1619. He was a son of the noble Tyge Krabbe of Bustrup. [Communicated by the late Mr Thiset to R.C.]

[3] Thomas Smiðs Bæ. According to Sir W. M. Conway it is the bay now usually called Wijde Bay. (*The First Crossing of Spitsbergen*, p. 297.) The *Encycl. Brit.* says that Sir Thomas Smith's Bay corresponds to Foreland Sound (Dutch Keerwyk).

[4] In 1619 the King had founded a "Greenland Company" in which the citizens of Copenhagen were interested. We know that two vessels were sent out by it in 1619. Danish whale-fishing did not flourish however, and the Company came to an end in 1623. Cp. Norman, in *Tidskrift for Søvæsen*, II, pp. 1–2. Berndt Berntz was no doubt a member of the Copenhagen burgess family Berens of Copenhagen, which was much interested in whale-fishery and trade in the northern seas. We hear of Niels Honning already in 1613 as merchant captain: in 1627 he became naval captain. He took part in the war (1625–9) [against the Emperor and the League] and died in 1629. [R.C.] He was sent to Iceland with the Governor Holger Rosenkrands in 1628 and 1629. [S.B.]

Now we must tell how we came to the mouth of the said fjord within which, near a sea-mile away, lay the three huge English ships of war. We did not know how our consorts, the other three ships, had fared, whether they were safe or lost. When these three English vessels heard our shots, they sent out from the flagship a boat manned by a picked crew and the lieutenant, to find out what manner of men we were: these were well received by us and plied with food and drink[1]. The admiral persuaded their lieutenant to order four of his men to dig a grave that night, so that it might be ready in the morning, and gave them a rose noble for their trouble. The next morning very early the same English boat came and took on board our officers and the body, for which an inner and an outer coffin had been made, one of oak and one of deal. We were to follow in our boat, which was manned by a picked crew, and also contained our gunner, Niels Damsgaard, a worthy old man, and four of us gunners' mates. On the way we came across a dead walrus, whose teeth are worth their weight in silver, and on the English boat they killed another, which was presented to our admiral. And as we approached the fleet with the body, three cannon were fired in salute on each of their vessels. On our boat we had three small bronze guns, called Falcons[2], and it was arranged that they should be fired off when the funeral discourse came to an end and the body had been placed in the grave; at which moment the admiral was to give me a signal with his kerchief. But while the discourse was proceeding, I considered the arrangement of the guns and the gun-carriage, which was placed forward

[1] In 1616 Christian IV issued a communication to other governments that he could only permit whale-fishery at Spitzbergen on acknowledgment of his suzerainty as King of Norway and only to vessels furnished with a pass. The English King had acquiesced. (Cp. Record Office, State Papers Foreign, Denmark, 1612–24, pp. 158 f.) In his instructions to Gabriel Kruse, May 21, 1615, the Danish King directs that if necessary Kruse is to fight foreign vessels. (Cp. *Cancelliets Brevbøger*, 1609–15, p. 801.) Finally, however, there was a kind of tacit agreement between the Danish, Dutch and English that each nation was to tolerate the others' whale-fishery. (Ræstad, *op. cit.* p. 224.)

[2] Falkónur, falcon: the commonest type of gun, with a cannon-ball weighing up to 1 lb. Eighty-seven were cast at Kronborg between 1609–12, and these weighed from 160 to 180 lbs. (Blom, pp. 171, 230.)

across the boat, and I thought at once that the fixing was not strong enough. Accordingly, I took all loose thwarts out of the boat and laid them along the gunwale, so that I could throw myself backwards if it should be necessary, and it served me well, for when I fired off the first gun the fixing became loose, and with the second everything broke loose at once and flung the guns aft. Yet because I was able to throw myself backwards in the boat, and especially because God aided me, I escaped all injury for that time. Then I went ashore to where they were collected round the grave and were singing the last verse of the funeral hymn. As soon as they had covered their heads, the admiral asks me what became of the last gun in the Danish salute[1]. I excused myself, pleading the mishap that had occurred, but he was not satisfied, and with overbearing mien and violent wrath drew his sword, which hung in a gold-embroidered belt at his side. He appeared to wish to strike me dead at once, but I leapt from him and his blow as speedily as I might run. But just as he was about to strike me dead[2], he stumbled into a snow-hole (for snow and ice lay almost everywhere), so that his hat flew off and he almost fell himself, but the English captains seized hold of him and soothed him, saying such mischances may often occur. But he would not believe that it was an accident. Then three guns were fired on board each of the English vessels. My gunner, the artillery-master, Niels Damsgaard, sympathised with my troubles and went to examine matters on the shore, and found everything exactly as I had said. Then the admiral received an invitation from the English admiral, which he only accepted unwillingly because of his continued anger, not with me but with our two carpenters, whose work seemed to him untrustworthy, and he considered that it had brought disgrace upon us, and also might have caused a misfortune or a mishap. The English entertained him and us very finely, adding music and the blowing of

[1] *Danmerkur lausn, i.e. Danmarks Løsen,* three shots. [S.B.]

[2] The artillerymen seem to have been made responsible for mishaps: in 1589 two were shot in Copenhagen and one in Kronborg because a gun had burst. Cp. *Museum,* 1892, 1, pp. 52 ff.

trumpets to an abundance of wine and ale and victuals. The admiral was so testy on that occasion that he forbade us to come aboard the English flagship. But nevertheless, we received all manner of good things from them.

Now I must tell how when we had been a short time at the ship's side there arrived the captain of the other Danish ship of war. His name was Gabriel Kruse[1], and in the storm he had been parted from us with the two citizens' vessels. He was warmly welcomed and lavishly entertained for as long as the admiral was pleased to remain. But because of his ill humour he would not stay long on board. On our departure they fired off thirty salutes and blew trumpets, and so we parted from each other in all friendliness. Gabriel Kruse came in our boat, and on the way out to the ships, which lay at the mouth of the fjord, our talk fell on what had happened in the affair mentioned before, and Gabriel thought the admiral had made somewhat much of it, and declared that I deserved some friendly consideration for such a perilous mishap, especially as I was in no way at fault. The admiral made but little demur to this, but vowed a condign punishment to pay out the wretched carpenters. And as soon as we were on board, the admiral ordered these two carpenters to be placed forward in the ship's head in irons until the next morning, and then the affair was to be looked into at a Court and such punishment be meted out as they were considered to deserve: either to be keel-hauled three times or else to be swung nine times into the sea from the main-yard. But in the morning it chanced that Captain Gabriel came very early to our ship to dissuade our admiral from this course, and he succeeded in having them delivered, but they were to stand their trial when next there was a ship's Court. However, the whole affair was soon forgotten and never mentioned again.

[1] Here Jón confuses the name of the Captain with that of the vessel. There was a Captain Gabriel Kruse at this time, but it was Enevold Kruse who was on this expedition, commanding the *Gabriel*. Cp. Lind, p. 175. The Kruses were of an old Jutland noble family.

CHAPTER XXII

THEN we left that place and held on an easterly course along the coast, until we came to the other harbour (at the mouth of which an English vessel was lying), in which we were to have taken shelter with the two royal vessels while we tarried in that country. Immediately they sent out their boat to the harbour-mouth to meet us, and welcomed us joyfully with salvoes and trumpet-blowing.

On the shore stood large buildings which the English had erected some years before[1], and in one of them an Englishman had lived alone a whole year through. It had happened through the boastful talk of himself and another, for they were disputing, and one said he could remain there and wait, with God's help, until the ship came back, whereat the other contradicted him stoutly, and they made a wager between them of a hundred dollars, and this sum was to be paid to the captain out of their wages. They left with him all necessary things, such as food, wine, ale, firewood, three muskets and sufficient powder, a sword, water, salt and what else might be serviceable to him, also a Bible, hymn-book and prayer-book. Night and day he had a light burning, and he had his bed close to the stove, which was in the middle of the floor. At times he would read, at times sing, at times play on his viol, which he also had with him, and sometimes he made heel-pieces for black wooden shoes: of these he made a whole barrelful. The frost was so bitter in the winter that everything froze that was turned away from the fire, even if it was quite close. God guarded him so miraculously that he took no harm, and kept his health through all until the spring came in the month of July, when ships arrived thither from England. And when men landed and went up to the house in which he dwelt, they heard him within singing to a fair

[1] At this time (and until about 1637), the art of melting down blubber on ship-board had not yet been discovered. It was done on shore, and no doubt the large buildings Jón mentions were for this purpose. Cp. Ræstad, *Kongens Strømme*, p. 224.

melody a poem of 100 stanzas, which he had composed in the winter. Close to the house they found three dead Polar bears that he had shot through the window, which was closed from within by shutters. They thought that he was dead, and when they first heard his voice they were terrified. Afterwards they welcomed him with great joy, and he them likewise. And so he won all the wager-money by his daring, and when he came back to England, he was received like an angel, if one may so speak, and great gifts were made to him by the gentry. This had happened two years before I came thither with my comrades; and so I end that tale[1].

Then we heard that the citizens' ships had arrived at the harbour where they intended to lie, sixteen miles from us, which was also the anchorage of the English and Dutch[2], where they sojourned and accomplished their work, as was said before.

Then the admiral had tents made out of sails put up on shore for the use of those persons who were to be employed in rendering down the blubber, and they took a week's provisions with them. Every time we came on shore they received us warmly and entertained us as well as they were able with food and ale; and so likewise did the English. When we landed there was nothing to walk on save blue glacier ice and hurtful sharp-pointed stones. A blade of grass or the like was nowhere to be seen, and yet reindeer and Polar bears nourish themselves full well. Of the said reindeer we captured twenty-two, and I was often made very weary on such expeditions with the admiral himself, who promised me for my toil great rewards, the which however I never saw. Of these reindeer three would go to a barrel, or sometimes three and a half, sometimes two and a half. Their fat is mostly on the loins, where it is two handbreadths thick: they have horns like those of a stag which they also resemble in swiftness. Their hoofs are like those of oxen, and so also their skins, which are of a grey hue. Moss is their food, as it is also the food of the

[1] I have found no reference to this incident in other sources.

[2] Dutch whale-fishing began shortly after the English. The English Muscovy Company established their whaling industry in 1611.

bears[1], which are yet of an extraordinary size and fatness. There were no other creatures to be seen there save foxes, and these mostly white. We intended to take one of these to Denmark, but in this we did not succeed owing to the foxy stink, and the barrel in which the beast was kept was flung overboard with it. There were no other birds than eider-ducks, common gulls, skuas, and harlequin ducks[2]. The gulls fly into a man's hand, but they are not heeded, being unfit to eat because of their thinness and the evil odour of their feathers. They breed in the high mountains so that one cannot come by their eggs. One eider-duck skerry lay two sea-miles from us, where they were laying eggs. It lay north-west of our harbour and we went there in a boat, and took a barrel-ful of eggs, but when they were prepared they all proved unfit for food, for it had come to the time when they were about to hatch. We found no fish in those parts save the sea-scorpion[3].

The country is full of high mountains, mostly covered with snow and glaciers from their tops down to the sea. The sun shines both night and day until the month of August. On almost every day, from about nine o'clock in the morning until two o'clock of the afternoon, are heard the thunderous roarings of avalanches, when through the working of the sun, the ice on some mountain loosens and hurtles forward and falls into the sea: such a thick dust of divers colours rises therefrom that the sun cannot clearly be distinguished for an hour together. These glaciers are fresh water frozen on the upper regions of the mountains, and they form the drifting ocean ice, which makes its visitations in Iceland.

A short distance to the south there was a great chasm in the glacier, and this was called Hell[4]: it was very awful and terrifying to view every time that we looked thither, and all

[1] This is a curious mistake of Jón's, as of course the Polar bear's chief food consists of seals. He does, however, eat grass and berries. (Salomonsen's *Konversations-Lexicon*, s.v. Björn.)

[2] Icel. *brimmár*, a West Firth word, meaning *Anas histrionica*, called *straumönd*, *brimönd*, and *brimdúfa* in other parts of Iceland. [Communicated to S.B. by the late Prof. B. M. Ólsen.]

[3] Icel. *marhnútr*, Cottus scorpius, Dan. *havulk*.

[4] Icel. Víti.

that was floating by disappeared therein. The year previous to our stay it chanced that the Englishmen had caught a "smoothback" whale[1] and were towing it with three rowing-boats, but a current was setting inshore, and they drifted nearer and nearer and nearer to this chasm, nor could they help themselves, for their way lay past it, until at last they and their boats and the whale were speedily sucked into it and engulfed, so that they were never seen again. This and much else the English told us as a warning.

Now we must tell how immediately upon our landing, when we had set up our booths, the Biscayans set out whale-fishing with three boats. There were six men in each and of these three in each boat were Danes. They were provided with food for a week, and they slept at night in tents on the promontories which jut out into the sea. In each boat there are four rowers and one man at the helm: the sixth is the harpooner in the bows. He receives the highest wage and they get 100 dollars for every whale they catch. They caught four whales for the two royal ships, and out of them was melted eighty lasts[2] of oil, of the which each ship took the half. One man, the eleventh Biscayan, was almost left behind: it was his office to strip the whale of blubber, not on the flagship but on the other vessel, which was called the *Jupiter*[3]. He found the task easy. Their interpreter was called Jón and was English on his mother's side: he said that he knew sixteen languages, with that little that he said he knew of the Icelandic tongue. He had previously sailed hither when he was fourteen years of age with those men who came to Árnafjörð [in Iceland] the year after the winter called the Torture[4]. Four of them had been sent to the late sheriff, Ari Magnússon, whose

[1] Icel. *sljettbak*, Dan. *sletbag* or *rethval*.

[2] *Last*, a nautical term common to the Dutch, English, German, Polish and Scandinavian languages at this time. A last is equal to two tons. In Danish the word *læst* was also a cubic measure (twelve to twenty-two barrels), and this is the only meaning given in Salomonsen's *Konversations-Lexicon* and in Kalkar's *Dictionary of the older Danish language*. But cp. Krünitz, *Encyclopädie*, Theil 65, pp. 188 ff., and the *New English Dictionary*, s.v. last.

[3] It was really the *Gabriel*, see above.

[4] Cp. note 3 to p. 8 *supra*.

residence was at Ögur in Ísafjörð[1], and I was nine years old when they came one Sunday morning to Svarthamar in Álftafjörð, where my mother and brother Halldór lived, and their leader was called David. When he touched upon this I recalled all that I have just said, and I became dear to him beyond the rest of my company. I remained in his friendship until our parting, and his other comrades followed suit in this, and often entertained me and him with wine, bread and spices, of which they had a plenty with them. Further, we were not the less confirmed in our friendship through a chance happening at the time when we first saw the coast. For, since we had not once held converse with any of the other ships for a fortnight, the admiral desired to meet Gabriel Kruse, the captain on the other royal vessel, to pass the time (seeing that on that day there was a favourable wind), and he summoned the interpreter, the said Jón, and asked whether he and his comrades were not desirous of seeing and talking with their countrymen, to which he agreed, and six of their party at once made ready with one of their sloops to row the admiral and his servants to the other vessel, where the admiral and these others were welcomed and well entertained. And when they had been there a little while and were becoming about half-drunk, it chanced that those who were on deck saw a great "herring-driver" which they call a troll-whale[2]. And on the instant that these whalers heard of it, they became quite wild, for a new rope, 300 fathoms long, lay coiled in the bottom of their boat, and they leapt into the boat and rowed lustily after the whale, and suddenly cast the iron into him, but because they were too near him, and by reason of their own heedlessness, at the moment when they harpooned him he cast his tail up under the boat, so that it was lifted high above the water and all its bottom was shivered to pieces, and the men were flung out of it in all directions into the sea. And because they were all swimmers, none of them were lost, for the crew on the other ship went at once to their rescue, cutting their boat loose from the

[1] Cp. note 3 to p. 6 *supra*. Presumably they had been shipwrecked.
[2] Icel. *síld-reki, tröllhval.*

davits. They were brought to our ship, for they were afraid of meeting the admiral, knowing that they had acted contrary to the King's naval regulations. Moreover, the admiral had in the boat a new cloak worth thirty-two dollars. But luck was with them in that no more was lost of the rope than five fathoms, for it had been severed by the iron projecting over the bows before more could run out.

Jón the interpreter had me called and told me what a great mischance had befallen him, and asked me to make him secretly acquainted with what the admiral said about it, and to put in a good word for him, and say that the admiral might rely on payment from him for what was lost. All this I did when the admiral came, and he was at that time in the greatest rage. I made much out of their repentance of their fault, and that they were sorely oppressed by it. He said the matter should come before the court-martial, but shortly afterwards he ordered that warm wine should be brought to them. I repeated to Jón as gently as I could what the admiral had said. The matter ended thus, that it was never brought up at the court-martial, nor was compensation demanded of them.

CHAPTER XXIII

ONE Sunday morning the admiral was invited out by the Dutchmen whose ship lay, with three English vessels, at the anchorage of the citizens' ships; and after mattins was over a great banquet was made ready. But about two o'clock a huge white bear came running towards the booths, of enormous size and fearsome to look upon. None of all the people had ever seen such a sight before; he was pale in hue and with red chaps. One and all leapt from their seats to chase him with muskets and weapons. He gave them no chance of attacking him, but ran very swiftly to the shore and plunged into the sea, and bit a piece out of the boat, from which he was later killed, for the Biscayans seized it and dashed after him, and harpooned him with a harpoon on a rope, and killed him, and his skin was presented to the admiral. Later in the evening we betook ourselves thence after an excellent meal.

When we first came there, there was a feud between the English and Dutch on account of disputes and differences concerning this Greenland[1], as to which of them had first discovered it, but our admiral put an end to the strife between them by his kindly offices, and declared the land to be under the Danish crown, and so all were reconciled. Greenland lies about 150 (Danish) miles to the north-west of Iceland and our anchorage looked north-east. There is much driftwood there, which we used for various purposes as we needed it. Exploration of the country is difficult by reason of the glaciers and the many kinds of ice along the seashore. Let this be enough about it for the time.

Now I shall allude briefly to the quarrel between our officers, namely the admiral, Henrik Vind and Gabriel Kruse, the captain of the other royal vessel. It all arose from a bagatelle. It happened one Sunday that Gabriel Kruse had

[1] Spitzbergen was actually discovered by the Dutchmen Willem Barents and Jacob Heemskerk in 1596. Of the English, Henry Hudson in 1607 was the first to land on Spitzbergen.

a banquet and thought to invite the admiral and the English captain of the vessel which lay alongside us in the harbour. Hence he had his vessel decorated early in the morning with the customary ship's bunting, and hoisted his flag in the main-top, which it behoves none to do save the admiral, and which is banned under great penalties in the King's regulations[1]. For this reason the admiral was wroth and did not accept the invitation, and there was great ill-feeling between them for a while, so that when one went on shore the other left it. It happened one time that the admiral was going ashore and the unworthy narrator of this tale was with him together with several of my comrades. I made bold to address the admiral when he had gone ashore and to speak to him about this affair, and said that it would have an ugly look both to ourselves and to the foreigners if they set off for home unreconciled, and still more when they came to meet the King and other good friends. He grew somewhat testy and asked me if I had the presumption to defend the other's defiance and breach of law, that he had committed against the King's command and ordinance. I denied this and said that I had touched on the matter from a good motive, as I daily heard the English speaking of it. He grew calmer and said that if the English captain would use his good offices he would allow himself to be pacified. I asked if I might seek to secure this. He said yea, and so I went to the English captain. At once he made ready to start and went to speak with the admiral and reconciled them at once and sent his men to fetch Gabriel Kruse, and brought everything to a satisfactory conclusion. For this I came to stand high in the esteem of all.

Now when we had been there eleven weeks we were desirous of departing in God's name, both on account of the frost and of the snow, for sometimes we were obliged to hoist anchors twice a day and sail to and fro according to the direction of the currents and the pressure of the ice. Accordingly the officers of all the ships agreed among themselves by letter when they should leave the anchorage. Every day in the

[1] Art. 47 of the naval regulations of 1582: cp. Secher, *Forordn.* II, pp. 243 ff., repeated in 1611, and again (Art. 59) in 1625.

month of August there was already such a keen frost that directly after two o'clock in the afternoon ice two inches thick had formed round the ship, even though the sun was shining. When we had first come, the sun shone day and night, that is to say, in June and July. The last night we spent there so much snow fell that on the last watch, which fell to me, I was over my knees in snow on the deck. And in the morning the admiral, who had dressed himself early, could hardly discern me from the cabin door, and he had compassion on me and fetched a bottle of Rhenish brandy and gave me as much of it to drink as I wished. And that same day all of us fifteen vessels sailed away out of the mouth of the fjord. In the middle of the bay was a submerged reef against which our ship struck three times so violently that most of those who were standing were thrown to the ground, and every man on board was overcome with terror. At once many of the wisest among us went with lanterns to examine whether the ship had been damaged, and could find nothing, whereat we rejoiced and gave thanks to God. And so without misadventure we sailed our ships in company on our homeward course, until we sighted Norway: we had then sailed 150 (Danish) miles from the north-east, on a course east of Iceland. But before we sighted Norway the vessels were scattered in a terrible storm, and we also parted from our citizens' ships, which had captured five whales, and had received orders to proceed to Holland with the oil.

CHAPTER XXIV

NOW when we and the other royal ship arrived off Lindesnes in Norway[1], the other ships having all parted from us (and we were so near the coast that we could have run into a harbour if it had so pleased us), it happened early one Tuesday morning that there suddenly sprang up a furious hurricane from the south-east, so great that we could barely live in it, and it lasted five nights and days, and all that time we allowed ourselves to drift without sails in the North Sea, and could descry nothing beyond our own deck on account of the turmoil of the sea and the huge billows, which were of immoderate size; and we lost our figure-head which was all gilt and decorated. Once a Dutch ship went past us which had lost its mainmast. And when this peril was at its worst our trials were increased by our pumps going blind, and being so choked that no water passed up, until we had three and a half ells of water in the hold, and we had to resort to buckets, which yet proved in vain, for no one could stand on his feet or be master of his movements. Then the admiral came out to his cabin door weeping like a child, and called me before him, and bade me in God's name give some good counsel whereby to save our lives. I said I knew no other than to take up the pump, which seemed to him impossible in such a storm. But with his approval I went down below to find Jón the interpreter, and I repeated the admiral's words to him, that he begged for his and his countrymen's aid and for advice about getting at the pump, and help in anything which might avail to save our lives, and to this I added my own words, and clapped him on the shoulder. Whereat he and his people, together with the ship's crew, at once made themselves ready, and the pump was extracted and was lashed fast with cross-lashings. It proved to be full of small pebbles when it was drawn up. A piece of perforated lead was nailed on its

[1] Lindesnes, southernmost point of the Norwegian mainland.

under side, and so all was put in order again. The admiral promised me a suit of new clothes, the which however I never received, nor any other reward from him save friendly speech when he came across me.

On the Sunday morning we sighted Shetland[1]. We had drifted eighty knots[2] out of our course, and we did not know how the other ship's crew fared, nor whether they were living or dead. But matters had gone so far with them that each of them had taken leave of this world, and commended himself entirely to God, and made great vows, and offered money for the poor, which money was placed in the purse in which coins for the poor are usually deposited, for it is the custom on every royal ship that each who has the will and is charitably inclined gives every Sunday as much as pleases him. The same thing was done on board our ship. On Sunday the wind veered to the north-west and moderated to a fair wind straight behind us, but it was very perilous running free against such a sea, until it became smoother. It was four days before we made Norway, at the place called Flekkefjord, and more than half of our people lay sick and plagued with scurvy and every kind of ailment. Of the artillerymen only four were about, the artillery-master Niels Damsgaard, Johan Jern, Jacob Nielsen and myself, and even we were in no robust state, for we could hardly stir for scurvy boils, and I, like most others, had several teeth loose from scurvy, for which I used fine salt and tobacco ash[3], and many imitated me; first I chafed all my gums with fine salt so that the blood ran freely, and then with tobacco ash, which is painful to endure.

In the said harbour we lay four or five days. And when we first arrived, the barber and I decided that we would hobble off the next morning and make a long journey until we chanced upon some settlement, whereby we also hoped to find healing, if that might be, when our limbs were wearied,

[1] Icel. Hjaltland.

[2] *Vikur sjávar*, Dan. *Uge søs*, an old Scandinavian measure of distance at sea, corresponding to a geographical mile.

[3] For use of tobacco, see note 3 to p. 17 *supra*.

and if we could fall into a sweat[1]; and this proved to be the case. About midday we issued from a valley which lay under a low hillside, and was thick with fair grass and flowers, and came upon a farmhouse, where the fire for the midday meal was burning in the kitchen. A girl caught sight of us first and was mightily frightened, so that she stumbled and fell as she ran away, and she told the farmer what was toward. He came at once to us with a spear in his hand, being ignorant who we were. But when he learnt that, he received us in the kindest fashion with ale and food, milk and fresh fish: we gave bread in return and two kerchiefs. He asked us many things and we him, so that our conversation lasted until the evening, and we parted from him in all friendship after he had led us on our way. We travelled during the night and came to our ship early in the morning, and men thought that we had died.

After five days, we weighed anchor and steered for home with a fair wind. And one day, while the fair wind lasted, it happened that one of the Biscayans, who was always quarrelsome and overbearing with our people (which was mainly caused by the hatred he and other papists entertained for persons of the Lutheran faith), put out his foot unawares and tripped me up heavily. And when I had leapt speedily up, I seized him in wrath and placed him in a large vessel of water, and I also gave him two boxes on the ears in full view of all bystanders; and so I left him. Immediately he ran off to the admiral and complained of me. I was at once called thither and straitly questioned whether it were true, which I did not deny. The admiral said that he believed me to be acquainted with the regulation that no man should lay a hand on others who had committed no fault, and this I did not deny. He became greatly incensed thereat and ordered me to be placed in confinement immediately[2]. I pleaded my cause before him in all its aspects in the presence of all the crew, who

[1] A sweat was considered very good in cases of plague, cp. Mansa, *Bidrag*, p. 276.

[2] The penalty for striking a shipmate with hand or fist was to be thrice keel-hauled. (Regulations of 1582, § 28; Secher, *Forordn.* II, p. 249.)

bore witness that I was telling the truth. The other's complaint thus turned to shame and disgrace. He was not punished, but was admonished, while thanks and consideration fell to my lot. Afterwards we made friends again.

At last, with good fortune and the blessing of God, we returned to Copenhagen. We had been away seventeen weeks and lost fifteen men. The other vessel had then been back for some time. The following autumn I went to Kronborg[1] with several others, to take service in the Castle, as has been told before.

[1] This autumn (1619) Jón was in Copenhagen, as appears from the following chapter.

CHAPTER XXV

AND when I came there, in autumn time, I was ordered to stand guard in the King's navy the following winter, and there a trial came upon me from a certain circumstance, as follows. When the four worthy Icelanders travelled out to Denmark, namely Jón Magnússon, Henrik Gíslason, Thorsteinn Magnússon and Daði Jónsson[1], it so chanced that I was asked and requested of them in a kindly manner, to obtain of my captain Adolph Frederik Grabow, that he should let them know (but yet privily) when His Majesty was alone at the Castle in Copenhagen, in order that they might speak secretly with him at his good leisure about the need of this country, but so that the ship-owners should not hear of it, and they promised to remember him favourably in return. At first he received my overtures with a bad grace, saying that I was involving him in difficulties and that his life would be at stake if they (the ship-owners) got wind of it, and he said that he

[1] Jón here gives an interesting glimpse of a mission which had set forth from Iceland accompanied by the liveliest hopes of the inhabitants, but which returned having accomplished nothing. Owing to the constant complaints of the Icelanders about the bad wares and extortionate prices of the Danish monopolists in Iceland, the King had written in April 1619 that four representative Icelanders should be sent to Copenhagen at the expense of the Danish merchants to discuss matters. There was one Sheriff from each "quarter" of the island: Jón Magnússon of Reykhólar from the West (son of Magnús the Magnificent, see note 3 to p. 6 *supra*); Henrik Gíslason from the South, Thorsteinn Magnússon from the East, the greatest legal authority of his time in Iceland, and Daði Árnason (not Jónsson as Jón says) from the North. The last-named died in Copenhagen during the mission. By the "ship-owners" Jón means the Danish monopolists, who had every reason to desire that the Icelanders should not have a private audience of the King. In 1702 the law-man Gottrup published a story that the failure of the mission was due to the fact that the Danish High Sheriff of Iceland (Amtmand) was secretly in league with the monopolists, and that the day before the Icelanders were to see the King he entertained them to such good purpose that they were unable to state their case clearly next morning. (Aðils, *op. cit.* p. 376, note 2.) In any case the new scale of prices, fixed on Dec. 16, 1619, was ruinous to the Icelanders, and the Danish merchants only paid a quarter of the costs of the mission: the rest had to be collected by a levy on Icelandic farmers. Cp. Aðils, *loc. cit.* pp. 374, 377.

would hold me responsible if the thing turned out otherwise than well.

At last he promised what I wished, though he was aware that it did not become him to unite with foreigners against his own countrymen. He refused to do more than exactly what I have mentioned, and bade them all be ready in the same lodging for a message from him. But because it was inconvenient for them to continue for some while in their first lodging (which was in the old Steward's House by the quay[1]), on account of the expense of food and ale (for every meal cost half a rixdollar), they sought about to find another lodging, in which they were successful. But when a message came to them from Grabow to the first lodging, they had moved away to the other, of which his servant knew nothing, and so he returned, without having performed his errand, to his master, who was very angry, and took a dislike to me, and thought to pay me out when I was discovered in some fault, for he reckoned himself fooled by me.

Now it happened one Sunday that I accompanied a bridegroom to church and back again, and was at the feast in the company of other worthy folks, but only for a short time, for I had to stand guard in another's place that evening in the royal fleet, wherefore I durst not tarry long. Accordingly, I went straight to my lodging in the house of a worthy widow, by name Birgitte, and because a strong north-east wind was blowing at the time, so that the striking of the clock could not be heard, I betook myself rather before it was necessary to the Bremerholm Gate[2], where the guard for the war-ships always assembled. And when the clock struck four times the lieutenant of the watch used to start through the gate with the watch on to Bremerholm, and out on the ice, where he gave them the watchword and left them. Now it happened that I had

[1] Probably the house allotted in 1594 to Henrik Rammel, Lord Steward to the young King; the present No. 8 in Amagertorv. See *Hist. Tidskr.* VI R., 1 Bd. p. 572; O. Nielsen, *Kjøbenhavns Hist.* IV, p. 424; H. Trier, *Gaarden No.* 8 *Amagertorv*, pp. 3 ff. [R.C.]

[2] This must refer to the Holmens Port, with a guard-room above, built in 1618, just east of Holmens Kirke. (See view of Copenhagen, and map.) It had a drawbridge (rebuilt in 1610–13) over the moat, and in 1619 a porter lodged close by. (R.C., and Lind, pp. 332 f.)

sought out these worthy men [the Icelanders], before I repaired to the gate where the watch met, and they promised to come thither before the watch was mustered (for the admiral at Bremerholm had given them permission to go thither)[1], and they sent a lad with me called Hákon Thorsteinsson, who was with his father Thorsteinn Magnússon, administrator at that time of the monastery lands of Thykkvibær[2]. His father asked me to let the lad accompany me and wait for them, which I did, but for some cause they were hindered from coming on that occasion. Now when the lad and I arrived at the said gate, none of the watch were yet come. Peter Roed told me that I was come too early. He was the chief of the three men who were daily on guard there, and who were placed there to see that nothing was unlawfully removed from Bremerholm by that gate[3]. I said I had not heard whether the clock had struck. Shortly afterwards, two of the watch, Johan Jern and Jakob Nykøbing, came up, and because the wind was strong and keen, they persuaded me to enter the house of a skipper hard by, not more than a bowshot from the gate, and we were to stay there and shelter from the wind until the time came. Hákon vehemently urged this upon me, and mainly at his wish I allowed myself to be taken thither. There they asked the skipper's wife to heat a quart of ale to warm us. But while this was doing the watch had proceeded on its way, for we could not hear the drum on account of the storm, although I had set the two men to listen for it in turns. And when I heard this, I hastened away with them, and the reason that they were somewhat more speedy than I was because the lad held me and would not part with me, for at that time he was but young and knew no one. And when we came to the gate

[1] No one could enter Bremerholm without leave, except nobles. (Lind, p. 333.)

[2] All monastery lands in Iceland had been seized by the Danish King at the time of the Reformation. At this time Thorsteinn Magnússon administered the rich lands once belonging to the Thykkvibær monastery in South Iceland, a post which his son Hákon, mentioned above, inherited.

[3] Peter Roed is mentioned in 1623 as guard to the Provision Store. He lived in Vingaardsstræde, and added to his income by drawing ale. (*Kjøbenhavns Dipl.* v, p. 62.)

our Provost was standing there with our muskets in his hand, and without any objection he gave those two their muskets, so that they ran off without further delay, and caught up the watch before the Master had left it. But I was in peril from the Provost who wished to show me no mercy but have me up to the Arsenal to be confined there in fetters, for some time previously Grabow had strictly enjoined him to do so and had secretly intimated that if at any time I should commit some error, be it small or great, he should seize me and conduct himself in the manner just mentioned; and for this hatred of me there was no cause save that I have mentioned.

A few days before this occurrence I had met Adolph Grabow in the street and he would not acknowledge my salute, the which had never before occurred, and he said that he would keep me busy with something else than consorting with Icelanders and joining with them to make game of others. His servant Baltzer Lynbeck, who was following him, whispered to me to beware of him. Until then I had never been in his bad books, for he had not held me the least of those who stood with me in the King's service, especially among the younger men, and he had often sent me on his private errands, both to the Governor of the Castle and to his lady, and to many other places besides.

Now as the Provost stood firm in his intention not to give up my musket and was not to be moved by any of my humble entreaties nor by bribes, Peter Roed said to him: "Why do you treat this man so ill and why so openly cause him misfortune and death?" The Provost flew into a rage at his words and bade him be silent. Then he took my musket and drove it so hard against my breast that I fell against the wall and scratched my cheek. When I saw the blood, my gorge rose, and I seized my sword, but yet with moderation, so that no more than a handbreadth of the steel was drawn. He thought I had drawn it against him, which is a hanging offence, for the Provost bears the King's bâton[1], and any who

[1] It was the Provost's duty to keep order and discipline, to arrest offenders without special orders and *ex officio* to act as Prosecutor in the military court. He carried a staff or bâton about 3 ft. long called

lays hands on him pays as high a penalty as if he had done it to the King himself. Yet it was not my intention to draw my sword against him, but rather I told him that if he did not bear the King's bâton at his side, and if we were not in the place where we were, he could not have struck me without getting something in return. (This observation served me well afterwards when I stood up in the stern Court of the Arsenal and faced the rigours of the Law.)

Then the Provost Søren said: "Now thou must come with me to the Arsenal," and he gave me the King's bâton to hold, as is customary, and none may refuse it on pain of death, and I bowed on receiving it, which also served me well later on. But Hákon was dragged away from me, and I urgently begged Peter Roed to take him to his father, which he did like an honest fellow.

And so I accompanied the Provost to the Arsenal, where the watch had mustered, and one of the officers of the Arsenal was also there, by name Peter Falk[1], a good friend of mine. When he and the guards saw me they were amazed and pitied me from their hearts, for the Provost made so much of my misdeed, saying first that I was come drunk to muster, and then that I had neglected to appear in due time on sentry-duty, and thirdly that I had drawn my sword against him. Whereupon I declared his accusations against me to be false in all three points: firstly that I was drunk, which all could see was not true, and in addition I declared that he had used violence against me which had hindered me from performing my sentry-duty, and I referred my cause to the decision of the admiral and of the Court-martial of

"Regiment." In 1598 it was of silver gilt, and weighed seventy-five ounces. E. Madsen, *Danmarks Hærvæsen*, p. 434. In later times the Provost's status fell, his duties were of a lower order, and he was called "General-Gevaldiger." [R.C.] In 1578 we find a certain Jørgen von der Schweinitz mentioned as "Commandant and Provost" of Kronborg Castle, which suggests that already by Jón's time the office had already fallen in prestige. (Blom, p. 434, note 1.)

[1] There were two Under-Masters of the Arsenal from 1618 onwards, and one of these was Peter Falk, whose signature is regularly found in accounts from 1618 onwards, beside that of Christoffer Schwenke the Elder. He held this office up to 1651, although in one official document of 1649 he is called Chief Master of the Arsenal. Cp. Blom, p. 23.

Bremerholm: and thirdly that I did but show him that I carried a sword, but that I had not drawn it against him. Thereupon he laid hands upon me in the Arsenal yard and ordered me to accompany him to the Brockenhus[1], where all prisoners were at first confined and placed in irons. I tore myself out of his hands and said I would not comply by reason of his rough treatment, but of my own free will if it should please me to do so. He ordered the whole watch to seize me, but I forbade them to lay a hand on me. Peter Falk came up to me kindly and took me in his arms and asked me to be peaceable for his sake and allow myself to be arrested, and in return he promised me his good offices, which promise he well performed.

And so I sat in the Brockenhus from Sunday evening until nearly midday on Tuesday, in contravention of His Majesty's regulations, for the Provost ought to visit every prisoner twice a day[2]. And when he came he was accompanied by my very dear friend Sir Thorlák Thorkelsson, the son of Thorkell Gamlason, steward of the Hólar diocese[3], and also by my landlady. They brought me wine and many kinds of food, for the which however I had but scant appetite. Both wept sorely over me and my sufferings, but I bade them desist for that I trusted in God and comforted myself with the recollection of my good cause, whatever turn matters might now take. I bitterly reproached the Provost with remissness in his calling and office which he had shown in such ugly fashion, in his neglect of me, a prisoner of the King, whom however he had wrongfully confined. He said that he would prove a difficult customer for me to deal with, to which I made reply that I left our affair in God's hands. Both my friends went away weeping in the company of the Provost.

Near four o'clock I was called into the office where the

[1] The position of the Brockenhus is a mystery. The Danish editors regarded it as a generic name for a prison, but in the Icelandic edition it is pointed out that this is not consistent with Jón's statement that he was confined in three places, the Brockenhus, the Arsenal and the Blue Tower (p. 190).

[2] The duties of the Provost in this respect are nowhere stated.

[3] See note 3 to p. 37 *supra*.

officers were assembled, and there my cause was to be examined and considered in the first instance. And when I was called in, the five officers of the Arsenal were seated there, namely Adolph Frederik Grabow, the Master of the Arsenal, Christoffer Schwenke[1], Peter Falk, Henrik Butzmand[2] and Hans Budtz[3], and twelve chief artillerymen. The Provost and I remained standing. Grabow asked him whether he still held to his aforesaid charge against me—and he declared it to be true—and whether he had true witnesses thereto, the which he also affirmed. I asked if I might hear the charges and he repeated them briefly, and I denied them. But Grabow doffed his hat and said he would not give so much for my life if things proved to be as the Provost declared. I said that my life was worth a considerable deal more. None uttered a word save these two, but many shed tears for me. Grabow ordered the Provost to take some of the watch with him and conduct me up to the Castle, and place me in the prison where such of the King's prisoners as were accused of capital offences were usually confined. I bade them do their worst but said that they could not go further than God would permit.

Thereupon I went out weeping with the Provost and four of the watch, and went up to Copenhagen Castle. The turnkey was called Niels and was a close acquaintance of mine, and with great reluctance and shedding many tears, he let me down into the Blue Tower on a thin hempen rope. At the bottom there was a deal flooring, and as it were a large platform, but all round it very deep gutters, which ran down into the drain which surrounds the Castle, and into which all culverts from the Castle empty themselves. But this Blue

[1] Christoffer Schwenke (or Svenke) the Elder, a German, rose from artilleryman to be a Master of the Arsenal, a post he held from Jan. 19, 1618 to about 1644. He is mentioned as wounded, having distinguished himself for gallantry, in the battle of Lutter am Barenberg, Aug. 17, 1626, where Christian IV was defeated by the forces of the Emperor. Cp. Blom, p. 23, and *Hist. Tidskr.* VII R., 3 Bd. p. 339. [R.C.]

[2] Henrik Butzmand was, like Peter Falk, Under-Master of the Arsenal.

[3] Hans Budtz or Bodtz, Master of the Arsenal at Kronborg from 1606 to 1611, is stated by Blom to have fallen in the Kalmar War (1611–13) which clearly cannot have been the case. He too rose from the ranks. (Blom, p. 24.)

Tower is shaped within like an egg, so that it is impossible for any man to escape out of it by natural means or by human strength[1]. Yet three men have made their way out of it, but only by help of the devil[2]. Therein I sat for a full month entirely without irons or fetters. And though the King came twice to the Castle in the month of March, it was withheld from him that I was confined in the Blue Tower, solely in order that I might be condemned to death without his knowledge, on account of Grabow's grudge against me. The first night after I was confined there I dreamt a dream as follows. I thought that this Adolph Frederik Grabow was seated on a dais with a drawn sword, and that he was raising it to cut off my head, and I seemed to myself to be standing at the further edge of the dais with bare head and humble heart, and yet with a clear conscience and hopes of God's grace, goodwill, tenderness and mercy with regard to my welfare and salvation for Jesus Christ's sake. And as I thought he was about to strike a final blow, I saw the likeness of a very young minister clad in a silken chasuble of spotless white, and holding a fair and gleaming sword in his right hand, and he brandished it in haste as if to strike, but his left hand seized Grabow's arm (the one in which he held the sword) and bade him forbear to strike unless he wished to taste the sharpness of his (the minister's) sword. It was long before Grabow was willing to desist, so it seemed to me, but yet at last I thought that he put back the sword into its sheath. Afterwards at his bidding I thought that I stood up joyfully, and in that joy I suddenly awoke. And because of this dream

[1] The spire of the Blue Tower of the Castle can be clearly seen in the view of Copenhagen. The spire dated from 1596 and the tower owes its name to the copper roofing, tarnished to the blue-green colour familiar to all visitors to Copenhagen in the roof of the Royal Exchange and others of Christian IV's buildings. The lowest part was no doubt of great antiquity, and it is known that criminals were, as Jón says, let down into it by ropes. (Cp. Friis, *Samling. til dansk Bygningshist.* pp. 176, 201, and Bruun, *Kjøbenhavn*, I, p. 489.) One of these dungeons was called the Troll's Cave. Perhaps by "egg-shaped" Jón means "vaulted."

[2] The only case of escape from the Blue Tower which I have come across is from 1639, when a Dunkirk captain succeeded in escaping from it, it is not stated how. (Fragment of a chronicle of Copenhagen quoted by Liisberg, *København*, pp. 222 f.)

I continued to be of good cheer and courage all the time that I was confined in the Blue Tower.

Every day during the month, the three worshipful gentlemen whom I have mentioned before, Jón Magnússon, Henrik Gíslason and Thorsteinn Magnússon came up daily to the Castle to visit and comfort me and gave me their continual sympathy. But because they found me each time in good spirits, rather than cast down (whereat they greatly wondered), the sore grief they felt for me moderated and diminished considerably, and every day they took turns to let down money to me thrust between the strands of the rope attached to the basin which was daily lowered to me with the cans and dishes of food and ale brought me daily by my landlady and other persons in the town, my well-wishers and friends, for by the special grace of God I had many acquaintances among worthy folk both in the town and outside. I was also given candles and other necessary matters: and moreover, every second day I was sent one salt fish, a loaf of bread, a can of beer and a large candle by the Governor of the Castle, Cai Rantzau[1], being the proper ration for prisoners according to ancient law and custom. Night and day it was never dark in my prison. Every night I had five candles burning at once, and one by day, and I was never alone at night save once. Many were confined there for trifling offences, both of those who belonged to Sjælland and those who had come either from Jutland or Norway or other smaller neighbouring countries and districts. One man, Jürgen by name, come from Jutland, who had served gentlefolk for a long time and had fallen into displeasure with his lord, remained a whole week in the Blue Tower, and entertained me excellently with many stories of remarkable happenings in Jutland amongst noble and humble men and women. This man went to Bremerholm into the very large and much frequented prison of which I have spoken before, and was sentenced, according to the nature of his

[1] Cai Rantzau of Rantzausholm, b. 1591, d. 1623, was Governor of Copenhagen and consequently Governor of Copenhagen Castle, from 1615 to 1620. The Rantzau family was originally of the Holstein nobility. (*Biograf. Lex.*)

offence, to three years confinement, so long as he did not increase his guilt with new crimes, but else they were to be considered anew and the sentence lengthened according to their magnitude. The turnkey was extremely friendly and indulgent to me, and bade me despatch him on errands whenever I willed and promised to perform all that I wished to have done or to arrange.

CHAPTER XXVI

AND now to tell what these worthy men set themselves to do, when they heard what penalty I might have to undergo. They went one day to the Provost of the city and chief men of the town and persuaded them to go up to the Arsenal and make an earnest plea on my behalf to the officers of the Arsenal, and if they were unable to secure my release between them, they declared that they would forthwith seek to obtain my liberation and deliverance from His Majesty himself. But when Grabow heard that and saw persons of authority intervening in the affair, he began to sing to another tune, and said that the penalty would not be so extreme, and that it was done as a warning to others and in order to quell my presumption, and with his fair words and kindly talk altered their plans, so that the matter should not come before the King. Thereupon they joyfully returned to their homes, trusting in his fair promises.

At the close of the month these three worthy gentlemen came one evening to the Castle to visit me according to their custom, and to inform me that they had heard that the next morning a Court was to be held in the Arsenal to deal with my case. They prayed God with tears to grant me victory and blessing, and to bring my case to a good issue, and said that they would visit me in the morning, if by God's grace they might do so; and so they parted from me. Now it chanced that a certain farmer, by name Laurids, of the neighbouring district, which was under the jurisdiction of the Castle, had been cast into the Blue Tower for a slight offence, namely that he had been ordered to bring a load of firewood for the use of the Castle on a certain Tuesday, but had neglected to do so, and coming on the Wednesday following, he was cast into prison[1]. And since this man had already told me his

[1] Although Christian IV did much to help agriculture, he was undoubtedly harsh in his demands on his own farmers (who were bound to the soil, and were liable to corvée) and the treatment of Laurids is by no

dreams, I asked him that morning what he thought of my fortune that day, whether he thought my sentence would be release or death, or whether I should be sent back to the Blue Tower. The man answered and said that I should certainly return to the Blue Tower, but that I should not be put to death since God purposed to grant me a longer life, for he had dreamed in the night that he thought he saw me standing on the threshold of a house in the town as he was passing along the street, and that I called to him and invited him to come to my house and receive entertainment; and this actually happened.

Early in the morning, at six o'clock, these three gentlemen came up into the Tower and four merchants with them, namely Hans Holst and Boye Lauridsen, merchants from these harbours in Iceland[1], also the merchant of Akureyri, Hans Therkelssen and the merchant from Hofsós, Jost Lossekull, an aged, pious and God-fearing man; and also my landlady Birgitte Lauridsdatter. This last brought me clean linen, and also food and a bottle of wine, which I left mostly untouched. These worthy persons grieved sorely over me, but I bade them not be sorrowful, for that I trusted in God, whether He let life or death fall to my lot, and besides I knew that my case was not very bad in the eyes of men. But in the eyes of God I knew myself guilty of many sins, and yet I trusted wholly in His tender grace in the mighty name of my faithful Saviour Jesus, for which cause I gave myself fearlessly into His hands, whatsoever might befall; and I

means unique. Refractory farmers on his estates were often summarily imprisoned in the Blue Tower, or sent to Bremerholm, without any legal formalities. Cp. *Danmarks Riges Hist.* IV, p. 112.

[1] "These harbours," *i.e.* the West Firths. It is known that Hans Holst had the trade of Dýrafjörð and Ísafjörð: cp. Aðils, *op. cit.* p. 91. He was Town Clerk from 1588 to 1590, and died in 1623. We hear of him as engaged in various activities, now quarrying stone and exporting it to Germany (1603, *Kbn. Dipl.* II, p. 518), now joining in a rope-making company, 1620 (*loc. cit.* p. 628). He lived in Højbrostræde and was, for his times, enormously rich (*loc. cit.* II, p. 516). Jost Loeskül is mentioned as an "Icelandic shareholder," and also as interested in a rope-making scheme (*loc. cit.* II, pp. 628, 644–5). Hans Thorkilssen or Therkelssen must have been a younger man: we find him as one of the thirty-two men on the Town Council from 1648–61. (*Kbn. Dipl.* I, pp. 663, 743 and *passim.*)

bade them be my witnesses to this to my family here in Iceland.

Shortly afterwards the Provost came to fetch me with four armed men from the guard at the Arsenal Gate, who keep watch there day and night. These three gentlefolks and the four merchants accompanied me to the Arsenal, for by prayers they had obtained leave to be present at the proceedings, that they might hear and see. And when we came to the gate my comrades received me joyfully, and yet many of them grieved for me with tears, and they conducted me to the guard-room which was their usual resort and just within the gate, in the yard. Within it burnt a coal fire in an iron pan, very spacious and old and arranged for that purpose, and I warmed myself at the blaze until the Provost fetched me and led me before the Court.

Within the barriers sat the five officers who ruled over the King's Arsenal and over all the artillerymen who served under the strict regulations of His Majesty, that is to say, about 350 persons, as before mentioned. Of these five, Grabow was a nobleman, and next came Christoffer Schwenke, the Master of the Arsenal, and then certain officials of lesser rank, Peter Falk, Henrik Hansen[1] and Hans Budtz. The actual Clerk of the Arsenal was called Gottfred, a young, agreeable and excellent fellow, who loved me much. He would not come up to the Arsenal that day, but declared that he had fallen sick in the night. Grabow understood this and said the sickness was invented and promised to remember it, and the difference arising out of this was never quite healed between them, until at last Gottfred took his leave of the service in all friendliness[2]. Now it so happened that one of the gunners, by name Hans Madsen Lund, was put in his place as clerk on this day. That man was also a good friend of mine, and had been my

[1] Henrik Hansen, artilleryman, of Kattesund in the west quarter of the town, other occupation distilling brandy, is mentioned in 1620 as one of those who for various reasons decline to take their turn in the town watch. (*Kjøbenhavns Dipl.* IV, p. 769.)

[2] Gottfred Mikkelsen was appointed Clerk to the Arsenal on Feb. 4, 1618, and was re-appointed at a higher wage in March, 1620. He remained in this position till about 1626 and in 1629 became Clerk at Bremerholm. (Lind, p. 349.)

comrade for those two years that I was at Kronborg. He had previously been a muster-clerk and had also served gentlefolk. This man was ordered by Grabow to write everything that had taken place between the Provost and myself, from beginning to end. The three gentlemen and the four merchants were assigned a place to stand in outside the barriers[1] and the gathering of the other persons.

And when I stepped within the barriers all the people who stood around prayed in a loud voice that God might strengthen me and grant me a good issue out of my troubles. Then the clerk was ordered to read out what he had written down at the dictation of the Provost. And as he was so reading I perceived that much untruth was being told, and I forbade him to write anything untrue about me. He excused himself very much and bade me not take it ill though he were obliged to write what was told him. Grabow told me not to heed that, for he said he knew that the Provost would bring good proof for his charge and accusation against me; and thereupon he ordered him to bring forward his witnesses and so support his accusation. This was done, and two men of the four who stood sentry daily at the Bremerholm Gate, and who were mentioned before, were called into Court. These were their leader, Peter Roed[2], a good man, and another by name Christoffer the Tailor[3]. These had been present at the passage between the Provost and myself. They were made to take the oath, to the effect that they should bear witness that day to that alone which they knew to be true and which they would acknowledge before God and men, and at the end they swore on the Book. Thereupon Peter Roed and the other related with strict veracity all that had happened at the gate from beginning to end, so that their evidence was contrary to the charge of the Provost.

Then arose a great clamour in the Arsenal, for all the

[1] The court was marked out by four benches or rods. (Matzen, *Retshistorie*, Off. Ret. II, p. 16.)

[2] See p. 169 *supra*.

[3] We find the widow of a Christoffer the Tailor, master-gunner, living in Copenhagen at some date before 1689. (*Kjøbenhavns Dipl.* III, p. 702.)

people began to praise God for the better complexion my affair bore from the strange accusation and hateful charges of the Provost. My three worthy countrymen and the four merchants rejoiced also thereat from their hearts. Thereupon Grabow ordered all the public to be silent: it was a long time before there was a complete hush. It took him unawares that the charge of the Provost would fail, but since matters turned out so, he thinks out a plan whereby he can still ruin me. And when the Court was silent he demanded a verdict of twelve men[1], six from the master-gunners[2], who are also called chief gunners, and six private soldiers or mercenaries[3]. These six men served in Copenhagen Castle and held watch both night and day at the Castle gate and in the Castle yard. The twelve were first called to the enquiry into the affair, and then placed on the judgment seat to find a true verdict according to the tenor of the regulations, however the case might go[4].

Then Master Grabow rose from his seat and said that he asked a verdict on such men as came drunken to their watch and thereby neglected it. Whereat I made reply that it was proved by trustworthy evidence that I had not been in such a condition, and in the hearing of all present I declared myself kept from the watch by force and violence, through the spite of the Provost himself and of those others who had egged him on and confirmed him in it; who they were God knew best. This my tearful speech was displeasing to Grabow and he

[1] So far Grabow is acting strictly according to Castle law (*Gaardsret* or *Hofret*), the laws for the retainers of the King and of nobles, according to which the marshal or other person in command judges cases in which there is no doubt, but if the accused denies the accusation, or if there is any doubt, twelve, six or eight men must be appointed as doomsmen. Half of them, however, should have been appointed by Jón, as the accused. Perhaps he has merely forgotten his part: he may have selected the six faithful privates. (Cp. §§ 2, 3 in Frederik II's *Gaardsret*; Secher, *Fororddn.* I, pp. 184 ff.)

[2] *Constabel*, Dan. *konstabel*, a senior gunner who has men under him (such as Niels Damsgaard).

[3] *Årsknekt*, Dan. *aarsknægt*, orig. a soldier hired by the year, and *landsknekt*, Dan. *landsknægt*, used in the sense of mercenary.

[4] The twelve men were called *nævninger* in Danish, and it seems that in the Castle courts they were really judges, not mere jurymen. Cp. § 22 of the *Gaardsret*, and Matzen, *loc. cit.* p. 88.

bade me hold my tongue. The Arsenal-Master, Christoffer Schwenke, uttered no word, but leaned his cheek on his hand and sighed deeply.

Then the twelve men aforesaid went outside the barrier to consider and debate about the verdict in such a case as Grabow demanded sentence in, and after they had reflected thus according to the tenor of the regulations, they returned within the barriers, and one, the leader of them, Anders Holst[1], the thirteenth of the twelve doomsmen[2], announced what decision they had agreed upon according to the directions of the regulations and the declaration of the Master Grabow, and it was a verdict for which he sorely longed, to wit, that they adjudged him deserving of execution[3].

All men cried out in a breath that it was a harsh decision. Grabow pretended that he was horror-stricken at it, but this he did more out of slyness than in sincerity. All this while there was a great clamour in the Arsenal. One of my best friends, by name Johan Christiansen, put in his word when Grabow cunningly enquired how the charge against me ran, and the answer was that I had come drunk to the muster and had failed to join the watch. Johan added: "And he did not come in time to accompany the drum through the gate." I looked at him and said: "Now nought was lacking but thy words." Immediately he went away and wished that he had not spoken, and often deplored it afterwards, and said that he had spoken heedlessly.

Now as the hubbub became less, I made my answer to him who had announced the verdict, that they would have to

[1] We find the widow of an Anders Holst mentioned as living in Copenhagen in 1668. (*Kjøbenhavns Dipl.* II, p. 808.)

[2] This is a strange statement. We hear of thirteen *nævninger* in the early Sjælland law; cp. Matzen, *loc. cit.* pp. 72 f., and in Langeland; cp. V. Lütken, *Bidrag til Langelands Historie*, Rudkjøbing, 1909, p. 171.

[3] Only the naval regulations prescribe death as the penalty for appearing drunk on watch, but possibly these applied to the case, since the watch was in the naval dockyard. Cp. p. 103 *supra*, note 2, and p. 189 *infra*. Death is invariably the penalty for resisting the Provost. (Regulations of 1596, § 24 and later; Secher, III, p. 29.) Jón's silence about this charge (cp. p. 171 *supra*) suggests that the doomsmen rejected it as false but admitted the charge of drunkenness and possibly of late arrival on watch. Cp. p. 194 *infra*.

answer for it to God. Grabow said that that was no concern of mine. Then the worthy gentleman Jón Magnússon (of blessed memory) spoke, and said that he thought this verdict most unduly harsh, since true charges had not been proved against me, and he said that he had studied the Curial and Imperial Law[1] and also Danish and Icelandic ordinances, and that his opinion was that I had full rights against those who had accused me wrongfully, and that I had been convicted on a false charge as had been shown by the sworn witnesses. Then Grabow stood up in a great taking and rage with Jón Magnússon, and said that he had permitted him and his companions to come to the Arsenal Court only that they might confirm the law and to pay heed to the royal ordinances, mandates and enactments, but not to contradict or to show defiance. At this Jón and his companions were overawed, as was to be expected in a place so solemn and so strange to them, and they said that they would say nothing but what was proper and legally fitting, and what it well became them to say. Then Grabow ordered the Provost Søren Nibe to take four armed men from the watch and conduct me to the Castle again and confine me in the Blue Tower, for my case was referred to the King's grace[2], since they[3] said they could not pronounce a final sentence of death on me, and that they were not agreed about the verdict which Anders had declared and pronounced within the barriers, unaccompanied by them, to the officers and all those present. Many in the Arsenal were weeping, among them my worthy and beloved countrymen and their companions. The Master of the Arsenal, Christoffer Schwenke, spoke not a word, but shed tears when I was led away.

[1] This statement seems better to suit Thorsteinn Magnússon, who was Iceland's most famous lawyer of the time, than Jón Magnússon.

[2] It is specially laid down in the German Regulations for the King's Artillerymen in Copenhagen (1600) that serious cases, involving life and limb, shall be submitted to the King and to the Lord High Steward (*Rigshofmester*), or in their absence to the "Amtmand," presumably the Statholder of Copenhagen. (Secher, *Forordn.* III, p. 91, § 4.) (For the Statholder as substitute for the Lord High Steward, cp. O. Nielsen, *Kjøbenhavns Hist.* III, p. 246.) There was no Lord High Steward from 1601–43, and no Statholder of Copenhagen from Jan. 10, 1618–27, so the case would naturally be referred to the King.

[3] "They" presumably refers to the doomsmen.

I departed with a clear conscience and took a general leave of all, with tears. And when I came to the Castle, Niels the turnkey wept over me, and bade me not take it ill that he shut me up in the Tower again. I bade him not trouble himself about that, and I thanked him for his Christian and brotherly compassion. Then I found Farmer Laurids still in the Tower, not having been released that day, and he said that his dream was come true in part, which I admitted, but said that things looked blacker and more serious now. But he was of the contrary opinion, and said that without doubt it would prove true that I should be released and allowed to live, and that I should live through many more experiences, because God had intended and ordained a longer life for me.

CHAPTER XXVII

THREE days after the aforesaid events it happened that Grabow summoned the aforesaid twelve doomsmen to sign and seal their sentence, and nursed good hopes that the sentence of death would be fully sealed and committed to writing. But the six privates who served in the Castle sturdily opposed this, denying that they had sentenced me to death, whereat a coolness and dissension arose between the two parties, for they entirely refused either to pronounce that verdict, or to agree to it or to sign it, namely that I had forfeited my life; and by this they stood firm. Grabow declared that he would appoint six other men from the Arsenal in their place, in order to spite them, and that these should pronounce my life forfeited, if they would not. They said that that lay in his own hands, and quitted the office in high dudgeon. But when Grabow observed and noted their stubbornness, and saw that they were not to be come over, he sent a message to them, and when they returned they came to an agreement that the whole affair should be laid before the King, and that whatever he decided should stand. And thus all the Provost's spiteful conduct and behaviour was of necessity included in the report, though Grabow long opposed it, and in this manner the judgment was compiled, signed and sent to the King at Frederiksborg, for the privates in particular would be content with nothing less than that the conduct and false charges of the Provost to the Court and the doomsmen should be all committed to writing for the King's eyes.

One of the privates, by name Michael, who lived in Vingaardsstræde and was a tailor by trade, was an old and tried friend of mine. I have already mentioned him where I told of the arrival of the Bishop of Bremen[1]. This man came up to the Castle to speak with me late in the evening of the day on which this dissension had arisen between Grabow and

[1] See p. 93 *supra*.

his companions. He brought me a bottle of Rhenish wine and told me the whole tale right through, and was full of indignation at Grabow's harshness towards me, as indeed were most of the leading persons in the town, and also my comrades who were in the service, together with the very officers of the Arsenal, so that all were amazed at his spite, harshness and hatred towards me. Michael went home to his lodging praying and calling down blessings on my head.

Early one morning three days later, there came up into the Tower from the Arsenal a worthy man and an especially good friend of mine, by name Morten Holst[1], who would often sport with me as a mother with her child. He had been left as an inspector of merchants' wares here in Iceland and had remained here in the north for three years, and had been one year at Eyrarbakki[2]. This man said he was about to be sent from the Arsenal to the King at Frederiksborg with the verdict and he asked me to pray God that his journey might be successful, which I wished with all my heart. Thereupon he bade me a tearful farewell and took his place on a vehicle which was waiting outside the Castle gate and so repaired to Frederiksborg.

The King received the verdict and perused it, and after he had considered it, he asked which Jón this was, whether the elder or the younger, and Morten said it was the younger. The King said it seemed to him that the Provost was the more guilty, and Jón ought to be set free, for, "In this country," said the King, "heads do not grow on cabbage-stalks." The King said that he knew me well, and that I had been twice on shipboard with him; and moreover that there was now no Icelander in the service except myself. But I was to bear an iron until he came himself: the Provost, however, was to be dismissed.

Then Morten took leave of the King and bade him a

[1] In a list from 1620 of "the King's men who practise trade" in Copenhagen (and yet pay no tax) we find: Morten Holst, artilleryman, *Provost*, draws ale in Vingaardsstræde. (*Kjøbenhavns Dipl.* IV, p. 772.) He must have been appointed Provost very shortly after Jón's trial, and this bears out Jón's statement that the previous Provost (Søren Nibe) was dismissed.

[2] On south coast.

reverent farewell, and so sped as fast as he might to Copenhagen. And early the next morning he came up into the Blue Tower to visit me, shouting down to me and asking whether I were awake or asleep. Then he greeted me tenderly. I said that I had slept little or not at all that night, and asked him for his tidings. He made as if he could tell but little news, except that we must now part, and that I was bidden by the King to wish the world good night. Whereat I began to lament. But as soon as he heard that, he altered his tune and said it had been but his fun, and that he had desired to know how I should bear myself, and bade me not take it ill though he had acted so, counting on our old acquaintance. He said that he rejoiced more over my release than he could say and he praised God that it had been granted to him to bring the good tidings.

Afterwards the Provost came to fetch me with his four armed soldiers of the Arsenal guard. And when I came to the Arsenal my comrades rejoiced at my arrival. Then I was called into the office, where all the officers of the Arsenal were seated, and also twelve master-gunners, and they all bade me welcome except Adolph Grabow, who addressed me thus: "So, Jón Ólafsson, thou art returned alive, which I little thought would happen." I answered: "God is greater than men." Grabow replied: "Nevertheless, the King has given me the power to make thee wear one fetter until he comes, but if I had been allowed my own way, thou shouldst have been cast into the great prison at Bremerholm[1], once thy life had been granted thee." I answered: "What then is the fault I committed against you that I should meet with such spite and hatred? But that saying has often proved true, that he who digs a pit for another who is innocent of great offence, is apt to fall into it himself." Grabow demanded whether I wished accidents to befall him. I say, not at all, even though I allude to an old saying, but one thing there is which I know and recognize to be most true in this affair, and I think he cannot be wroth thereat, namely that I have to thank God's and the King's mercy for my life, and to attribute it to them

[1] For the prison at Bremerholm, cp. p. 42 *supra*.

rather than to his good intentions, offices and exertions. Whereat the Arsenal-Master, Christoffer Schwenke, grinned. Grabow says my conceit is but little taken down so far. The Arsenal-Master said that that was enough, got up in haste and left the room.

Thereupon Grabow bade the Provost conduct me to the Island[1] to Master Anders[2], who was the King's chief smith, and ordered him to fasten an iron ring round my neck, outside my clothes, as was done with several persons. On it, at the nape of my neck, there was a thin iron ring, on which hung a bell of such dimensions that a man with large hands could conceal it inside them. And when Master Anders received this message and I stood before him in his parlour on Bremerholm—the which parlour was very grand and with a sweet perfume—he was full of wrath with Grabow and his urgent message, and said that he might find another executioner or a more handy prentice than himself, for that he would not needlessly incur any man's ill-will to profit Grabow. But because I greatly feared Grabow and his malice, and since I did not know how things might turn out, I urgently besought Master Anders that it might be done as Grabow had directed, and said that I would remember it rather with gratitude than with offence, and never bear a grudge against him for it; and so for my prayers he allowed himself to be urged to it, and gave me a good drink of wine out of his jug before I went away. Furthermore, he blamed the Provost for his conduct in our affair, and spoke in my favour in several matters. After this we took our leave and on the way to the gate we met the Admiral of Bremerholm, Sten Villumsen[3]. He sees what an ornament I am decorated with, and laughs, not at my shame, but rather at Grabow and his hatred of me,

[1] Island, Dan. Holm, the ordinary term for Bremerholm.

[2] Anders Bentzwinger was appointed smith to the "Great Smithy" on Bremerholm in 1592, at a wage of 150 dollars, certain lengths of cloth, two oxen, six lambs, six geese, six swine, one barrel of butter, and various other payments in kind, including a barrel of ale a month. (*Kjøbenhavns Dipl.* IV. p. 706.) His widow is mentioned in 1646 (*op. cit.* III, p. 264). Cp. Lind, p. 359.

[3] Sten Villumsen Rosenvinge of Tose, Admiral of Bremerholm from 1613 to 1630; see p. 88 *supra*.

and he says he observes that Grabow's love of me is small, and says that Grabow should be ashamed in that he had wrongfully interfered and overstepped his office by presiding in the Arsenal over the proceedings which he, the Admiral, ought to have presided over on Bremerholm, prosecuting and releasing; and that if I had sent him a timely word he would soon have had me set at liberty. He declared that Grabow should be formally and legally charged by him with this before he had done with him, and that he (Grabow) had nothing whatever to do with those who were assigned as sentries to the royal fleet[1]. And but that Grabow had had that fetter placed upon me with the King's sanction, he declared he should instantly have it removed. So we parted, and he went up to the Island and we to the Arsenal.

Grabow thought himself lucky to be able to treat me thus, and he forbade me to issue out of the Arsenal Gate until the King should come, and I was directed by him to have my night's lodging alone up in a vaulted chamber or high stone hall, and my bed-gear was taken thither. Grabow ordered me to ring my bell continually; otherwise he threatened me with more afflictions, but the Arsenal-Master and the other three, who always wished me well, told me secretly that I should not do it, but rather spite and annoy him by muffling the clapper with hemp, which I did, so that he was often filled with violent wrath against me; but because all were on my side I heeded him but little, and the longer this went on the bolder I grew against him both in word and deed, so that at last he wearied of finding open fault with me.

I was handed over to the smith who worked in the Arsenal, making all that was needed, and he was well content with me and became my good friend. There I remained for nearly a month. So far as my memory serves, these trials and confine-

[1] The Admiral of the Island presided over courts-martial in Bremerholm, in those cases in which both accused and prosecutor were in the King's service. (Lind, p. 61; cp. also Garde, *Efterretn.* I, p. 159.) The superior authority for both the Arsenal and for Bremerholm seems really to have been the Statholder of Copenhagen, but this post was, as we have seen, vacant. In the circumstances it seems probable that if the Admiral had known and had cared to exert his authority the conduct of the case would not have been left to Grabow alone.

ments, which I suffered in three places, endured altogether for nine or ten weeks. It often happened during the month that I was confined in the Arsenal that worthy persons of my acquaintance would send hot food twice or thrice in the week, well prepared, with wine or ale, by the hands of their serving-men or maids. Not least did that worthy man, Søren Villadsen the tailor, perform this work of charity and of Christian neighbourliness, both in will and deed, at that time and at other times. He might be called the father of all those Icelanders who lived within the gates of Copenhagen and who sought him out courteously, and his name and memory shall never be forgotten by me, so long as my life in this world continues by God's grace.

CHAPTER XXVIII

AND when I had been three nights confined in the Arsenal, there came thither a tower-builder's chief apprentice, called Zacharias, somewhat deranged in the head, and all the guards of the Arsenal were ordered to keep careful watch over him. This man was exceedingly well-endowed with spiritual and temporal wisdom and understanding. His master lived at Elsinore. It had so happened a short time previously that the King had sent him a message, and had drawn out upon a sheet of paper a very remarkable tower, so constructed that when 1000 men ascended it, it should look as if only one were mounting up it[1]. And the King had withal fixed a time when the tower should be built and finished. This invention of the King's and the commission to build it bore hard on the builder and he became so glum that all remarked it. One day in a secret place he comes to see this said Zacharias, his chief apprentice, and begs him for help and good counsel, so that he might not be disgraced by his incapacity, which might well happen (as he could clearly foresee) if Zacharias did not contribute help and good counsel. But he asked him to keep the matter secret and promised him a good reward above his daily wage, if the work was accomplished. Zacharias set himself to speculate and consider the said design, so that the work went well and was brought to a good conclusion, and the King was well pleased, the which his master attributed entirely to himself and his own skill. But some time later it was bruited abroad in the town that Zacharias his servant had been cleverer than his master in the said work, and thereat the master took a dislike to Zacharias, and maintained that he had been the cause of the said rumour, which however was not proven. A short time later Zacharias

[1] Nothing is known of this tower, and it seems likely that Zacharias' account of it was confused. It is known that Christian IV himself drew plans for parts of the buildings erected at his orders, and possibly also for his ships. Cp. *Dansk Biogr. Lex.* III, p. 499.

found himself ailing and he thought that the master had brought it upon him by magic, but because men thought his talk showed a derangement of mind, and it was not brought to the ears of the authorities, he said no more about it. It was for half a year that he suffered this weakness but recovered wholly again later. He was a worthy fellow and a God-fearing, according to my poor opinion, and as one might see between his attacks and times of sore trial. He was allotted a resting-place in the vaulted chamber or hall where I slept, and which was by the harbour and the entrance thereto, in which harbour lay eleven of the smallest ships of war, and on these watch was kept day and night every winter while they lay there.

Zacharias had books with him, the which he read daily in between his temptations, but in his frenzies he would fling them away, and it would even happen that he uttered blasphemy, which he would anon sorely repent. In his crazy fits none could come near him save I alone, and I used often to seize him in my arms with the greatest hardihood and courage, and bear him to his bed, and lay myself down upon him at full length, with gentle words and rough handling. At times he would strike me and spit in my face, which I suffered in patience, save that with severe reproaches and spiritual zeal, and inspired by the spirit of God, I unceasingly cast up against the devil who oppressed him his spiritual disgrace and everlasting shame, and the monstrous cruelty he displayed to the children of God, when God permitted it. And Zacharias would give thanks to God and to me with tears, and humbly ask my forgiveness. Before he came to the Arsenal he had addressed the Chancellor and the Governor of the Castle in ugly fashion and unbecoming language. But then God's aid came to strengthen him, so that he obtained the situation in which his master had recently died, and became the lawful husband of his widow; and here we may end this tale.

Now it must be told that in the month of April, after Easter, King Christian came with a noble company to Copenhagen Castle and on the same day to the Arsenal, the which

visit was previously announced by a messenger. The Master of the Arsenal in his kindness came to speak to me in the smithy to inform me of this and he says that I must today let my bell ring when the King is by, and he counsels me to show myself humble but yet speak up boldly to the King, though in all reverence. He promised to put in a good word if he happened to be at hand.

Now the King's dog used to run before him wherever he intended to go, and was accordingly a convenient warning to many people, so that the King seldom came upon a man unawares. There was a house within the walls, next to the smithy, which was called the workshop, where the King's fireworkers, as they were called, young men from among the artillerymen, worked there at their business[1], as I have related before[2]. The King used always to go thither when he came to the Arsenal, and so it happened this time also. With him walked the Prince of blessed memory[3] and his other two sons, Duke Frederik and Duke Ulrik, and they were accompanied by the Chancellor Jacob Ulfeldt[4] and the Governor of the Castle, Cai Rantzau, with several serving-men and courtiers in their company.

And when the King came in at the door, I was working the bellows, and left off when he approached. The King asked: "Who has decorated thee with this finery, Jón?" Then I fell on one knee and begged the King to show mercy to me and I a poor man and a stranger. The King approached the smith and looked at the work he was engaged upon. And because

[1] The "fyrværker" or "fyrverper" were promoted from among the artillerymen. (Blom, p. 22.) It is known that such activities as hand-grenade making went on in the Arsenal, for it was owing to carelessness in the preparation of a grenade that the Arsenal was burnt in 1647. (*Hist. Medd. om København*, III, p. 171.)

[2] Jón has made no previous reference to the fireworkers.

[3] Duke Christian, the heir-apparent, who died in 1647.

[4] Jacob Ulfeldt, b. 1567, d. 1630, became Chancellor of State in 1609. He had gone abroad as a lad of fourteen, and had visited Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Sicily, Malta, Greece, Constantinople, Syria, Egypt, Spain, France and Holland. (The Chancellor of State, *Rigskansler*, earlier *Justitarius*, must be distinguished from the Chancellor to the King, a post at this time held by Christian Friis of Kragerup. The *Rigskansler* was the President of the High Court of Justice, and kept the seal of the kingdom. Cp. *Den danske Centraladministration*, pp. 117, 137, etc.)

the King was silent, all his companions acted likewise. Now Grabow stood just behind the King and thought to himself he would be at hand to answer if need should be. Then the King looked at Grabow and said: "Is it Jón who neglected his watch?" Grabow at once answered, "Yes." I said: "Gracious lord! I beg your Royal Majesty graciously to deign to listen to one word from me." The King replied: "Then tell what can be said with truth and honour." I described the enmity of the Provost towards me and the violence he displayed to me on that occasion, whereby I was hindered from standing guard, and also his wrongful accusation before the Court. Grabow rejoined: "Hold thy tongue!" The King spoke no word for a while nor any of them who stood by. Suddenly His Majesty looked quickly at Grabow and said: "Let him be quit of his fetter and confinement now instantly, so that he may be a free man." And then he says to me: "Be very heedful of thyself in future, dear Jón." I prayed in tears that God might always reward him with temporal and eternal blessing. The King said to Jacob Ulfeldt and the other bystanders: "This is an Icelander, a fine young fellow, and he has been on two voyages on the same vessel as ourselves, and we were well satisfied with his conduct; and there are now no other Icelanders in the service save him. But that Provost shall be dismissed and he ought to be ashamed of himself into the bargain." And he forbade him to wear the bâton of office any longer. Grabow durst not utter a word.

The King directed the smith, whose name was Hans Westphalen[1], to take the iron off me, the which gave him much work with a file, for the joint was made fast with a nail. The King went into the workshop where fireworks were manufactured: and when he came past again he asked the smith if he had not yet finished the job. The smith said the most of it was done. The King bade him hasten and not dally.

His Majesty quitted us and went into the forecourt of the Arsenal, where he examined a boom two or three fathoms in

[1] Hans Westphalen, described in 1668 as smith, had a house in Copenhagen in 1661 and 1668 and is also mentioned in the town archives in 1606. (*Kjøbenhavns Dipl.* I, pp. 566, 762; II, p. 832.)

circumference, which he had had made for the mouth of the harbour by the Arsenal, and it was so huge and thick that a hundred men had work enough to move it. But it was so well balanced that one man[1] could easily manage it when it was to be swung out into the harbour from the shore, which was done every evening. It was shot out from the land across the harbour by one winch and in a like manner the double gates of the harbour were closed every evening.

While the King stood and considered this boom, the Master of the Arsenal came walking up to the workshop at a quick pace and in a great rage, drew the sword which hung by his side, and threatened to cleave the smith's head if he did not instantly and forthwith release me from the iron. He wrathfully cursed the Master Grabow for his persistent enmity and mean attacks upon me, which he said Grabow was even now displaying, for he was complaining to His Majesty that I was too presumptuous for him, and had asked the King for permission to keep me at forced work at the Arsenal for half a year, but the King had answered not at all.

And now I was released from my confinement. The Master directed me to leave the Arsenal at once, and repair to my lodgings, and not to return till full six weeks had passed. He said he would take the responsibility. I thanked him humbly for his loving and Christian compassion and kindly offices. Then I took leave of the smith and thanked him for all he had done for me, but he wept like a child and said he would never get another like me out of all who were ordered to assist him from the ranks of the artillerymen.

So I went to the gate and sought to pass out. It was true that the watchman and all the people rejoiced over my release and deliverance, but yet it happened that I was prevented from issuing forth, for they said that it had been forbidden by Grabow, and they begged my forgiveness. I sat down on the watchman's bench and wept bitterly, and thought of David and Saul. Just at that moment the Master of the Arsenal came walking briskly to where I sat, and asks me for what cause I

[1] In 1661 we find a house belonging to Jens "the boom-closer," on the shore. (*Kjobenhavns Dipl.* I, p. 732.)

sit there and weep. I tell him what had passed. He seizes me roughly and commands me to go out, and declares that if any presume to hinder my going forth he will strike him dead with his own sword, the which he had naked in his hand. Whereupon I quitted the Castle as a free man in the sight of all. But there was a great to-do after my departure between Grabow and the Master of the Arsenal, so much that the latter challenged him to a duel, but Grabow durst not accept it, for the Master was an excellent duellist, and acquainted with many feats of skill and sports. And when I came into the town all my acquaintances and countrymen welcomed me.

CHAPTER XXIX

HEREIN IS TOLD IN THE BRIEFEST FASHION HOW A SHORT TIME AFTER THE EVENTS RELATED ABOVE, LUCK CHANGED FOR GRABOW, AS OFTEN BEFALLS THOSE WHO DIG A PIT FOR OTHERS; BUT IN ORDER THAT THE MATTER MAY BE UNDERSTOOD MORE CLEARLY IT IS NEEDFUL TO RELATE THE WHOLE COURSE OF EVENTS WHICH LED TO THE AFFAIR, THE WHICH BEGINS AS FOLLOWS

ONE of our fellow-gunners at the Arsenal, by name Søren Andersen, an elderly man, quiet and worthy, being well-to-do beyond the ruck of us, had a fair wife, of middle age, called Mette or Mathilde, and by her two sons, Rasmus and Anders, who had sailed to Spain, fine young fellows. This Mette had a good name among the gentry, the citizens and the farmers, and gave herself out as practised in healing. She measured with a band those who were afflicted with the wasting sickness and made signs and passes, so that they recovered. She also declared that she knew cures for colic and ague, and took money for them from the farmers: also that she could put a stop to wet weather, and took money for it. For all this there arose a complaint from the farmers that she had fooled many out of their money by trickery and fair words. This rumour reached Copenhagen Castle, and with his consent the wife of the Governor sent for her to visit her, and made out to her in secret that she had lost a silver jug, and asked her to bring about the discovery of the thief, and gave her wine and drink and promised high rewards if she were successful. And although she excused herself for a long time, at last she promised to come again the next morning to satisfy the lady's wish in some way, moved by her kindness and the presents. She came next morning and told the lady that she should seek the jug in the room of her serving-maid, whom she named. But the Governor of the Castle was standing

outside the chamber door where they were shut in, and she was seized and cast into prison at the gaoler's, that is he who locks up and lets loose every prisoner, both those who are confined in the cellar of the Town Hall, and those who are in his own keeping to be punished in life and limb. She was frequently put to the torture in the Town Hall, and would never confess anything more than has been told, and said that it would be more fitting to rack and torture those women who destroyed their mates, or their husband, with poison. They questioned her eagerly, and she began as follows. A woman in Store Færgestræde, Anna by name, wife of Peter Holst[1], had begged her in a friendly manner to buy her as much poison as would suffice to kill one person, for that Grabow, before he went away, had urgently pressed her to put an end to her husband, who was an old man and called Peter Holst. He had been a captain under King Frederik and King Christian, and was a worthy and God-fearing man of dignified appearance; and when he issued forth from his house to visit his friends or take a walk on the shore to pass the time, he would take a link-boy[2] as the Burgomasters and other officials use. King Frederik had assigned him for his support 100 florins yearly for as long as he should live, and this was brought to his door every autumn in cattle and sheep and pigs and such-like[3]. For this her excellent husband she had for many years placed a bed in the attic of his house. In this same house Grabow had had his lodgings for ten years previous to these events.

Now we return to where Mette makes this declaration before the Burgomasters and the Councillors of the town, that Anna had asked her for this [poison] and promised her great reward if she would brew it sufficient for her, for she durst not do

[1] As the Danish editors have pointed out, Peter Holst must be the Peter Asmussen Vejle or Holst who seems to have been in the navy as early as 1570. He became Lieutenant in 1589 and Captain in 1590, and was active in the navy till 1611. (Lind, p. 138.) In 1602 he is mentioned as having a house near the King's herb-garden. (*Kjøbenhavns Dipl.* II, p. 512.)

[2] Link-boy (?). The original has the unknown word *tapar*, which has been interpreted by Prof. B. M. Ólsen as the English *taper*. In older Danish we find *tabersvend*, a torch-bearing lad. [S.B.]

[3] Wages were largely paid in kind, cp. note 2 to p. 188 above.

otherwise, because Grabow said he would withhold his affection, love and favour from her unless she had ridded herself of Holst before he came back from a journey to Holstein to visit his parents, and he [Grabow] had planned it thus with forethought that he might be away when the deed was done.

Mette declared that she had refused to brew such a draught, but had been moved by the other's continual prayers to purchase for her such a poison, which had been the death of the said husband, but that she had neither brewed it nor given it to him. This was committed to writing but not made public, for it was kept secret until Grabow returned. But this Mette was put to death on Gammeltorv, as it is called, east of the Town Hall, the usual spot for executions[1].

Now it must be told how the evening of Grabow's return the sergeant of the watch, Søren Tran, with all the town watch, thirty-two men, was despatched to his house when all the folk were abed, and knocked at the door. Grabow had many friends and they had told him on his arrival what kind of talk was about, though few knew of it in the town, and that he must heed himself. Now Grabow donned his garments in haste, and went to the outer door, and asked who knocked. But the sergeant says that good friends are knocking, whereupon Grabow bids them go home for the night and return next day. The chief constable threatens to break in the door if it be not opened. Grabow asks them to wait while he kindles a light, and goes into the parlour, kindles a light, and in haste flings the woman into a large chest, which he locks and places garments over it for concealment. Now he goes to the door again and asks with whom their business is. The sergeant says he has business with the woman who lives there. Grabow says she went out for the evening to visit friends, but he knows not where. The other bids him open the door notwithstanding, which he did. And when they entered and looked through parlour and attic and sought and found nothing, they threatened to break open everything, chests and boxes, wardrobes and everything else which might stand in the way and give cause to suspect the

[1] Gammeltorv, "Old Market-place," see map of Copenhagen.

concealment of the woman. But Grabow dissuaded them with fair words and bribes, but had to stand surety for her and undertake bail till next day, which he did by clasp of hands[1]. Then they went away, and the next morning a message was sent to Grabow from the Burgomasters bidding him come at once to the Town Hall. And when he had come, they told him that it would be best for him to withdraw his surety for his landlady Anna, who had done her husband to death with poison, and they said they were of the opinion that things were turning out in such fashion that he would have enough to do with attending to his own straits before he was through with it; whereat he was grievously afflicted. But during this conversation two worthy and honourable men were sent by the Burgomasters to Anna with fetters for hands and feet, and they were to place them on her and take charge of her. And when they came to her house and to where she was lying in bed, fully clothed, and she observed the irons, she was somewhat disturbed and asked what those irons purported. But they told her everything that had happened. She said there was no need of such dealings, for Grabow was standing surety for her. They said that his surety was withdrawn. And when she heard that, she felt in her pocket and produced two knives inlaid with silver, which were Grabow's, and one of them she plunged in her breast near the heart and flung it against the door with the wish that it had entered his heart too. At once she asked for a minister of religion. Accordingly, Master Nicolaus[2], parish priest of St Nicholas', came to her, and she acknowledged to him her dire crime, that for nine years she had polluted her marriage by sinful intercourse with Grabow, and had borne two children[3] and had neglected lawful cohabitation with her husband. Of this

[1] Clasp of hands, according to ancient Scandinavian custom the legal method of making a pledge: cp. Phillpotts, *Kindred and Clan*, pp. 220, 284.

[2] There is no trace of a minister Nicolaus of St Nicholas' church at this time. It may be that Jón has given the parish priest the name of the church (cp. "Gabriel" Kruse of the *Gabriel*, p. 153 *supra*), or, as suggested by the Danish editors, it was Master Niels Mikkelsen Aalborg, minister of Holmens church (Bremerholm church), built for the navy, who received the confession of the Captain's wife.

[3] Parish registers show a son of Holst baptized in 1618, and a daughter in the summer of 1620. (Lind, p. 139.)

crime she declared Grabow to be wholly and entirely the cause, and through his evil incitement before he left home, he had also induced her to give her husband poison so that he perished, to which she pleaded guilty. She had given her children's nurse the poisoned drink, to carry up in the jug which was customarily brought to him every evening for the quenching of his thirst in the night. And because she so greatly repented her misdeed, with tears, and longed for comfort in God's word from the minister in that hour of her mortal need, he granted her the grace of holy absolution and the sacrament; and she died soon after. But the nurse was cast into prison and must needs lose her life, though she offered to swear that she had carried him the poison unwittingly. The body of this woman Anna, Peter Holst's widow, lay unburied for thirteen weeks, and was taken out to the New Graveyard outside the North Gate of the town[1], and it lay there in a double coffin[2] on a bier in a penthouse. Many a man rested his elbows on her coffin, I amongst others, and drank many a quart of ale there on Sundays when we walked out thither[3]. But why her body lay so long unburied was due to the circumstances hereinafter related.

[1] This graveyard (see map) was first made in 1546 for the victims of the plague. It was much despised as a place of burial, and indeed seems to have been in a terrible condition. In 1564 the verger of Our Lady's church, who was responsible for its upkeep, admits to having given up the attempt to keep it respectable, and says he left it to the care of the sextons. One of the sextons is admonished for having dug up and opened the coffins of the newly-buried, striking the corpses, "bidding them stand up in the name of a thousand devils, they had lain there long enough." Cp. Liisberg, *København*, p. 154, and C. Bruun, *Kjøbenhavn*, I, p. 321.

[2] *I.e.*, an inner and an outer coffin, cp. p. 151 *supra*.

[3] Evidently in Jón's time the custom of picnicking in the graveyard had already begun, though we first hear of it about 1650. At that time the New Graveyard was full of people who came out for Sundays and had food brought to them there from the gardens. (Nielsen, *Kjøbenhavns Hist.*, IV, pp. 305 f.) The sexton mentioned in the preceding note kept a tavern on the premises, and we see that his successors did so too. It must be remembered that the people were accustomed to associate coffins with drinking. The coffin with the corpse in it was present at the lyke-wake, and as Troels Lund says: "it was regarded as ungenteel if those present at a lyke-wake were not drunk." (*Dagligt Liv*, XIV, p. 76.) A visitor to Denmark during the Thirty Years' War observes that in Denmark, "When anyone dies, people do not weep and bewail themselves, but laugh, eat, drink and dance round the coffin." (Raumer, *Briefe aus Paris*, I, p. 76, quoted by Troels Lund.)

CHAPTER XXX

AND when this awful deed had happened, that Anna had laid violent hands on herself, and previously declared Grabow to be as guilty as herself in the crime previously mentioned, the tale was at once carried to the King, and Grabow was summoned to his presence, and was to be confined in the Blue Tower. But there were at that time many persons of the nobility recently come together in Copenhagen; and he sent in haste to these, and by their entreaties he was granted so much grace that twelve men of the nobility and six of the citizens were to stand surety for him that he would not escape before the session of the High Court was held in Copenhagen about Midsummer[1]. The King wished to have him executed at once, and said that if he had a hundred lives he would have forfeited them all, and for that reason the woman's body was not to be buried before he could be placed in the same grave; and no one thought other but that this would happen. But when the High Court was held, all of the Danish nobility pleaded for Barabbas, or Grabow, that he should be delivered; and they pressed the matter against the King with such hardihood that, sorely against his will, he had to let it be as they and their wives and daughters prayed[2], so that Grabow was released, and the King laid the responsibility to God on their shoulders and in their hands. But before her body was interred, her brother Morten came from Holstein, and paid 300 florins that it might be buried within

[1] A *Herredag* was both a session of the High Court and a meeting of the Council of State, cp. note 1, p. 98 *supra*. Such a session began on May 27, 1621. (Cp. Erslev, *Rigsraadets Historie*, I, p. 315.)

[2] It must be remembered that during Christian IV's reign the nobles were extremely powerful. An Italian diplomat, writing home in 1625, observes truly that the government of the Danish State is very dependent on the nobles: without them the King can decide nothing of importance, more especially as regards the administration of justice. (*Danske Magasin*, VI R., I Bd. p. 346.) There was a strong sense of solidarity among the nobles. For similar cases of the pressure brought to bear on Christian IV by the nobles, see Phillpotts, *Kindred and Clan*, pp. 94, 103 note 1 and 108 f.

the churchyard in consecrated ground; but he only obtained his wish for one-half of the body[1].

Five persons lost their lives through their crime: firstly, a pious weaver's wife, Elizabeth by name, who lived in the same street and was the first to mention their intercourse publicly, and said that she foresaw a heavy punishment for those who lived there because of these two persons, Grabow and Anna, who so heedlessly lived in shocking sin and evil conduct towards the worthy old man Peter Holst, who had to feed on their leavings. This censure and blame and the discourse of the woman came to the ears of Grabow and Anna, and they bribed two young men to give the woman a fright, which they did by standing under the window of her house, and in the evening when she was sitting down to table with her husband, they uttered such awful screeches as if it had been monsters or supernatural creatures. But she was near her confinement and when she heard these sounds she fell down dead. The lads took to their heels.

The second who lost his life was the good old man. No. 3 was his wife Anna, who laid hands on herself. The fourth was Mette, who was executed because she had bought the poison at the shop. The fifth was the innocent and pious nurse, who carried the draught up to the man's bedside and who was also called Anna, an excellent person over whom nigh upon the whole town grieved sorely. I remember that she was four times examined by the Court. It was half a year before she was executed, declaring her innocence before God.

And here we can end this story, save that Grabow did not lose his life and was again set over the artillerymen (though they were ill content), but on condition that he conducted himself peaceably towards all, and if it proved otherwise, he should have another and a worse place found for him[2].

And now time passes until one Sunday the King acquaints us, by the mouth of the Provost Morten Holst (who had been

[1] The body was probably buried under the graveyard wall, half within and half without. [R.C.]

[2] For considerations on the accuracy of the story about Grabow, see Introd.

recently appointed in the place of that other), that all we gunners were to repair by the following morning to a castle in the country called Ibstrup[1], eight miles from Copenhagen, and that we were to be there by six o'clock; so most of us had to spend the night on the journey. I accompanied a man called Henrik that night, and we turned along the road which leads to Frederiksborg. This road, called the King's Road, is so made that it is built up like a causeway, and stands as high as a well-grown man in most parts, and in some places is higher still; and there are gates across it at intervals. During the night the moon shone at times, so that helped us. On the road we found a draught horse belonging to some farmers: we made bold to take it, put on a bit and climbed on to its back, and it gave us a good lift for most of the way. We did not travel by the high road, for we durst not, but hit upon the plan of hauling the jade on to the King's Causeway[2], in the which we succeeded after many struggles. And when we were come as far along it as we dared, we let the jade drop down from the King's Way on to the flat land below, and we arrived without mishap. And in the morning, when the King himself mustered us, we had all come save one who was called Malchus, a barber by trade (there was one other barber in the service, called Peter). This Malchus arrived shortly after the roll-call had been read. The King did not say anything about it, but as soon as Malchus came, Grabow ordered him to be put under arrest. And about midday we

[1] The present Jægersborg. About 1609 the King began to build a small castle or hunting-lodge at Ibstrup, about four miles north of Copenhagen. It was pulled down in 1761. (Friis, *Saml.* pp. 135 ff.)

[2] These "King's Roads" were built and kept in order by the forced labour of the peasants, and were for the sole use of the King and his suite. Cp. the ordinance of King Frederik II, in 1585: "Since Our way and course frequently leads Us between Our Castle Frederiksborg and Copenhagen and We accordingly, not without great expense, have had made a road for Ourselves between the two, and since the said road, were it to be commonly used and travelled upon, would soon be spoiled and become worse than the common road...it is forbidden to all and sundry, especially to those in Our service or in the service of the crown, to use the said road." The penalty is the loss of horse, cart, the goods carried, and half the culprit's farm. (Secher, *Forordn.* II, pp. 379 f.) In 1596 Christian IV issued a similar warning about the royal road between Antvorskov and Ringsted (*op. cit.* III, pp. 39 f.).

all went before the King and asked for his release, which was at once granted, and it appeared that the King was ignorant of his arrest, which he said was Grabow's doing.

The work which we were to do for the King and for which he promised us a wage was as follows. To the south of Ibstrup Castle there was a circular piece of water[1] in which trees had once grown, but the King had had them cut down; and this summer he had had all the roots of these trees sawn across down at the bottom of the water, which he had got done by seven High Germans[2], who had acquired the art. It was our task to take all these tree roots, which were no longer attached to the bottom, and drag them away and place them in a pile, and the King himself helped in the work as soon as we had brought the roots ashore. And in the three days we were at Ibstrup it happened that the King was flinging one log after the other on to the pile, while Grabow stood behind him with his sword at his side, the hilt and knob whereof were gilded, and with gold-embroidered gloves on his hands. And when the King turned round and saw Grabow standing so stiffly behind him, his gorge rose, so that we thought, if he had not laid aside his sword, and had had his bâton in his hand, Grabow would have learnt to his cost how insolent it was to stand behind the King and how devoid of modesty his heart was that he could watch His Royal Majesty condescend to undertake bodily toil. But nevertheless Grabow was so startled by the words that the King addressed to him in his wrath, that in all haste he flung aside his sword and set to work, continuing in the same so long as the King was present in person. We were not sorry when the King spoke to him and asked him if he were not somewhat too high-minded, seeing all hard at work and the King himself, and yet daring to stand there in such a haughty attitude, as idle as a dog.

Once when the King was not by, Grabow said to me that

[1] The land round the Castle, which was not yet finished, was full of ponds and small lakes. [R.C.]

[2] South Germans, called High Germans because of their High German speech, different from the Low German dialects to which the Danes were accustomed.

he could wish that he had me and a hundred of my countrymen under his orders for some such work, and that he might rule and lord it over us at his will. I answer with a smile that the window-frame still creaked to the same tune, but that I did not consider it such an ill wish, if I might add the condition that the hundred whom he desired might all be such as Grettir the strong and Orm Stórólfsson[1], and others like them. All the company grinned and he went away with a sigh.

The third and last evening of our sojourn there Grabow wished us to continue longer at work than was ancient usage and custom at the Arsenal, *viz.* four o'clock. But we did not heed what he said, but put on our outer clothes and went to the King, and told him what was up. Grabow was at once summoned to the King's presence and had to listen once again to rough words and harsh threats from him. After that the King thanked us both for our obedience and for our toil, and gave us twelve barrels of the ale called King's ale. We started back during the evening but only a very few arrived the next day at the Arsenal.

One day it so happened that I and six of the best of my young comrades made up our minds to neglect our work and fail to appear at the muster at the Arsenal, and we clubbed together to have a feast. We held our banquet in the eastern quarter of the town, in a magnificent house, where we thought and fancied that we should be able to hide undetected. But about midday those who sat against the glass window perceived the Provost approaching. Most of them lost heart. Now I was sitting at the head of the table and was by way of being the chief of the party; and I said that they were not to show any trace of shame. When he entered, I bade him welcome. He took my greeting readily and gave no sign, but joked with me according to his habit while our players con-

[1] Grettir the Strong and Orm Stórólfsson, Icelanders from the Viking Age renowned for their physical strength. Orm's greatest feat was to carry the mast of Ólaf Tryggvason's famous ship, the *Long Dragon*, without assistance. Cp. *Fornmanna Sögur*, III, pp. 204–28, and *Grettissaga* (*The Story of Grettir the Outlaw*, ed. Baring Gould). Both heroes were also handy men with their weapons, and Grettir at least was of a hasty temper.

tinued their music. Presently the Provost Morten says it will not do for either him or us to sit there any longer, and that we must accompany him to the Arsenal. We made no bones about that and begged him to put in a good word for us. But when we got there, we were all placed out on the ice, each with an iron bolt about his feet[1] and twelve pails of water were poured over each of us by the Under-Provost Stengaard. We were subjected to this punishment outside the Water Gate in the harbour which lies between the Arsenal and the Provision Store, each of which is a hundred fathoms long. Morten would not punish us himself nor say anything about what we were caught doing, but declared that he had found each of us at home engaged on urgent business. But Laurids, the Under-Provost, was skilful at that kind of punishment, and they called him Roast Lamb, and there was little love lost between us, so that he was continually having tricks played on him. When he had paid us out in this fashion, he said that he had forbidden any of our company to shield us or give us any aid, such as dry clothes or the like, and this by Grabow's orders. I and some others remarked that he always brought us good news and he had to swallow many a taunt, then as always, for our patience with him had worn thin, the fellow being very hostile to us and often reporting and exaggerating our transgressions, the which he could well have left undone. The go-between often has much power: if he wishes to benefit, he can put a better complexion on things, but he can also cause trouble and harm if it be his desire, as is daily shown in practice.

Now it was the custom, as has been said before, that skippers should hold watch in turn, both day and night, over those vessels which lay in the harbour on the other side of the storehouse. From that place there approached us a certain skipper of the name of Peter, who had been chief boatswain on the vessel *St Peter* in which I came from England. He comes up to where I sat with the iron bolt on one of my feet, and covered with ice and wet to the skin, and greets us, and

[1] "Jærnbolt, an iron rod with chain, to which prisoners and convicts were attached by the legs." (Molbech, *Dictionary*.) [R.C.]

says I am an old acquaintance, and with that he takes the fur cap off his head and my hat off mine, and puts his cap on my head, saying that I might keep it until I could bring it back. I tell him he runs a great risk in the face of the Provost's words. He says that is of little consequence to him, for the Provost had no authority over him. No sooner had he gone away than Laurids came up in a great rage, and demanded who had presumed to do the like against the orders of the authorities. I began to flout him, begging him to pardon me, and the others told him he had been made game of, whereupon he went away. But soon after he released us from the irons by order of the authorities.

This winter I had the Arsenal watch, and at that time I had my lodging at the house of a noble lady who had never been married, and who was both worthy and God-fearing and kept house for herself in Vognmandsstræde[1]. She had never let lodgings to any man before. She was kindly and very ceremonious, as the gentry are brought up to be; and her name was Christine Svale. She had twice been bewitched and both times had broken the same leg. One of her sisters called Ermegaard lived in the town and was married to a captain in the King's service, whose name was Stephanus[2]. He was a wealthy man and lived in a large house, and underneath it was a cellar for wine and ale, where I could claim a seat and ale without payment every Sunday. This lady told me (together with much else) that she had had seventeen brothers and sisters, and for that reason each had received but a small share of the property. But she told me that her sad mischance in breaking her leg twice was because another young lady had coveted the gentleman to whom she was betrothed, and that both times it had happened the same way. I was not allowed

[1] Vognmandsstræde, cp. note 3 to p. 39 *supra*.

[2] Christine Svale was the daughter of Verner Bertelsen Svale of Bisbo in Fyen. Her sister Ermegaard was the wife of Captain Steffen Sørensen. [Communicated by the late Mr Thiset, Archivist, to R.C.] In 1620 a Steffen Sørensen lived on the Strand, and in 1626 a man of the same name owned land in Christianshavn. (*Kjøbenhavns Dipl.* II, p. 615; III, p. 52.) These references are taken by Lind to apply to a Bremerholm clerk of the same name (pp. 348 f.), but it seems more likely that the house at any rate belonged to the Captain, who is not mentioned by Lind.

to bring anyone into the house without her permission, and she never spoke a harsh word to me all the eighteen months that I lodged there, save one time when it chanced that she had forgotten to lock up in the press a book belonging to her and her sister, an heirloom which was called Henrik Smid's Book[1], the which contained a description of all the various diseases and ailments which could befall a human being, whether man or woman, in this world, and cures for each of them. She would not let anyone glance at this book, but I transgressed her wish and had begun to read in it when she entered the parlour. She let me feel her displeasure at once and said that the book was not for the eyes of immodest rascals, and she added a great deal about the nature and disposition of men, and especially still more of women. And when she had made me a long sermon thereon, she relented somewhat in her speech, and said that she did not fancy or believe me to be a rascal so far as she could observe, nor had my conduct appeared to be very disagreeable all the time I had lived in her house; and at the end she begged my forgiveness and gave me permission to read the book so long as her sister did not get to know of it: so I wrote out five or six sheets, which were brought into the cabin on the occasion of my receiving the injury of which I shall bear the marks to my death.

Now I will leave Christine Svale for awhile and pass on to tell how in the spring the King had six of the largest ships got ready for a voyage and himself voyaged to Bergen in Norway with the three young gentlemen, the Chancellor, the

[1] Henrik Smith or Smid, Inspector of Weights and Measures at Malmø, wrote a number of popular medical works in the first half of the 16th century. He says he had practised medicine himself, but abandoned it as an ungrateful career. His compilations are extracts from the works of more learned authors. The book Jón alludes to is probably the *Lægebog* (Book of Healing), containing a collection of several treatises, including one on cures for the diseases of women and children. One edition was printed at Copenhagen in 1577, another at Lübeck and Rostock in 1598–9. According to Mansa, *Bidrag*, p. 176, the symptoms by which the various diseases are to be recognized are very summarily treated. It seems, however, that the medicaments recommended by Smith still influence the treatment of "wise" women and other quacks in Denmark. (Cp. *Dansk Biografisk Lexikon*, and Chr. Bruun, *Bibliotheca Danica*, I, p. 799.)

Statholder and all the Council of the kingdom of Denmark. A session of the High Court[1] was to be held there in the year 1621[2]. But when we were off the coast of Norway we met a vessel which had escorted the *St Lars* (or as it was also called, the *Spaniel*) on its way to India[3], to the fortress which the Danes had built there, which was called Dansborg, and which will be told of later if God grants me life. And we thus became a fleet of seven ships, and had a favourable wind until we came as far north as the sound which runs up to the town of Bergen, and is twelve sea-miles in length. Most vessels do not sail up this sound owing to the calms, but round by way of the open sea, though it be a greater distance. The King however decided to sail up the sound, and the skippers thought it rash because of the calms which often occur there and the very great depth of the water, so that anchors cannot be dropped.

At that time the King's own ship was the *Patientia*[4], a huge and magnificent man-of-war. She had seventy-two cannon on board, all of bronze. She was much gilded both in the bows and stern, and had a double gallery with gilded pillars: that is the outside way up from the cabin where the officers stand and pledge each other when the ships sail side by side. The second warship, the next in rank, was called *St Anna*[5] and was a large vessel with fifty-six cannon: she was also

[1] Herredag. Cp. note 1, p. 98, *supra*. A Herredag was held in Norway every three years.

[2] This expedition really took place in 1622, and according to Ole Worm's Diary, incorporating extracts from Christian IV's, started from Kronborg on July 18.

[3] The *Spaniel* (*Vaterhunden*) had left Copenhagen for India on April 21 (Ole Worm's Dagbøger, *Danske Saml.* II R., 3 Bd. p. 371). Owing to Ove Gjedde's seizure of certain French privateers in 1618, the Danes feared reprisals on their own vessels, and in 1622 all vessels to Spain were convoyed. (H. G. Garde, *Den Dansk-Norske Sømagts Hist.* pp. 146 f.) The *Spaniel* was convoyed as far as the Canary Islands by the *Nettle-leaf* (*Nældeblad*), Captain Jens Munk. (Lind, p. 195.)

[4] *Patientia* is mentioned in 1644 as carrying forty guns and a crew of 360 men. Only one or two vessels had as many as seventy-two guns: the old *Fortuna*, in 1586, had eighty, and in 1648 the *Sophia Amalie* and the *Prince Christian* had over seventy. (Garde, *Efterretninger*, pp. 74, 147.)

[5] The *St Anna* and the *Justitia*, also *St Peter* mentioned above, p. 32, were built for Christian IV in Copenhagen by his Scotch ship-builder David Balfour. (Garde, *Efterretninger*, p. 130.)

gilded at stem and stern, and had carved figures on either side painted in various colours, as had also the *Patientia* and the highest class of warships. The third warship was the *Justitia*[1], a large vessel with fifty cannon and the same decoration as those I have already described. It was on this vessel that I was serving as gunner. My captain was Christoffer Boye[2], a man of English ancestry on his father's side. He had just made a voyage to the East Indies and was returned thence that spring. The ship's master was Peter Hansen[3] and my master-gunner was Niels Dreyer, a very pious man, but yet kind to me. Counting him, we were twenty-five artillerymen in all. The fourth vessel was *Spes*[4], a splendid warship with quite forty cannon, and well equipped in every way. The fifth was *Fides*, a fast sailer and a handsome craft. The sixth was the *Black Knight*, a large and handsome warship with an equal number of cannon, all of bronze. The seventh ship, which joined us, as I have mentioned before, was the *Lübeck David*[5], a fast ship with a great many cannon. Its captain was the much-experienced Jens Munk[6], who had returned from the Veigat Straits fully two years previously. All these seven ships were splendidly equipped, decorated and adorned, and each had its great flag, banners and bunting all around the

[1] In 1648 the *Justitia* is called "old"; she has fifty-two ports, forty-four guns and a crew of 230 men.

[2] All that is known about Christoffer Boye, outside Jón Ólafsson's pages, is that on April 24, 1622, he was Captain of the *Markatten* cruising in the Baltic. (Lind, p. 222.) The Danish editors very plausibly identify him with the Christoffer Hansen who went to India in 1618 as Master, and returned in the *Elephant* as Jón says, in 1622, after which he is called Captain. (Lind, p. 223. The *Elephant* arrived in Copenhagen on March 30, cp. *Danske Saml.* II, 3, p. 371.)

[3] Possibly the Peter Hansen who was appointed Lieutenant in 1640, took part in the war with Sweden, and died on Oct. 29, 1644. (Lind, p. 195.) [R.C.]

[4] Emendation of Icelandic Editor for *Fides*, which Jón seems to have written twice. However no authority mentions the *Spes* on this voyage. The Bergen fief accounts mention the *Fides* (*Norske Saml.* II, p. 187 note), though Ole Worm's Diary omits her, but Ole Worm mentions the *Raphael*, and probably this name would be the best emendation. The "old" *Black Knight* is mentioned in 1648 as carrying forty guns. (Garde, *op. cit.* p. 147.)

[5] It was not the *David of Lübeck* but the *Nettle-leaf* (*Nældeblad*).

[6] For Jens Munk see note 1 to p. 148 *supra*.

gunwale on either side. On the King's own warship were twelve trumpeters; on the two next largest four, and on each of the others three. With the King and on his ship were the three young Princes, the Chancellor, the Statholder and the Danish Council, all save the good old man Gabriel Kruse[1], who was on the *St Anna*. On our ship were forty-eight of the King's guards and his twelve instrumentalists and musicians: each of these two parties had a large cabin on board. I do not remember the number of the crew on each vessel. According to Christian custom, *Corum* or mattins were held every morning, with prayer and a blessing, and likewise evensong at night; and on Wednesdays there was a sermon. When the midday or evening meal was about to be served, there was beating of kettledrums and blowing of trumpets, four at a time. And of such matters let this suffice.

[1] Gabriel Kruse of Tulsted, a noble, became Captain in 1610, fought in the Kalmar War (1611–13), was Admiral of the Elbe fleet, 1627–30, in the war against the Emperor, and died in 1647. It does not seem likely that he can have been so very old in 1622. It is known from other sources that he commanded the *St Anna* on this voyage.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE first evening we proceeded up the Sound with farms on either side and dropped anchor. The King's ship lay furthest forward and then the other ships in their proper and customary order. It so happened that our captain quitted the ship in a small boat, such as is to be found on each vessel, and repaired to the *St Anna* where one of the Council was on board, namely Gabriel Kruse. But when he came back there was a great dispute on our ship between our captain and the King's guards. The captain challenged them to a duel ashore, any who were willing to venture, and the guards in their turn spoke high and were refractory, so that matters looked like manslaying, had not Gabriel Kruse come on board and made peace between them and silenced the King's guards; but he had to promise them six barrels of Rostock ale.

We were three days in this Sound before we got up to Bergen. We had great entertainment from the countryfolk who were all the time on either side, working at their ploughlands or engaged in other necessary occupations. But when we reached the beacon called Back van Ra[1] it was the custom of all vessels and ancient mariners' law that any who had not been there before should be dropped from the mainyard into the sea, unless they delivered themselves by drink-money. When the King got to hear of this, he softened the severity of the sea-law in such fashion that he gave a six-quart vessel of wine to every four men's mess and said that from what he knew of his men, he fancied they would prefer to get wet inside rather than outside. So this sea-punishment was abrogated on that occasion by the generosity of the King.

About half-past one, on a Thursday in August[2], we came

[1] Jón refers to the little island Bokn, north of Fanefjord, which used to be called Buk van Ra by Dutch and N. German seamen to distinguish it from Buk van See (Bokn off Stavanger). Cp. Yngvar Nielsen, *Reisehaandbog over Norge*, 9th ed. Christiania, 1899, p. 206. [R.C.]

[2] It seems to have been on July 25, a Monday, that the vessels actually came up to Bergen. According to a Bergen resident (Mikkel Hofnagel) the

up to Bergen town, and nine shots were fired on the King's ship and six on the *St Anna*, and but three on each of the others. From the Castle there was a reply of many guns, and trumpets were sounded on every ship. And when the King proceeded to the shore, the same number of shots were fired and kettledrums beaten. The third time, as the King entered the Castle, all the townsfolk and merchants and householders stood on the Garper's Quay[1] with their weapons and their war-gear, and there was firing in the same style from the ships and the Castle, and trumpeting. All the Norwegian gentlefolk had come thither, both the Chancellor, Jens Bjelke[2], and the Norwegian Statholder[3], together with other noble persons.

The second day thereafter the session began and lasted till the following Tuesday[4], but what affairs were debated there I do not recall, save two: First, the affair of Master Anders, who had become Bishop of Throndhjem two years before, and had been parish priest of St Nicholas in Copenhagen[5], where I first received absolution and the sacrament from him. It

King himself arrived first on a yacht at two o'clock in the morning on July 22. The salutes from the Castle and the block-house roused the inhabitants. (*Norske Samlinger*, II, p. 186.) Jón's statement that the vessels were three days in the Sound makes such an early visit possible, but it is clear that the formal arrival was not till Monday. According to Eske Brock, a member of the Council, the *Black Knight* arrived at 9 a.m. on July 25. (*Danske Saml.* II R., 6 Bd. p. 33.)

[1] Garper, the old Norwegian term for the German Hanseatic merchants who had for long held the entire trade of Bergen in their hands. They are also called *kontorske* or *kontormænd*, from *kontor*, an office.

[2] Jens Bjelke, see above, p. 55.

[3] The Statholder from 1618 to 1629 was Jens Juel (b. 1580, d. 1634), a member of one of the oldest noble families in Denmark.

[4] According to Eske Brock the session began on July 26 and lasted until Aug. 1, a Monday.

[5] Anders Arreboe, b. 1587, d. 1637, a poet of some merit, had been made Bishop of Throndhjem in 1618. The more serious charges against him, urged with much vehemence by the Governor Tage Thott, a personal enemy, seem to have been partly founded on slander, but there appears to be no doubt that the Bishop had been somewhat frivolous at weddings: he "had sung frivolous songs, danced unsuitable dances, beaten a drum at dances, and composed unseemly verses." The verdict seems to have been unduly harsh in view of the customs of the time: it is not till 1638 that the King forbids the clergy to drink healths on their knees, and to dance with a glass in their hands. (N. Jacobsen, in *Dansk Maanedsskr.* 1866, II, pp. 64 ff.) Cp. H. Rørdam, *Arreboes Levnet og Skrifter*, pp. 152 ff.

was an ugly business and turned on the seduction of a woman and was very complicated, and he was on this occasion degraded from his Bishop's state, but worse would have befallen him if several of the nobility who had often heard him preach in Copenhagen, had not pleaded for him. But he was appointed later to a priestly office and living in Norway[1].

The other affair which was debated and decided there was that of Henning Henningsen, who was plaintiff in the case concerning the execution of his father, which I have previously mentioned, who was guiltless. Henning received 1200 florins[2].

It was decreed that in every house into which we went the people should do us honour and feast us, and this was done. The streets of Bergen are all laid with large cobble-stones from the mountains, and they slope downwards, so that neither water nor dirt can remain on them, but in wet weather it is hard to keep one's footing[3]. There were at that time four or five churches there, with the cathedral[4], and on the Sunday we were there, there was much organ playing and other

[1] In 1636 he was appointed minister of Vordingborg (Denmark).

[2] In the MS. Court records of this session Henning Nielssøn claims compensation for the illegal execution of his father, Niels Henningssøn, a citizen of Bergen. It seems that Niels Henningssøn, having confessed under torture that he had committed a murder in Bergen, was broken on the wheel and quartered in 1618, before any final judgment had been given. (*Norske Rigsregistranter*, IV, pp. 668, 711–12, 739.) The Court records of this session give the suit of Henning Nielssøn, the son, against the King's Sheriff (Foged) Peder Due, who seems to have played into the hands of the Borgermester Søren Sørenssøn in the matter. Peder Due, however, pleads that Søren, who died between 1620–1, was the responsible party, and the Court decides that Henning cannot hold Peder Due to account. (Bergen, Herredags Dombog in anno 1622, in the Rigsarkiv, Copenhagen, fols. 88 ff.) The sum Jón mentions may have been given by Søren's heirs by way of compromise. Peder Due states in his evidence that Søren had been sorely injured, both in his honour and his pocket, by the said Henning, so that the summary execution might be made to appear by the claimant as an act of vengeance.

[3] Jón's difficulty in keeping his footing in the streets of Bergen suggests that the orders for the entertainment of the royal crews were well carried out.

[4] According to Absalon Pederssøn's "Description of Norway" in about 1570 (*Norske Magasin*, I, p. 851) there were four churches: St Mary's, St Martin's, the Church of the Holy Cross, and the Cathedral. St Jørgen's Church was attached to the Hospital. About six weeks after the King's visit a new church was consecrated. (*Norske Samlinger*, II, p. 187.) In the following year the Cathedral, the New Church, the Church of the Holy Cross, and St Martin's Church were all gutted by fire (*loc. cit.* p. 188).

observances to mark and honour the occasion. The *garper* or German merchants had prepared a three-days festival for the King, but because there was rain every day of the week we were there, the King did not accept their invitation, and instead they presented him with a fine credence-bowl[1] filled with rose nobles.

The second Thursday after our arrival the King proceeded to his ship at the time when all the crews on all the vessels were seated at table, and at the same time kettledrums were beaten, horns and trumpets were blown, and a message was sent by a boat to all the ships, that no man, whatever his rank, was to presume to go on land or fetch anything he might have left there. And immediately the anchors were weighed and the sails hoisted, and from the Garper's Quay eighteen boats were sent to row out the King's ship, twelve for the *St Anna* and nine for each of the others. The King smiled, and said that the loose women in Bergen ought not to be ungrateful to him for the grief they felt that day, which would be a reminder to them of his visit to Bergen[2].

The *garper* or German merchants had many treasures to show or to sell. Both their boats and rowers were handsomely equipped, and they accompanied us on our way for a sea-mile. And at the end the King had them honourably entertained, and thereupon we parted.

And so we sailed thence[3] with a fair wind in the open sea, until we came off Varberg Castle in Halland[4], when we got a cold breeze against us out of the south-east. Towards the evening the wind veered round to the west, so that it was on the beam for sailing up the Sound, for it blew off the Skaw in

[1] Already in January, 1622, the Bergen merchants had consulted the authorities at Lübeck as to what they were to give the King "according to ancient custom." On his visit in 1599 they gave him two silver-gilt bowls containing the value of 515 dollars in bullion. (Hist. Statist. Notitser, in *Norske Saml.* II, p. 623.)

[2] Bergen had long been notorious for its immorality, attributed to the fact that the German merchants took an oath not to marry Norwegian women. Cp. N. Nicolaysen, in *Norske Magasin*, I, pp. 555 f. and 599.

[3] According to Eske Brock the fleet actually sailed on Aug. 2, though they seem to have left Bergen on Aug. 1, a Monday. (*Norske Saml.* II, p. 186.)

[4] For Varberg Castle see note 3 to p. 60 *supra*.

Jutland, and from Læssø and Anholt[1]. Now the King sailed first and the other ships followed, and we were last, next to *St Anna*, for both those ships were very heavy and large and ill-suited for fast sailing[2]. And before dusk fell we saw a mountain called Bordon rise on the horizon in Skaane[3] from which mountain or headland it is four sea-miles to Kronborg. Long ago King Harald hurled Heming Áslákssón down that mountain-side[4]. After that the weather became very rough, and Captain Christoffer Boye wished to take down the topsail for the night, and leave the mainsail, but the ship's master Peter would not consent to that, and there was dissension between them in consequence[5]. But since authority in the navigation of the vessel pertained rather to the master than to the captain, it had to be as the former wished, that the mainsail should be lowered and the topsail should stand. And when twenty-two men had clambered up on the mainyard to lower away the sail, and as I was standing close to the mainmast, there came a great squall from the west, a loud splitting sound in the mainmast, and a certain Peter Nielsen (who had for seven years been a soldier and had recently become a gunner) gripped me violently, for he was a very strong man, and bade me get out of the way in God's name, because he thought that the mast had split when the squall came, but I thought that impossible. But immediately thereafter there came a great gust, and just where I had been standing the mast broke off and on it all the men who were lying on the yard taking in sail. All went overboard in a flash, the mainmast with its new sail, the topmast, the topgallant mast with two new sails, yard and rigging, and the flagstaff at the main-

[1] Læssø and Anholt, Danish islands in the Kattegat.

[2] Already on the voyage out it had been necessary to wait for the *St Anna*, cp. Eske Brock's Diary, *Danske Saml.* II R., 6 Bd. p. 32.

[3] The context shows that Kullen (on the Swedish coast) is meant; there is no explanation of the word Bordon. [S.B.]

[4] Jón has confused the story of Harald Hardraade and Heming Áslákssón with the Danish tale of Pálna-Toki's ski-ing down Kullen; cp. Saxo, Grundtvig's ed. 4 Udg. p. 428. [S.B.]

[5] The naval captains, who were responsible for the ship in battle, were often unacquainted with navigation, and there was therefore a skipper or master on board responsible for the actual handling of the vessel. [S.B.]

top with its gilt knob. We had to cut all this away with sharp axes, so that the timbers might not shatter the gunwale. Of these twenty-two men seven were drowned, of whom five were newly married. They could not be succoured by any means, though some begged sorely for leave to attempt it. The said Peter Nielsen and I tried at the great risk of our lives to rescue a man called Michael, who was jammed by the breaking of the mast, but after we had caught hold of his hands we were obliged to leave go again when the vessel plunged, and he was crushed to death between the mast and the bulwark. If Peter had not seized me, at the instigation of the Holy Spirit, the mast had certainly struck me dead, so that this was one of those many, uncountable miracles wrought by God, which He hath performed during my life in His fatherly love and mercy. May His Name be praised and blessed for evermore. Amen. There was much weeping and running to and fro on board. At last two of the very strongest anchors were dropped and 300 fathoms of cable paid out with each. We were off the most perilous part of the Halland coast. The captain came below to us, and directed us all to go to bed with prayers and invocations to the Lord, and he ordered three men to hold watch, but only in turn. We all thought we were on the very verge of death. Many a one went weeping to his rest. I slept well all through the night, and awaked as the trumpets summoned us to morning prayers, and thanks were given to God that the weather was fair. And after mattins were sung brandy was served out to every man, and we were promised six barrels of the best ale if we put our hearts into weighing the anchors, and if we held our tongues at home about the master's lack of forethought, and the overruling of the captain.

All the other six vessels came back unscathed into the Sound about evening, about the time the curfew bells were ringing in the town [Elsinore][1]. The King at once proceeded to land and lay the night at Kronborg Castle. About midday

[1] According to Eske Brock, the *Black Knight* reached Kronborg at 9 p.m. on Aug. 4. The King was already in Copenhagen on the 7th and was there on the 8th and 9th. (*Danske Saml.* II R., 6 Bd. p. 32.)

we got into the Sound. The King had then left, and was travelling by road to Frederiksborg. And when we came off Copenhagen three cannon were fired on every ship, except on the King's ship, where they fired nine. The next day the Captain repaired to Frederiksborg to see the King and to lay before him the straits into which we had fallen. The King enquired much into the causes of our mischance, and decided that the matter should not be gone into, and so it lapsed and was not legally proceeded with.

CHAPTER XXXII

AFTER this there was no event of importance that autumn, except that a second ship was made ready for the voyage to the Indies, called the *Christianshavn*, and one that was to be sent the following year, called the *Pearl*[1], which was built in Holland, all of fir, and was of 700 lasts[2]. The *Christianshavn* was of 180 lasts. The rudder of the *Pearl*, fresh cut and with as yet no iron upon it, could scarcely be carried by sixty men.

Now I must first tell how Grabow continued his old tricks of harsh dealing, so that we were weary of being under his jurisdiction. There were some young fellows in the service who urged me to run away with them to Sweden, and to take service under the Swedish King, the late Gustavus[3], but I prayed to God to keep me from such a crime, so that I might neither come to break my oath, sworn on my hope of salvation, nor part with my honour and reputation, nor yet bring disgrace on my kinsfolk and friends and joy to my enemies. I chose therefore rather to suffer with others whatever might befall. But since this Indian voyage was soon to take place, and as we still had five years before we could leave the service[4], I began, like several of my companions, to consider whether I would not undertake that voyage, trusting in God's

[1] The *Pearl*, a royal man-of-war, sailed to East India in March 1623 under the command of Henrik "Hoss" (Hess). (Garde, *Efterretninger*, I, p. 96.)

[2] *Last* here can hardly mean two tons. Cp. note 2 to p. 157 *supra*.

[3] Gustavus Adolphus, or, as he is called in the North, Gustaf II Adolf, b. 1594, killed in battle 1632, came to the throne in 1611. At this time (1622) Gustaf was winning great military renown by his campaign in Livonia: he had already taken Riga in 1621.

[4] According to an ordinance issued on July 4, 1616, the period of service for sailors and artillerymen, "which has hitherto been very long, indeed sometimes for their whole life," is henceforth to be only five years. (Secher, *Forordn.* III, pp. 481 f.) Jón had already served nearly six (1616–22) and it would seem that he should be able to retire. The wording of the above ordinance, however, suggests that it only applies to conscripted persons.

grace, since I had not been able to do so on the first occasion when vessels had been despatched to the East Indies. And accordingly, confiding in God, I had myself entered for it by the King's admiral at Bremerholm, Sten Villumsen[1]. And when I came in he asked me, as he did others, whether I was conversant with the compass, and how long I had served His gracious Majesty. I told him, a bare seven[2] years, and of my sea voyages. First I gave him a clear account of the compass and of what else he asked me about. Then we set to discussing my monthly wage, which was a slow business, but at the last it was to be twelve gulden a month (they are six dollars of the kind called *quaderante* dollars[3]) and he promised that it should be raised on the voyage, which however was not done until I came to India, and then only with one gulden, so that I had thirteen gulden a month, which is 240 fish. He said that I profited by my long service, for others were only getting nine or ten gulden. But every gunner who goes to India must be ready for double work, a gunner's and a sailor's[4], both high and humble toil, and for navigation as well. After my name was written down, the Admiral placed a rixdollar in my hand, as is customary, and bade me keep my word honourably[5]. And before I went out he pledged me out of his jug, and wished me luck on the voyage. And after that the others went in to him, one at a time.

[1] Sten Villumsen, see p. 188 *supra*.

[2] It was really a bare six—from New Year 1616 to August or September, 1622.

[3] It is probable that since the gulden (Icel. *gyllini*) and *quaderante* dollars mentioned by Jón in this passage were not common currency in Denmark and so were unfamiliar to the Icelandic copyists of the MS., some error has been made in the figures. Gulden or dollars of the low value attributed to them here cannot be traced. Christian IV had at one time minted "Hungarian gulden," but in 1622 each of these was worth 1¼ rixdollars, so that twelve would be worth 720 fish, instead of 240 as Jón says. Cp. Wilcke, *Chr. IV's Møntpolitik*, pp. 223–4.

[4] The Regulations for Artillerymen of 1600, § 10, lay down that artillerymen in the Navy must do the work of common sailors when necessary. (Secher, *Forordn.* III, pp. 89 ff.)

[5] It was evidently very difficult to get men to go to India. In 1621 the King promised an amnesty to all escaped criminals or persons in hiding from the law who would take service on the East India Company's vessels. The only criminals excepted from the amnesty are adulterers, murderers and blasphemers. (Secher, *Forordn.* III, pp. 673 f.)

My good friends reproached me much, but I made as if I did not hear them.

One day as I was standing in the doorway of my lodging, a handsome young man walked down the street and greeted me blithely, and asked me for permission to come inside while he drank a jug of ale, which favour I obtained by prayers to my landlady Christine Svale. And when he had come in and had seated himself, it became clear that this was a very wise man and endowed with prophetic gifts. He told us of many things, past and to come, both concerning my landlady and a wench who was in the room, who had had a child by the man she was to marry, who deserted her secretly one night; and so I also came to feel a desire to test his wisdom, and he told me that I should fall into great peril on that voyage, but that God would deliver me so that I should not lose my life, but nevertheless I should bear the mark of it as long as I lived. That I should be twice married in my own country and have no children by the first wife, but two or three by the second. He said much that was good about me, but also described my faults, each in turn, and said that God kept me safe in His hand, the truth of which I have constantly experienced. He said his name was Frederik, but I thought it was not so. He wished us all well, especially me, for he said he grieved over many mischances that lay before me. Then he left us with the most courteous farewells. Such a man I have never seen before or since. This affair happened two days before our departure from Copenhagen for the Indies.

And now, in this first part of my little book, I have described in the briefest manner how my life was ordered up to this time, and in the second part, though in still more summary fashion, I shall tell of my voyage to the Indies and of the more remarkable things that happened until, by God's grace, I returned to Copenhagen. But first I shall tell of the earlier voyage to the Indies, for which I and my old friend, Jón Halldórsson were entered, and from the which I and others were kept by God's will and the King's solemn warning.

APPENDIX

POPULAR TALES ABOUT JÓN ÓLAFSSON. TAKEN DOWN BY KARL FINNBOGASON FROM THE NARRATION OF JÓN JÓNSSON THE BLIND, OF MÝLAUGSSTAÐIR

JÓN ÓLAFSSON was with the Danish King Christian IV. The King once had a battle with the Swedes and Jón and his fellows accompanied him. The upshot of the battle was that the Danes gave way. The Swedes pressed hard and attacked the King. One of them struck at him and the blow came on his ear. The ear had a slice taken off it, but the King was stunned. Jón was standing near and thrust the Swede through. Then he seized the King and brought him to a safer place. He was standing by him until the King got back his senses. After that the King thought more highly of Jón than of other men.

Once the King came for a talk with Jón and spoke in this fashion: "I have sent two ships to India one after another, but they have never come back. It grieves me much, for there is much which might be brought thence which is not easy to get in Europe. I have therefore decided to send a third ship thither, if I can get that man as leader, who could be trusted with the job. I should like to ask you to take the ship, for I know no more likely man than thee in the kingdom for such a great enterprise." Jón welcomed the King's speech and promised to take the leadership. Then they chose the strongest and stoutest fellows in the Danish kingdom for the voyage. They were mostly Norwegians, and there were eleven of them when they started. The voyage went well, and they drank to pass the time. They bored a hole in the bottom of the barrels, and then held up the barrel and drank out of the hole. Jón said afterwards that he had thought it a great disgrace that they were all stronger than he, for they held up the barrel between their hands while they drank without

its touching their breast, whereas Jón had to rest it on his breast. Yet he always won if there was wrestling toward or rough handling. On the way home they touched at the Cape of Good Hope. They lacked something or other, and Jón went ashore to buy it. He said that he had seen the ugliest and most evil-looking men there that he had ever seen in his life. He went into a shop and did his business. There was a great crowd and they mostly had glass-handled knives. He thought that they were so made that the handle might speedily be broken off when the blade had been thrust in, and they seemed to him the most murderous and dangerous weapons. When Jón went out a man with a three-gill bottle in his hand walked with him, chatting pleasantly with him on his way to the ship. But when they were close to the ship this neighbour raised the bottle aloft and struck with it straight across Jón's eyes. Jón fell stunned, but when he got to his feet afterwards, he saw that the fellow lay beside him with a broken neck. "God alone knows who killed him. I fancy I must have done it, because I have an idea that I took hold of him as he raised the bottle against me," said Jón afterwards. After this they held on their homeward course, and came safe and sound to Denmark. And the King received them with joy.

When Jón was over threescore years and ten his way once led him along the Ölfus river, and he spent the night at a farm. In the night the farm caught fire, and everything was in danger. Jón wakened and was soon aware of the cause. He seized his boots[1] and his cloak and trampled down the flames like a berserk; and he was more successful in saving folk and goods out of the fire than other younger men. When all the people had got out, and the farm was nearly gutted, the housewife and Jón were standing near the larder. The roof of the larder fell in as they stood there, and through the dense cloud of smoke and the ruins they caught a glimpse of a huge vat of sour milk—a two-tun cask. The woman said, "Everything is lost in a moment for me and mine. That vat was quite full of excellent sour milk and of the best meat

[1] Cp. note 1, p. 92 *supra*.

that I had[1], and there it goes lost like everything else." It stirred Jón to think that such good food should go to nothing, and moreover he perceived that the woman was much affected by the loss. He swung himself in over the wall, seized the vat with both hands and set it up on the wall, shoulder high: "Take it now, my good fellows, no less stoutly than it is handed to you," he said as he jumped out over the wall and shook the cinders off him.

[1] It is an Icelandic practice to preserve meat by keeping it in vessels full of sour milk or of whey.

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Aage	Áki
Anders	Andrjes
Baltzer	Baltsar
Berndt	Bent, Bente, Bernet
Bersheba	Bersabe
Birgitte	Birgitta
Bodil	Bóthildur
Boye	sometimes Bogi
Cai	Keye
Caspar	Kaspar
Cecilia	Sesselja
Christian	Kristján, Christián
Christoffer	Christofer, Christofor, Christophor
David	Davíð
Elizabeth	Elísabet
Frederik	Friderich, sometimes Friðrik
Henrik	Hinrik, Henrich
Holger	Holgeirr
Isaac (Eng.)	Isach
Ivar	Ívarr
Jacob (Dan.), James (Eng.)	Jakob
Johan	Jóhann
Joost	Jóst
Jørgen or Jürgen	Jurgin
Knud	Knútur
Mads	Mattheus
Malchus	Malcus
Marcus	Markús
Mette	Metta
Michael	sometimes Michel
Morten	Marteinn
Nicholas	Nicolaus, Nikulás
Peter	Pétur
Reuben	Rúben
Simon (Eng.)	Sæmund
Simon (Dan.)	Símon
Søren	Søffren (older Dan. form)
Sten	Steinn
Temperance (Eng.)	Temperenz
Ulrik	Uldrich
Vincent (Eng.)	Vincentzíus
William (Eng.)	Vilhelm, Vilhjam (Dan.), Vilhjálmur

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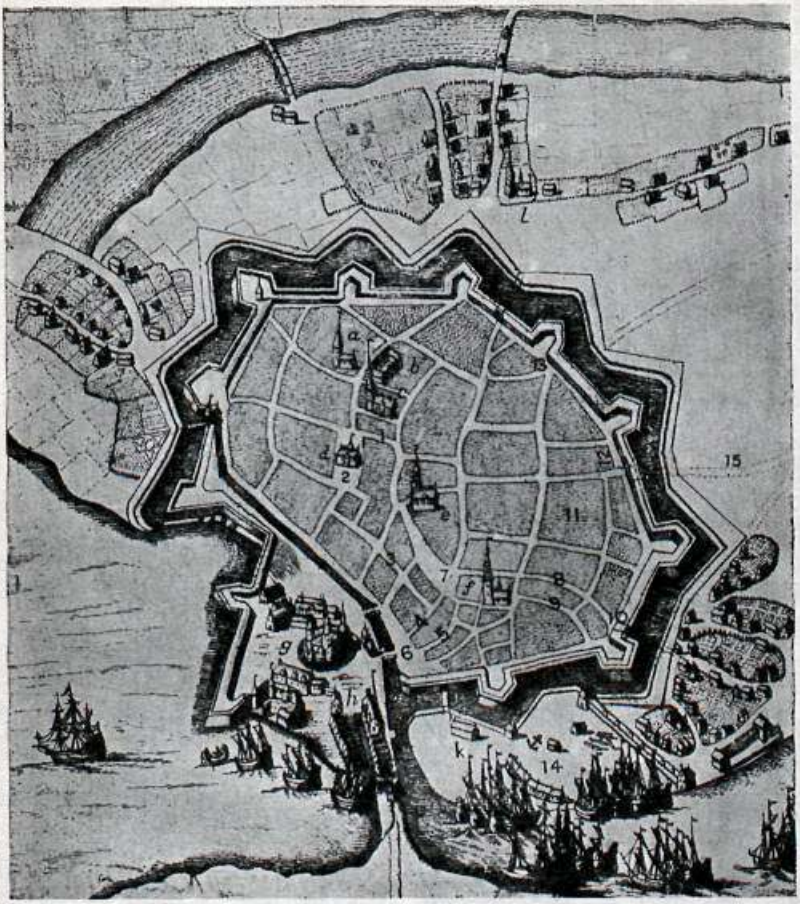
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A.

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1899 Aberdare, The Right Hon. Lord, 83, Eaton Square, S.W.1.
1847 Aberdeen University Library, Aberdeen.
1913 Abraham, Lieut. H. C., Topographical Survey Office, Taiping, Perak, Fed. Malay States.
1895 Adelaide Public Library, North Terrace, Adelaide, South Australia.
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1921 Allen, A. C., Esq., 19, Terlingham Gardens, Folkestone.
1919 Allen, William Henry, Esq., Bromham House, Bromham, near Bedford.
1847 American Geographical Society, Broadway at 156th Street, New York, U.S.A.
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1906 Andrews, Michael C., Esq., "Orsett," Derryvolgie Avenue, Belfast.
1919 Anstey, Miss L. M., 23, Cautley Avenue, Clapham Common, S.W.4.
1847 Antiquaries, The Society of, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W.1.
1909 Armstrong, Col. B. H. O., C.M.G., R.E., 24, Montague Road, Richmond.
1847 Army and Navy Club, 36, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
1919 Arnold, Arthur, Esq., Wickham, Hants.
1921 Ascherson, Sub-Lieut. S. R., R.N., H.M.S. "Voyager," Devonport.
1847 Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
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B.

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1918 Bannerman, David A., Esq., M.B.E., B.A., British Museum (Natural History), Cromwell Road, S.W.7.
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1920 Barclay, W. S., Esq., 16, Clifford's Inn, Fleet Street, E.C. 4.
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C.

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D.

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1847 Edinburgh University Library, Edinburgh.
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F.

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G.

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H.

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1847 Hamburg Commerz-Bibliothek, Hamburg, Germany.
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1901 Hammersmith Public Libraries, Carnegie (Central) Library, Hammersmith, W.6.
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R.

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1914 Toronto Legislative Library, Toronto, Ont., Canada.
1896 Toronto Public Library, Toronto, Ont., Canada.
1890 Toronto University, Toronto, Ont., Canada.
1911 Tower, Sir Reginald, K.C.M.G., C.V.O., Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, S.W.1, and Memories, Ash, Canterbury.
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1922 Tyrrell, E. Bowes, Esq., 17, Camden Terrace, Clifton Vale, Bristol.

U.

1847 United States Congress, Library of, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
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1920 University College Library, Cathays Park, Cardiff.
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1920 Usher, Harry, Esq., Calle Florida 783, Buenos Aires.

V.

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1919 Vaughan, Paymaster-Lieut. H. R. H., The Lime House, Marlesford, Suffolk.
1899 Vernon, Roland Venables, Esq., Colonial Office, Downing Street, S.W.1.
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1909 Villiers, J. A. J. de, Esq., British Museum (*Hon. Secretary*) (2).

W.

1920 Wakefield, Lieut.-Col. T. M., D.S.O., Royal Artillery Mess, Blakanmati, Singapore, Straits Settlements.
1919 Wales, National Library of, Aberystwyth, Wales.
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1918 Watanabe, Count Akira, 7, Takanawa Minamicho, Shibaku, Tokyo, Japan.
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1913 Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, U.S.A.
1899 Westminster Public Library, Great Smith Street, S.W.1.
1898 Westminster School, Dean's Yard, S.W.1.
1921 Whibley, Miss Gertrude, The Chase, Wyke Hill, Winchester.
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Y.

1847 Yale University, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.
1919 Young, L. W. H., Esq., Shepherd Buildings, 120, Frere Road, Bombay.

Z.

1847 Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Zurich, Switzerland.

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