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VOL. IV.

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THE
T R A V E L S
OF

Monfieur MAUPERTUIS,

And his ASSOCIATES of the ROYAL ACADEMY
of SCIENCES.

Made by Order of the FRENCH KING, to determine
the Figure of the EARTH at the POLAR CIRCLE.

IN order to give a clear idea of this undertaking, it is necessary to observe, that the great Sir Isaac Newton and Mr. Huygens had from different observations concluded that the earth was flatted at the poles; but upon measuring the whole area of the meridian that passes through France, and from other operations, it was concluded by several of the members of the Academy of Sciences at Paris, that the terraqueous globe was prominent at the poles. Hence the members became divided in their sentiments, and perplexed by their own enquiries, upon so important a subject, that was justly considered as having a real influence upon astronomy and navigation. To put an end to this dispute, the French king resolved that it should be finally decided, and to the great joy of the academy, an order was dispatched from court for a certain number of the members to go and measure the first degree of the meridian at the equator.

equator*. These, says Mons. Maupertuis, set out a whole year before us. The rest were commissioned northward to measure the remotest degree they could reach: and the same alacrity, the same zeal to serve their country appeared in those who were to endure the rage of the equator suns, and those who were to freeze beneath the polar circle. The travels in the north were wrote by Mons. Maupertuis, and we shall give them in his manner.

The company destined for the north, says he, was composed of four academicians, Messrs. Clairaut, Camus, Le Monnier, and myself; the abbe Outhier, and M. Celsius, the celebrated professor of astronomy at Upsal, also assisted at all our operations, and their abilities and advice were of singular use to us.

No sooner was the vessel that carried us arrived at Stockholm, than we resolved without loss of time to set out for the bottom of the gulph of Bothnia, where we might judge which side of the gulph was proper for our operations, better than we could do by trusting to our charts.

We arrived at Tornea time enough to see the sun perform his course for several days together without setting; a sight which strikes with wonder an inhabitant of the temperate zones, even though he knows it is what must necessarily happen in that climate.

We had flattered ourselves with the hopes of performing our operations upon the coasts of the gulph of Bothnia, where we should have the convenience of transporting ourselves and our instruments to the different stations by sea, and where the many advantageous points of view, from the islands in all our charts, seemed to promise us success. But when we went with great impatience to view them, all our labour served only to convince us, that this design was impracticable. The islands that line the coasts of the gulph, and the coasts themselves, which we

* See Ulloa's voyage in vol. i. of this collection.

had fancied to be so many promontories, that might furnish us with distant points of view from one to another, lay all of them so low upon the surface of the water, that at a small distance, the convexity of the earth must arise between them and us. So that after several voyages in pursuance of our first design of making use of these islands, we were at last obliged to give it up.

We now resolved to endeavour to perform our operations upon the tops of the mountains to the northward of Tornea, though it appeared next to impossible. In the deserts of a country scarcely habitable, in that immense forest which extends from Tornea to Cape Nord, we must go through operations that are not easy, even where no convenience is wanting. There were but two ways of penetrating into these deserts, both of which we must prove; one the sailing up a river full of cataracts, the other crossing thick woods and deep marshes on foot; and if we should be able to make our way into the country, we must, after the most painful marches, be obliged to clamber up steep rocks, and to clear the tops of mountains of the wood that would intercept our sight. In these deserts we should be forced to take up with the most wretched diet, be exposed to the flies, which in this season are so insufferable as to drive the Laplanders and their rein-deer from their habitations, to seek shelter on the coasts of the ocean. We were, in fine, to undertake this work without knowing, or being able to inform ourselves, whether it was practicable; whether the want of one mountain might not, after all our toils, interrupt the series of our triangles; or whether it would be possible to find upon the river a base by which they might be connected. But if we should surmount all these obstacles, we should still have the labour of building observatories on the most northerly of the mountains; the trouble of carrying thither as numerous a collection of instruments as is perhaps to be

be seen in Europe, and of making there the nicest astronomical observations: but we were so far from being deterred by these difficulties, that the prospect of conquering them filled us with pleasure.

We set out from Tornea on Friday the 6th of July 1736, with a company of Finland soldiers, and a good number of boats laden with instruments and provisions. We began our journey by sailing up the great river, which, rising in the inmost parts of Lapland, pursues its course till it falls into the gulph of Bothnia; having first divided itself into two branches that form the isle of Swertzar, where is built a town of the same name in the latitude of $65^{\circ} 51'$. From this day forward, our only habitation was the desarts, and our time was spent on the summits of those mountains which we were to connect by our triangles.

After a voyage of twelve hours, we landed in the evening at Korpikyla, an hamlet by the river-side, inhabited by Finlanders; and having for some time travelled on foot across the forest, arrived at the bottom of a steep mountain called Niva, whose summit, which is a bare rock, we chose for our first station. Upon the river we had been tormented by great flies with green heads, that fetched blood wherever they fixed: but on the top of this mountain we were pestered with several other kinds that were still more intolerable. By good luck we found two Lapland girls tending a small herd of rein-deer, but almost hid in the smoke of a great fire they had kindled: and being told, on enquiry, that they thus defended themselves from the flies, we had immediately recourse to the same method.

On the 8th of July, at one in the morning, Mr. Camus and I left our company upon Niwa, to reconnoitre the mountains to the northward. We travelled up the river to a high mountain called Avafaxa, where having cleared its top of the trees, we caused a signal to be built. Our signals were hollow cones, composed of a great many large trees,

stripped of the bark, by which means they were white enough to be visible at ten or twelve leagues distance.

This being finished, we came down from Avafaxa, and embarking on the little river of Tenglio, which falls into the great river at the foot of this mountain; we directed our course upward to the nearest place we could find, to a mountain that seemed to suit our purpose; and from thence a march of three hours, over a morass, brought us to the foot of Horrillakero. Though extremely fatigued, we got to the top of it, and spent the night in cutting down the wood that covered it. Most part of this mountain is a reddish stone, interspersed with a kind of white crystal. Here the flies, more merciless than those at Niwa, were not to be driven off by smoke, and we were obliged, notwithstanding the excessive heats, to wrap our heads in our capp-mudes, a sort of gown made of rein-deer skins, and to cover ourselves with branches of fir, and even whole trees, which rather stifled than defended us from these troublesome insects.

Having cut down all the wood on the top of Horrillakero, and built a signal, we returned by the same road to our boats, which we had drawn upon the bank. It is indeed no hard matter to drag along, or even to carry the boats used in the rivers of Lapland. A few thin fir boards compose the whole vessel, which is so extremely light and flexible, that its beating, with all the forces of the stream, against the stones, which these rivers are full of, does it no manner of harm. It is terrible to those not accustomed to it, and astonishing even to those who are, to see one of these weak vessels drive down a cataract, in a torrent of foam and stones, sometimes raised aloft in the air, and the next moment lost in the deep. A bold Finlander steers it with a long oar, while his two companions row hard to save it from the pursuing waves that threaten every moment

ment to overwhelm it. You may then see the whole keel by turns raised above water, and leaning only with one extremity on the top of a yielding billow. With such courage and address do these Finlanders pass the cataracts; but their art and skill in the management of their boats upon other occasions, is no less remarkable: a tree, branches and all, commonly serves them both for mast and sail.

We now embarked again on the Tenglio, which brought us down into the river of Tornea on our return to Korpikyla. At four leagues from Avaxa we left our boats, and after an hour's walk over the forest, reached the foot of Cuitaperi, a steep mountain; its summit is a rock covered with moss, affording an extensive prospect all round, and to the south taking in the gulph of Bothnia: here we erected a signal, whence we could discover all the others we had raised, and then continued our course down the river. Between Cuitaperi and Korpikyla we found some frightful cataracts, where the Finlanders always set their passengers ashore; but our excessive fatigue made us chuse rather to risk the passage in the boat than to walk only an hundred yards. At last, on the evening of the 11th, we joined our friends on the top of Niwa, who had descried our signals, but from the continual fogs, were unable to make any observations.

The fogs being at length dispersed by the cold north wind, we had such a view of our several signals, as to take their angles; and having finished our observations there, we set up signals at Kakama and Pullingi, where having also made our observations, we all set out for Avaxa.

This mountain is seated on the bank of the river, fifteen leagues from Tornea. Its ascent is difficult, lying through a wood that reaches half way up, where it is interrupted by steep slippery rocks; and afterward continued to the very top of the mountain before we cut down so much of it as was necessary to

open our prospect. The north-east side is a most frightful rocky precipice, where the falcons build their nests. At its foot runs the Tenglio, by which it is encircled. From its summit the prospect is the most beautiful that can be imagined; to the south it is unbounded, and discovers the course of the river to a vast extent: toward the east the Tenglio may be traced in its passage through several lakes; and the view is terminated on the north, at twelve or fifteen leagues distance, by a prodigious number of hills heaped one upon another. Upon this mountain we spent ten days, during which curiosity prompted the inhabitants to pay us frequent visits, bringing us fish and sheep, and such bad fruits as are produced in the woods.

The day we left Avafaxa we crossed the polar circle, and at three the next morning, which was the 31st of July, arrived at Turtula, a hamlet where they were cutting their little crop of barley and hay. After having travelled for some time in the woods, we embarked on a lake that brought us to the foot of Pullingi, the highest of all our mountains, and of exceeding difficult access; as well on account of its steepness, as the depth of the moss wherein we were obliged to fix our steps. Our stay here, which was till the 6th of August, was no less disagreeable than the ascent had been painful. We had a whole wood of the largest trees to fell, and the flies attacked us with such fury, that our soldiers of the regiment of Westro-Bothnia, a body distinguished for their bravery even in Sweden, and hardened by the greatest fatigues, were obliged to wrap up their faces, or to smear them all over with tar. These insects also poisoned our victuals; no sooner was a dish served, but it was quite covered over with them, while another swarm, with all the rapaciousness of birds of prey, was fluttering round, to carry off some pieces of a sheep that was dressing for us.

On

On the 6th of August we left this mountain to go to Pello, where we arrived the same day, after having forced our way up four cataracts. Pello is a village inhabited by a few Finlanders; in its neighbourhood is Kittis, the lowest of all our mountains, where was one of our signals. As we were going up, we discovered a copious spring of pure water, that resists the keenest frosts; for when we returned to Pello about the end of winter, while the sea at the bottom of the gulph, and all the rivers were frozen as hard as marble, we found this spring running as in summer. We had the good fortune to make our observations soon after our arrival, and the next day went to Turtula.

For a month past we had been inhabitants of the deserts, or rather of the mountain tops; the earth or rocks spread with the skins of rein-deer had been our beds; and our food was chiefly fish, brought us by the Finlanders, or which we ourselves had caught; and berries or wild fruit that grew in the woods.

I left Turtula, in company with Messrs. Outhier and Celsus, to cross the forest and find the signal erected at Niemi; and a frightful journey it was. We set out on foot, and walked till we got to a brook, where we embarked in three little boats: but they passed with such difficulty between the stones, that we were obliged every instant to get out of them and leap from one rock to another. The brook brought us to a lake so full of little yellowish grains of the bigness of millet, that the whole water was discoloured with them. I took them to be the chrysalis of some insect, and was tempted to fancy, that this insect must be some kind of those flies that so tormented us, for I could think of no other species of animals whose numbers corresponded to the quantity of grains that covered this large body of water. From the extremity of this lake we had to walk to another of very clear water. Here we found a boat, and putting our quadrant on board, resolved

to follow it along the side of the lake on foot; but the wood was so thick, that we were forced to cut our way through it, and were intangled at every step by the depth of the moss, and the fallen fir-trees that lay across our way.

In all these woods there are almost as many trees fallen as standing; for the soil, after it has reared them to a certain height, can no longer furnish the proper nourishment, nor is it deep enough to allow them to take firm root: whence the least blast of wind oversets them; and in all these woods nothing is to be seen but firs and birches blown down. Time reduces the wood of the latter to dust, without affecting the bark; and one is surprized to find pretty large trees that crumble upon the slightest touch. This probably gave the Swedes the hint of covering their houses with this bark, and indeed nothing could be imagined fitter for the purpose. In some provinces they cover the bark with earth, and form upon the roof a kind of garden, such as are to be seen upon the houses of Upsal. In Westro-Bothnia the bark is bound with fir poles that hang down on either side of the roof.

Having at length reached a third lake, which was very large, and the finest water imaginable; we put our instruments and baggage on board two boats we found there, and waited their return upon the coast; when we were ferried over to the foot of Niemi.

The fine lakes that surround this mountain, and the many difficulties we encountered in getting thither, gave it the air of an enchanted island in romance. On one hand you see a grove of trees rise from a plain, smooth and level as the walks of a garden; and at such easy distances, as neither to embarrass the walks, nor the prospect of the lake that washes the foot of the mountain. On the other, you have apartments of different sizes that seem cut by art in the rocks, and to want only a regular roof to complete them. The rocks themselves are so perpendicular, so high,
and

and so smooth, that you would take them for the walls of an unfinished palace, rather than for the work of nature. From this height we saw those vapours rise from the lake which the people of the country call Haltios, and deem the guardian spirits of the mountains. We had been frightened with stories of bears haunting this place, but saw none. Indeed it seemed rather a place of resort for fairies and genii, than for those savage animals.

Having compleated our observations, we left Niemi, repassed the three lakes, and got back to Turtula. We afterward departed from thence, and set out for Horrilakero, entering the Tenglio with four boats. Its cataracts are troublesome, rather from the lowness of the water, and the great number of stones, than the rapidity of the stream. As we sailed along, I was surprized to see upon the banks of this river, roses of as lively a red as any in our gardens. We compleated our observations at Horrilakero on the 17th of August, and the next day went to Osver-Tornea, where our whole company was now assembled.

But afterwards going up to Avasaxa to take the angles that must connect the base, which we had fixed on the bank of the river with our triangles, we saw Horrilakero all in flames. This is an accident not uncommon in these woods, where there is no living during the summer, without smoak, and where the moss and firs are so combustible, that a fire once kindled will spread over some thousand acres; and the smoke of these fires have sometimes retarded our observations as much as the thickness of the air. As this fire on Horrilakero had been doubtless occasioned by our not taking sufficient care to extinguish those we had kindled there, we dispatched thirty men to cut off its communication with the neighbouring woods. But three days after, when we had finished our observations at Avasaxa, Horrilakero was still burning; we saw it involved in a cloud of

smoak, and the flames, which had made their way downward were ravaging all the forest below.

By the 9th of September, when we had passed sixty-three days in these deserts, we had finished as compleat a set of triangles as we could have wished for: and an undertaking begun in a manner at random, without knowing whether it was at all practicable, had turned out so much better than expectation, that it looked as if the placing of these mountains had been at our disposal. We had built two observatories upon Kittis, in the one was a quadrant of two foot radius, a clock of Mr. Graham's, and an instrument which we owed to the same gentleman, consisting of a telescope, moveable about an horizontal axis, which was to determine the direction of our triangles with respect to the meridian. The other observatory, which was much larger, was built so near the first, that the voice of him who counted the pendulum's vibrations, could be distinctly heard from one to the other. An admirable sector also made by Mr. Graham took up almost the whole room. What difficulty we had in carrying up so many instruments to the top of the mountain, I shall not mention; it is sufficient that we carried them up.

We had some ice on the 19th of September, and snow on the 21st; some parts of the river were also frozen. On the first of November it began to freeze harder, and on the morrow the river was quite frozen up. The ice, which thawed no more, was presently covered over with snow; and this vast body of water, but a few days before full of swans and other waterfowl, was now one immense plain of ice and snow. Our work was now in a manner compleated, we had only to measure our base, which was no more than surveying the distance between the two signals we had erected last summer; but this was to be done upon the ice of a river in Lapland, at the distance of above three leagues, in a country where the cold was growing every day more intense. On the 21st of December

ember this work was begun. In this season the sun but just shewed itself above the horizon toward noon; but the long twilights, the whiteness of the snow, and the meteors continually blazing in the sky, furnished us light enough to work four or five hours every day. We lodged at the house of the curate of Osver-Tornea, and at eleven in the forenoon began our survey, attended by so great an equipage, that the Laplanders, drawn by the novelty of the sight, came down from the neighbouring mountains. We separated into two bands, each of which carried four rods of fir, each thirty feet long. I shall say nothing of the fatigues and dangers of this operation. Judge what it must be to walk in snow two feet deep, with heavy poles in our hands, which we were obliged to be continually laying on the snow, and lifting again, in a cold so extreme, that whenever we would taste a little brandy, the only thing that could be kept liquid, our tongues and lips froze to the cup, and came away bloody: in a cold that congealed the fingers of some of us, and threatened us with still more dismal accidents. While the extremities of our bodies were thus freezing, the rest, through excessive toil, was bathed in sweat. Brandy did not quench our thirst; we must have recourse to deep wells dug through the ice, which were shut almost as soon as opened, and from which the water could scarcely be conveyed unfrozen to our lips; thus were we forced to run the hazard of the dangerous contrast which ice-water might produce in our heated bodies.

Our work, however, advanced apace; for six days labour brought it to within five hundred toises, where we had not been able to plant our stakes soon enough: three of the gentlemen therefore undertook this office, while the abbé Outhier and I went upon a pretty extraordinary adventure. We had last summer omitted an observation of small moment; this was taking the height of an object that we made use of in measuring

ing on the top of Avafaxa; and to perform this, I undertook to go with a quadrant to the top of the mountain, so scrupulously careful were we that nothing should be wanting to the perfection of the work. Imagine a very high mountain full of rocks, that lie hid in a prodigious quantity of snow, as well as their cavities, wherein you may sink through a crust of snow as into an abyss, and the undertaking will scarce appear possible: yet there are two ways of performing it, one by walking, or rather sliding along upon two strait boards eight feet in length, which the Finlanders and Laplanders use to keep them from sinking into the snow: but this way of walking requires long practice. The other is by trusting yourself to a rein-deer used to such journies.

The machine drawn by these animals is here a kind of boat scarcely large enough to hold the half of one's body. As this travelling in the snow is a kind of navigation, that the vessel may suffer the less resistance in its course, it has a sharp head, and a narrow keel, like an ordinary boat; and on this keel it tumbles so from side to side, that if a man does not take good care to balance himself, it will be every moment in danger of oversetting. It is fixed by thongs to the collar of the rein-deer, who, as soon as he finds himself on a firm beaten road, runs with incredible fury. If you would stop him, it is to little purpose to pull a sort of rein that is tied to his horns: wild and unmanageable, it will only make him change his track, or perhaps turn upon you, and revenge himself by kicking. If this happens to a Laplander, he turns the boat over him, and uses it as a buckler against the attacks of the rein-deer: but as we were strangers to this address, we might have been killed before we could put ourselves in such a posture of defence. We had nothing to defend us with but a little stick each of us held in his hand, by way of rudder to steer our course, and keep clear of the trunks of trees. In this manner

was I to climb Avasaxa, accompanied by the abbé Outhier; but we were attended by two men and a woman of the country, and Mr. Brunnus their curate.

The first part of our journey was performed in a moment; for our flight over the plain beaten road from the curate's house to the foot of the mountain can be compared only to that of birds. And though the mountain where there was no track greatly abated the speed of our rein-deer, they got at length to the top of it; where we immediately made the observation for which we came. In the meanwhile, our rein-deer had dug deep holes in the snow, where they browsed on the moss that covers the rocks; and the Laplanders had lighted a great fire, and we presently joined them to warm ourselves. The cold was so extreme, that the heat of the fire could reach only to a very small distance. As the snow just by it melted, it was immediately froze again, forming a hearth of ice all round.

Our journey up hill had been painful; but now our concern was lest our return should be too rapid. We were to proceed down the steep in conveyances, which, though partly sunk in the snow, slid on notwithstanding, drawn by animals, whose fury in the plain we had already tried, and who, though sinking to their bellies in the snow, would endeavour to free themselves by the swiftness of their flight. We very soon found ourselves at the bottom of a hill; a moment after this a great river was crossed, and we were returned back to the curate's house.

The next day we finished our survey, and made all possible haste back to Tornea to secure ourselves in the best manner we were able from the increasing severity of the season. The town of Tornea, at our arrival on the 30th of December, had really a most frightful aspect. Its little houses were buried to the tops in snow, which, had there been any day light, must have effectually shut it out.

But

But the snow continually falling, or ready to fall, for the most part hid the sun the few moments he might have appeared at mid-day. In the month of January the cold was increased to that extremity, that Mr. Reaumur's mercurial thermometers, which at Paris, in the great frost of 1709, it was thought strange to see fall to fourteen degrees below the freezing point, were now got down to thirty-seven. The spirit of wine in the others was frozen. If we opened the door of a warm room, the external air instantly converted all the vapour in it into snow, whirling it round in white vortexes. If we went abroad, we felt as if the air was tearing our breasts in pieces; and the crackling of the wood of which the houses are built, as it split by the violence of the frost, continually alarming us with an encrease of cold. The solitude of the streets was as great as if the people had been all dead: and in this country you may often see people who have lost an arm or leg by the frost. The cold, which is always very great, sometimes increases by such violent and sudden fits, as are almost infallibly fatal to those who are so unhappy as to be exposed to it; and sometimes there rise sudden tempests of snow that are still more dangerous. The winds seem to blow from all quarters at once, and drive about the snow with such fury, that all the roads are in a moment rendered invisible. Dreadful is the situation of a person surprised in the fields by such a storm; his knowledge of the country, and even the mark, he may have taken by the trees, cannot avail him; he is blinded by the snow, and if he attempts to find his way home is generally lost. In short, during the whole winter the cold was so excessive, that on the 7th of April, at five in the morning, the thermometer was fallen to twenty divisions below the point of freezing, though every afternoon it rose two or three divisions above it: a difference in the height not much less than that which the greatest heat and cold felt at Paris usually produce

produce in that instrument. Thus in the space of twenty-four hours, we had all the variety felt in the temperate zones in the compass of a whole year.

But though in this climate the earth is thus horrible, the heavens present the most beautiful prospects. The short days are no sooner closed, than fires of a thousand colours and figures light up the sky, as if designed to compensate for the absence of the sun in this season. These fires have not here, as in the more southerly climates, any constant situation. Though a luminous arch is often seen fixed toward the north, they seem more frequently to possess the whole extent of the hemisphere. It would be endless to mention all the different figures these meteors assume, and the various motions with which they are agitated. Their motion is most commonly like that of a pair of colours waved in the air, and the different tints of their light gives them the appearance of so many vast streamers of changeable taffeta. On the 18th of December I saw a phænomenon of this kind, that in the midst of all the wonders to which I was now every day accustomed, raised my admiration. To the south a great space of the sky appeared tinged with so lively a red, that the whole constellation of Orion looked as if it had been dipped in blood. This light, which was at first fixed, soon moved, and changing into other colours, violet and blue, settled into a dome, whose top stood a little to the south-west of the zenith. The moon shone bright, but did not in the least efface it. In this country, where there are lights of so many different colours, I never saw but two that were red; and such are taken for presages of some great misfortune. After all, when people gaze at these phænomena with an unphilosophic eye, it is not surprising if they discover in them armies engaged, fiery chariots, and a thousand other prodigies.

During

During the winter we repeated many of our observations and calculations, and found the most evident proofs of the earth's being considerably flatted at the poles. Mean time, the sun came nearer, or rather no more quitted us. It was now May, when it was curious enough to see that great luminary enlighten for so long a time a whole horizon of ice; and to see summer in the heavens, while winter still kept possession of the earth. We were in the morning of that long day of several months; yet the sun with all his power wrought no change either upon the ice or snows.

On the 6th of May it began to rain, and some water appeared on the ice of the river. At noon a little snow melted; but in the evening, winter resumed his rights. At length, on the 10th, the earth which had been so long hid began to appear; some high points that were exposed to the sun shewed themselves, as the tops of the mountains did after the deluge, and all the fowls of the country returned. At the beginning of June, winter yielding up the earth and sea, we prepared for our departure back to Stockholm, and on the 9th some of us set out by land and others by sea.