

# LAND OF THE SMOKING HILL

BY FREDERICK J. POHL

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I HAD for years been interested in the Zeno narrative,<sup>1</sup> which purported to contain a story of a pre-Columbian crossing of the Atlantic. I felt truth in it, but I did not see exactly where it pointed. It told of fishermen from the Faeroe Islands who discovered an island "lying to the westwards above 1,000 miles" from "Frislanda" (the Faeroes or Iceland or a confused mixture of the two, whichever you prefer). The island was almost the size of Iceland. The narrative told also of a huge land beyond this island, a land which a fisherman said was called Drogio. The *Encyclopaedia Americana* says of it: "The honesty of the Zeno narrative has been sufficiently well established: but whether or not the fishermen had the experience he related in Drogio, and whether that may be identified with North America, are questions that have been much debated."

The debate as is usual in such cases involved misrepresentations, among them being the accusation that the sixteenth-century Nicolò Zeno, Jr. had claimed "a Venetian discovery of America" before Columbus. The narrative does not make this claim. It does tell us that the discovery was witnessed by Antonio Zeno, but it ascribes all credit for the fourteenth-century crossing of the Atlantic to a prince "worthy of immortal memory", who planned and conducted the expedition and by whom the Zeno brothers were employed.

I could see no excuse for perpetuating the error of featuring the Zeno brothers. The approach that commended itself to me was to deal biographically with the prince who was the organizer and leader of the expedition.<sup>2</sup> This biographical treatment unexpectedly had a most fortunate result, since it made it possible to ferret out the exact date of the landing of the expedition in the New World. However, this biographical emphasis was only one of two essential keys to the problems

1. The fourteenth-century letters of the Zeno brothers were found many years later by Antonio Zeno's descendant, Nicolò Zeno Jr., who wrote a narrative and published it with quotations from the letters, in Venice in 1558. The title of the narrative is: *The Discovery of the Islands of Frislandia, Estlanda, Engronelanda, Estotilandia, and Icaria; made by two brothers of the Zeno family, namely, Messire Nicolò, the Chevalier, and Messire Antonio. With a map of the said Islands.*

2. For full treatment see *The Sinclatr Expedition to Nova Scotia in 1398* by Frederick J. Pohl, Pictou Advocate Press, Pictou, Nova Scotia, 1950.

presented by the narrative. The other key was given by a geologist, Professor William H. Hobbs, Emeritus, of the University of Michigan, who upon indisputable geological evidence showed that the land reached by the expedition was Nova Scotia.

It has been the fashion among some historians to attempt to dispose of the Zeno narrative with the word "discredited," but aside from the anachronistic lines of latitude and longitude, customary in the sixteenth century but not in the fourteenth century, which Nicolo Zeno, Jr. stuck in when drawing the map he published, the Zeno narrative has not been vulnerable to devastating criticism. Fred W. Lucas expressed doubts but failed to prove any valid objections.<sup>3</sup> Now, with the details of the story fitted into their geographical setting, and with satisfactory answers to the questions: Who? What? Why? How? Where? and When?, the Zeno narrative challenges attention as a new page in the history of North America.

The leader of the expedition was Henry Sinclair, first Prince of Orkney. He was Scotch and one of Scotland's great men, with some Norman-French and Norwegian ancestry. His grandfather, Sir William, a friend of Robert the Bruce, was one of the knights chosen to carry the heart of Bruce to the Holy Land, and on the return from the Holy Land lost his life in a battle with Saracens in Andalusia. He left an infant son, Sir William, third Lord of Roslin, whose son Henry, our explorer was born in 1346.

The line of Norwegian earls in the Orkneys had failed in Magnus, who had married the Countess of Caithness, by whom he had two daughters. One of these daughters was married to Malise, who was designated Earl of Strathern, Caithness, and Orkney in the reign of David II. Henry's father married Isabella, one of this earl's daughters.

Henry grew up in an atmosphere of family intrigue, with two cousins as his rivals for the earldom of Orkney. When he was seventeen, he was sent as ambassador to Copenhagen, where his procurators got from King Hakon and Queen Margaret a confirmation of the lands of Orkney. That he was a young man of charm and marked abilities is obvious. In 1379, Henry and his two rival cousins, Malise Sperra and Alexander de Ard, presented themselves before King Hakon for him to judge

3. Lucas Fred W. *The Annals of the Voyages of the Brothers Nicoló and Antonio Zeno in the North Atlantic about the end of the Fourteenth Century and the Claim founded thereon to a Venetian Discovery of America. A Criticism and an Indictment.* Stevens and Brown, London, 1898.

their claims. The king decided in favor of Sinclair and installed him as Earl of Orkney and Lord of Shetland.

Sinclair's investiture was burdened with severe restrictions: he was considered as being appointed Earl by an absolute grace of the King; he promised to defend Orkney "or even the land of Scotland" against invasion; not to build castles or forts in the islands without the royal consent; to maintain the inhabitants in their own laws; to answer for mal-administration according to the laws of Norway; to pay the king 1,000 gold nobles; and to deal with Malise Sperra and Alexander de Ard so that they should cease from their claims. In case of war between Scotland and Norway, Sinclair would have had to choose "betwixt his Scottish and Norwegian fidelity." His was a buffer state. The nature of the population over which he ruled may be seen from the fact that the place names of his island dominions and of Caithness are of Norse origin.

Immediately after his investiture, the Earl Sinclair constructed a fortress in the Orkneys, the Castle of Kirkwall, one of the strongest holds in Britain. In his sea-girt earldom he was independent and began to rule in regal state. He "had power to cause stamp coine within his dominions, to make laws, to remitt crimes,—he had his sword of honour carried before him wheresoever he went; he had a crowne in his arms, bore a crowne on his head when he constituted lawes, and, in a word, was subject to none, save only that he held his lands of the King . . . so that in all those parts he was esteemed a second person next to the King." His possessions in Caithness, the Orkneys, Shetland and the Faeroes totalled more than 2,100 square miles.

In those days it was not enough to be rightful ruler of a princedom, but one's right arm must be strong enough to hold one's possessions and crush envious rivals. His cousin, Malise Sperra, engaged in conflict with him in Shetland, and Sinclair took Malise prisoner, and in keeping with the demands of the situation, slew him in 1389. He was a hard fighter on land and sea. He ruled over 188 islands, and so had to maintain a fleet as his chief weapon. He brooded much over the superior inventions used by men in Mediterranean countries, his mind turning often to those lands with thought of his grandfather's death there. His imagination was particularly drawn to Italy by tales of the successful use of cannon on ships in the naval battles of Venice and Genoa. What he wanted were small, well-mounted cannon that would not easily burst and that could be effect-

ively aimed. If he had cannon such as the triumphant Venetians had, he need fear no enemy.

With thoughts such as these the Earl Sinclair in 1390 was engaged in the conquest of the Faeroe Islands. There one stormy day, a soldier came running with news that a strange ship had been wrecked. The native fisherfolk were about to do battle with the distressed crew. Sinclair and his retainers speeded to the scene and arrived in time to save the lives of the mariners. What nationality were they? He asked them in the language of which all men of education knew some words, and their leader answered that they were Venetians. Sinclair was overjoyed. Their leader, Messire Nicolô Zeno, was the brother of Carlo Zeno, the most talked-of naval commander and the hero of Venice. Here in his distant islands, Sinclair had as his guest a brother of Carlo the Lion!

How this brother had happened to arrive in the Faeroe Islands in 1390 was told in a letter he wrote from the islands to his brother Antonio in Venice, whom he persuaded to join him a year later. The letter tells of Nicolô's "desire to see the world" and of his having built a vessel and having sailed "with the object of seeing England and Flanders." Being attacked by a storm, he was cast upon the Island of Frislanda (Faeroesland, the Faeroe Islands). The text gives "1380", but Richard Henry Major, editor of *Voyages of Nicolo and Antonio Zeno*, Hakluyt edition, 1873, shows that "1380" is an error, one "X" having apparently been dropped from the date in Roman numerals.

The chieftain who rescued Nicolô "was a great Lord, and possessed certain islands called Porlanda (Pentland?), lying not far from Frislanda to the south, being the richest and most populous of all those parts. His name was Zichmni." (This name was a stumbling block until most scholars, biographical dictionaries, and genealogies accepted it as a not-too-remote misreading of Siclair or Siclaro in fourteenth century script. This name has invited one or two wild attempts at identification. It can be shown conclusively that "Zichmni" was Sinclair. I hope to discuss this interesting problem in a later paper. Barbaro in 1536 read Sinclair's name as "Zicno, King of Frisland," which fact incidentally shows that the Zeno letters were in existence twenty-two years before they were published, and thus tends to dispose of any idea that the Zeno narrative was a hoax. Hereafter, in quotations from the narrative, Sinclair will be given in place of Zichmni).

Sinclair so well appreciated Nicolò's experience "in matters both naval and military" that he made him "captain of his fleet," which consisted of thirteen vessels. By skill in navigation, with use of the compass, Nicolò saved the fleet from disaster among shoals and rocks, in reward for which service, Prince Sinclair "conferred on him the honor of knighthood," so that he was thereafter known as the "Chevalier." In an interim between naval and military activities, Nicolò explored to the north and arrived at the monastery of Friars Preachers (Dominicans) on the east coast of Greenland north of Iceland. His description of the monastery with a volcano and hot springs, and of Eskimo kayaks is a story that has been corroborated by recent geological and archaeological finds in and near Gael Hamkes Bay at 74°N. His visit to Greenland was fatal to him, for "in the end, not being accustomed to such severe cold, he fell ill, and a little while after returned to Frislanda, where he died."

Now we come to the great adventure undertaken by Prince Henry Sinclair, his transatlantic expedition to possess and explore on the western side of the ocean. After the death of Nicolò, his brother Antonio was made the captain of Sinclair's fleet, and it is Antonio's testimony that the conception of a transatlantic expedition was Sinclair's and the decision to carry it through. Antonio wrote that "Sinclair, being a man of great enterprise and daring, had determined to make himself master of the sea. Accordingly, he proposed to avail himself of the service of Messire Antonio by sending him out with a few small vessels to the westwards, because in that direction some of his fishermen had discovered very rich and populous islands. Six and twenty years ago four fishing boats put out to sea, and encountering a heavy storm, were driven over the sea in utter helplessness for many days; when at length, the tempest abating, they discovered an island called Estotiland, lying to the westwards above one thousand miles from Frislanda." They found in the island "one that spoke Latin, and who had also been cast by chance upon the same island." They remained five years on the island, which they described as "a little smaller than Iceland." (Newfoundland is slightly larger than Iceland, Iceland having 39,688 square miles, and Newfoundland, 42,734 square miles.) One of the fishermen who returned to the Faeroes reported that the inhabitants of Estotiland, it was believed, had in time past "had intercourse with our people, for he said he saw Latin books" there, "which they at the present

time do not understand." He had gone "to the southwards to a country which they call Drogio", where there were cannibals. Because he and his companions had taught the natives "the way of taking fish with nets, their lives were saved." He spent thirteen years in those regions. "He says it is a very great country, and as it were, a new world." ("grandissimo e quasi un nuovo mondo.") A fourteenth-century fisherman from the Faeroe Islands would not have used the expression "a new world" for Greenland, with which his people had traded for centuries. This is the earliest appearance of the term "new world" as applied to either of the continents of America). "The people are very rude and uncultivated . . . The farther you go southwest, (showing knowledge of the direction of the eastern coast of North America), however, the more refinement you meet with, because the climate is more temperate, and accordingly there (Yucatan or Mexico?) they have cities and temples dedicated to their idols, in which they sacrifice men and afterwards eat them. In those parts they have some knowledge and use of gold and silver."

This fisherman said he eventually escaped back to Drogio, where he spent three years, and then managed to get on a boat to Estotiland where he "traded to such good purpose that he became very rich, and fitting out a vessel of his own, returned to Frislanda, and gave an account of that most wealthy country to this nobleman (Sinclair). The sailors, from having had much experience in strange novelties, gave full credence to his statements. This nobleman is therefore resolved to set forth with a fleet towards those parts, and there are so many that desire to join in the expedition on account of the novelty and strangeness of the things, that I think we shall be very strongly appointed without any public expense at all."

There was more to it than Prince Henry's ambition to become master of the northern Atlantic. With his political problems taken care of, the soul of an explorer was awakened in him. There is some geneological basis for the belief that his first marriage had been to a granddaughter of King Magnus of Sweden and Norway who in 1355 had sent out the Paul Knutson Expedition. On his repeated visits to the Norwegian Court, he must have heard tales of Norse discoveries of lands to the West. Antonio Zeno says he (Antonio) "set sail with a considerable number of vessels and men, but had not the chief command, as he had expected to have, for Sinclair went in his own person. Our great preparations for the voyage to Estoti-

land were begun in an unlucky hour, for exactly three days before our departure, the fisherman died who was to have been our guide; nevertheless, Sinclair would not give up the enterprise, but in lieu of the deceased fisherman, took some sailors who had come out with him from the island."

The narrative is not explicit as to how many days the expedition sailed westward to Estotiland (Newfoundland), but it later tells us how many days Antonio Zeno sailed on the return eastward. The island is described as containing "persons from ten different countries." A Shetlander on the island called it Icaria. Sinclair found a good harbour on its eastern side, but the inhabitants there effectively resisted his attempted landing. Doubling the north cape of the island, he came upon many shoals. There was also an east cape.

From the huge island, Sinclair "took his departure with a fair wind and sailed six days to the westwards; but the wind afterwards shifting to the southwest, and the sea becoming rough, we sailed four days with the wind aft, and ultimately discovered land. As the sea ran high and we did not know what country it was, we were afraid at first to approach it, but by God's blessing the wind lulled, and then there came on a great calm. Some of the crew pulled ashore and soon returned with great joy with news that they had found an excellent country and a still better harbour. We brought our barks and our boats to land, and on entering an excellent harbor, we saw in the distance a great hill ("monte") that poured forth smoke, which gave us hope we should find some inhabitants in the island. Neither would Sinclair rest, though it (the hill) was a great way off, without sending 100 soldiers to explore the country, and bring an account of what sort of people the inhabitants were.

"Meanwhile, they took in a store of wood and water, and caught a considerable quantity of fish and sea fowl. They also found such an abundance of birds' eggs, that our men, who were half famished, ate of them to repletion. While we were at anchor here, the month of June came in, and the air in the island was mild and pleasant beyond description; but as we saw nobody, we began to suspect that this pleasant place was uninhabited. To the harbor we gave the name of Trin, and the headland which stretched out into the sea we called Cape Trin.

"After eight days the 100 soldiers returned, and brought word that they had been through the island and up to the hill,



and that the smoke was a natural thing proceeding from a great fire in the bottom of the hill, and that there was a spring from which issued a certain matter like pitch, which ran into the sea, and that thereabouts dwelt great multitudes of people half wild, and living in caves. They were of small stature and very timid. They reported also that there was a large river, and a very good and safe harbor.

“When Sinclair heard this, and noticed the wholesome and pure atmosphere, fertile soil, good rivers, and so many conveniences, he conceived the idea of founding a city (settlement). But his people, fatigued, began to murmur, and say they wished to return to their homes, for winter was not far off, and if they allowed it once to set in, they would not be able to get away before the following summer. He therefore retained only row boats and such of his people as were willing to stay, and sent the rest away in ships, appointing me, against my will, to be their captain. Having no choice, therefore, I departed, and sailed twenty days to the eastwards without sight of any land; then, turning my course towards the southeast, in five days I lighted on land and found myself on the island of Neome, and knowing the country, I perceived I was past Iceland; and as the inhabitants were subject to Sinclair, I took in fresh stores and sailed with a fair wind in three days to Frislanda where the people who thought they had lost their prince, in consequence of his long absence on the voyage we had made, received us with a hearty welcome.” (Note that Antonio sailed “twenty days to the eastwards . . . then . . . towards the southeast . . . five . . . with a fair wind in three days to Frislanda.” Twenty-eight days of sailing with the prevailing westerly winds indicate more than 2,000 miles.)

The narrative tells us that “Sinclair settled down in the harbour of his newly-discovered island and explored the whole of the country with great diligence, as well as the coasts on both sides of Greenland.” It speaks of Sinclair as “a prince as worthy of immortal memory as any that ever lived, for his great bravery and remarkable goodness.”

An irresistible question for any Sherlock of geography is: Where was the land of the smoking hill? That land was not Greenland; because it grew trees “they took in a store of wood” and its interior did not consist of impassable ice fields, since it was a land that foot soldiers crossed. It was not Newfoundland (“Estotiland”); because the words “we did not know what country it was” tells us that the sailors among the crew



who had recently returned from Estotiland, did not recognize it. It was not Cape Breton, whose inland waterways would have prevented a march through". It was none of the other larger islands on the western side of the North Atlantic such as Martha's Vineyard or Long Island, since none of them is broad enough to have required eight days to march across and return.

It was a very large "island" or it was a peninsula which the 100 soldiers, coming out to a view of the sea on the other side of the land, assumed to be an island. In the "forest primeval" under tall trees there is little undergrowth, so that early explorers were able to travel through trackless woods at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles an hour. Sinclair's soldiers reached the smoking hill about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  days, presumably spending a day near it. The distance from where they started into the woods was therefore at least fifty miles. It could not have been much over sixty.

Since the land of the smoking hill was not Greenland, Newfoundland, Cape Breton or any of the larger islands of North America, we have the peninsular portion of Nova Scotia as the sole remaining possibility. Does this land of old Acadia fit the geographical and geological requirements? Yes, most perfectly!

Professor Hobbs first pointed to Stellarton in Pictou County, Nova Scotia, as the site of "a great fire in the bottom of the hill." Stellarton had exposed seams of coal rich in bituminous matter highly charged with inflammable gas. The Micmac Indians in Pictou County had a tradition of an opening in the ground that burned and smoked for a long period of time. The material known as stellar coal, from which Stellarton received its name, according to John W. Dawson (*The Geological Structure of Nova Scotia* 1868) yields 50 to 126 gallons of oil per ton. Abraham Gesner (*Remarks on the Geology of Nova Scotia*, 1836) says the Stellarton deposit "has been greatly disturbed in its original bed; several dykes and faults are known, which afford strong evidence of the former existence of subterraneous fires."

At the smoking hill there was also "a spring from which issued a certain matter like pitch." Pitch or bitumen or asphalt, as it is variously called, is a black or brownish-black substance, which melts at  $90^{\circ}$  to  $100^{\circ}$ . From the heat of an underground burning coal seam, a deposit of it near the surface might have been melted into a liquid and have flowed out of the ground. A natural flow of asphaltum has occurred in so few regions

that we have here evidence which positively identifies Stellarton as the site of the smoking hill. On the Atlantic side of America, flowing pitch has occurred nowhere north of Trinidad except at Stellarton!

Curious as to the name "Asphalt" applied to a community up the hill west of Stellarton, for which no one seemed to have any explanation, I initiated a public query in the *New Glasgow Evening News*, and received the following reply:

"The 'Asphalt' district of this town got its name from a deposit of asphalt or tar-like material which used to lie just above the present Receiving Home (Birch Hill) of the Children's Aid Society. That was the information conveyed to *The News* by Dan MacKenzie who came here in 1882 as a boy of ten. At that time the main road to Westville went along Bridge Street in Stellarton and was known as 'the post road'. The present route was the 'Asphalt' road. The deposit of pitch was hardened and could be walked on, extending out about 100 yards. It was spongy and gave beneath a man's boots—but sprang back into place. It burned and a good many people in the neighbourhood dug it up and used it in their stoves like the peat they knew in the old country."

Sinclair's soldiers said the pitch "ran into the sea." The East River is tidal to Stellarton.

Where were the caves which the soldiers found were human habitations? Since Sinclair knew that the Atlantic was to the east of him, he would not have sent the soldiers overland toward a smoking hill that lay anywhere to the east, at least not until after the exploring had been attempted by ship, as in such case it logically would have been. The smoking hill was somewhere to the west or northwest of the harbor which they called Trin. Therefore, the caves the soldiers found were east or southeast of Stellarton. There is a limestone cave  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles southeast of Stellarton along McLellan's Brook. There is another cave near Bridgeville up the East River about ten miles southeast of Stellarton.

The most important fact reported by the 100 soldiers was that near the smoking hill there was "a very good and safe harbor." Pietou Harbor is one of the best, with no other harbor comparable to it on the north shore of eastern Nova Scotia.

Where was Trin Harbor? It was eastwards of Stellarton. Since the Sinclair Expedition had approached land from the southwards, with "wind . . . southeast . . . aft", Trin Harbor was on the southern side of the Nova Scotia peninsula. Trin

sentence: "While we were at anchor here, the month of June came in"; and in the next sentence as a natural conclusion: "To the harbor we gave the name of Trin." Here was a hint of a connection between June and the name of Trinity. I did not know the Church calendar, having been brought up in an informal denomination, and as I had no other source of information with me at the time, it was with considerable excitement that I saw in the village street the revealing collar of a local Anglican rector and eagerly asked him whether there was in that calendar a day devoted to the Trinity. "Yes," he replied; and added, "This year (1950) it was the first Sunday in June."

Instantly I foresaw the possibility of ascertaining the exact date of the landing of the Sinclair Expedition, and of thus establishing it as a definitely dated pre-Columbian crossing of the Atlantic! With this exhilarating prospect, I sought information as to Trinity Sunday, and learned that it was "a high principal feast in Holy Church." But had it found a place in the Church calendar before the end of the fourteenth century? Yes, universal observance of Trinity Sunday was established by Pope John XXII in 1334. Trinity is the eighth Sunday after Easter. Since Easter may occur as early as March 22 and as late as April 25, Trinity Sunday may be as early as May 17 and as late as June 20. The Sinclair Expedition named Trinity Harbor in a year when Trinity Sunday occurred on or immediately after the first of June.

Could I find the year?

It was clear that the expedition came after 1394, in which year Nicolò Zeno died. On the other hand, the expedition occurred before 1404, in which year Antonio Zeno returned to Venice and by which year Sinclair must have returned to his home in the Orkneys, since he met his death there that year.

Would the dates of Trinity Sunday from 1395 to 1403 tell the year of the expedition? When I read in the encyclopaedias of the formulae for ascertaining the calendar, involving solar equation and lunar cycle complicated by the historical shift from the Julian to the Gregorian calendar, I realized that the computation of the dates of Easter in the fourteenth century presented a problem of which I was utterly incapable. I was almost sick with apprehension that if I did find the dates, I might learn that among the ten years there had been two years in which Trinity Sunday was on or after June 1, or so close to June 1 as to render certainty of dating the expedition

impossible. I felt I could not get the information fast enough to satisfy my impatience. I finally sent an air mail letter to the Vatican library inquiring for the dates of Easter in the critical decade. The very next day in the New York Public Library I was overjoyed to find reference tables in *The Book of Almanacs* by Augustus de Morgan, which gave the calendars for every one of the past two thousand years. This book relieved my tension, and I found the dates of Trinity Sunday, hoping that these would prove correct. The dates were subsequently corroborated by the reply I received from the Vatican Library.

Those dates are: June 6, 1395; May 28, 1396; June 17, 1397; June 2, 1398; May 25, 1399; June 13, 1400; May 29, 1401; May 21, 1402; and June 10, 1403. Yes, these dates reveal the year! Sinclair's ships were "at anchor" on the first of June, "when June came in," and he and his followers entered the harbor and landed and took formal possession the next day, Trinity Sunday, June 2, 1398.

The landing of the Sinclair Expedition is as definitely dated as to year, month and day, as the landing of Columbus on San Salvador.

Following my identification of the date, Dr. Vihljalnur Stefansson secured from Iceland the information that the Icelandic Annals tell us that three "foreign" (non-Scandinavian) ships cast anchor in Iceland in the Harbor of the Irish Islands (Westmanna Eyar), and without provocation attacked the inhabitants in 1397. This may very well be a record of some of the activities of Henry Sinclair just previous to his transatlantic voyage.

If I have succeeded in doing nothing else than to take the spotlight from the Zeno brothers and to turn it on Prince Henry Sinclair where it belongs, I am satisfied. A fact most strongly corroborative of the authenticity of the Zeno letters is the admiration Nicolò and Antonio Zeno expressed for the prince, and their ascribing to him, almost to the point of self-effacement, credit for valor and judgment, and courage in exploration. If Nicolò Jr. had forged the letters, as some have supposed, we would expect him to have made claims for his own forebears as discoverers. Instead, we have merely some boasting of navigational skill, with all original discoveries credited to fishermen "six and twenty years ago" and to Prince Henry Sinclair.

Prince Henry, Sea-king of Orkney, was active to the end. He died, it appears, in 1404, when he was fifty-eight. It is said that he was resisting an invasion from the South. "A

squadron, under Sir Robert Logan, attacked an English fleet of fishers off Aberdeen. Some good ships of Lynn happened to come up in time to aid their countrymen, and Logan himself, with the rest of his company, was taken. The English then landed on the Orkneys and spoiled them. Prince Henry fell in an obscure skirmish, thus recorded in the Diploma of 1443 (or 1446): "Henry Sinclair deit Eirle of Orchadie, and for the defense of the countrie was sclane thair crowellie be his innimüs." As Holinshed states that in 1404 an English fleet attacked the Orkneys, it seems very probable that Prince Henry fell in that year. Father Hay writes: "Henry Sainclair haveing the Prince (the future James the First of Scotland, author of *The King's Quair*) in keeping, was advertised of ane armie of Southernns that came to invade the Orcade Isles, who resisting them with his forces, through his too great negligence and contempt of oundfriendly forces left breathless, by blows battered so fast upon him, that no man was able to resist, and left two sons Henry and John, and nine daughters."

Much of the record has been lost, but this is one of the rare cases in pre-Columbian history where it has been possible to fill in the gaps, and give the story life by force of logic and geography. It is to be hoped that it brings to his proper place a great man hitherto unrecognized in written history, whose name belongs on the roll of the leading figures in discovery and exploration.