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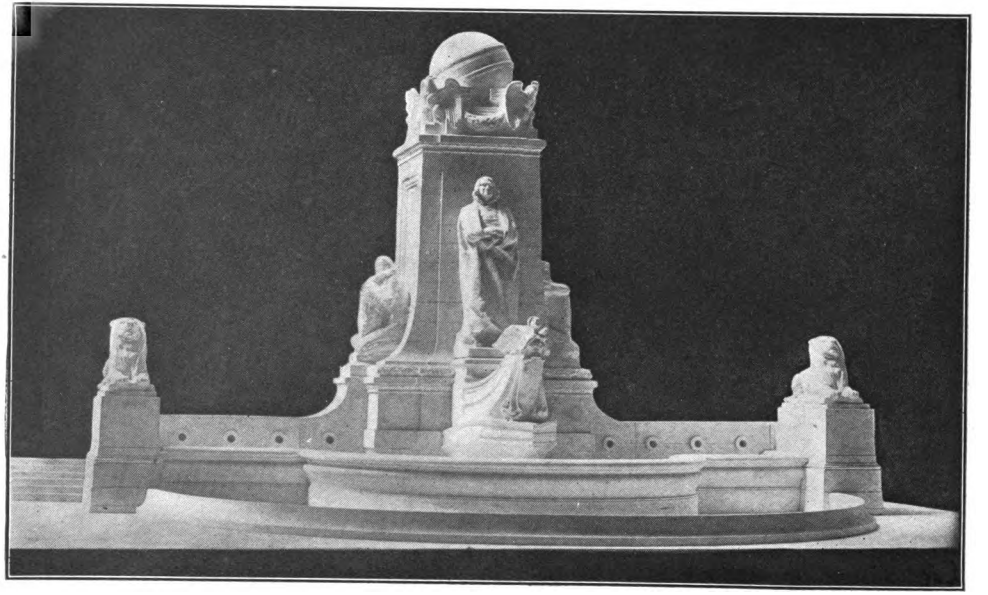

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COLUMBUS
AND
HIS PREDECESSORS

A Study in the Beginnings of American History

BY

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TO THE

Knights of Columbus

WHO HAVE SHOWN A GREAT PRACTICAL INTEREST IN AMERICAN HISTORY, THIS LITTLE VOLUME IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED.

PREFACE

Although the approved method whereby the present-day historian gleans the facts of his narrative is by research among original documents and contemporary papers and by collating these in the most critical manner, this method seems to have been little followed in the history of the discovery of America. Strange as it may seem, the beginnings of the history of the New World remain hidden in the dusk of uncertainty. At best we have come only into the twilight of knowledge regarding even the central figure of this period, for it cannot be said that the full and accurate story has yet been told of the man himself who is the accepted discoverer of the Western hemisphere. In view of our honest pride in our country's standing among the nations, it is far from flattering that we should have to make such an admission at this late date.

Viewed from another angle, however, one may find that our neglect in this regard is partly extenuated by the distracting conditions which sit upon a country during the period of its formative and maturing process. The time of such development leaves little enough opportunity for the fol-

lowing of the culturing sciences and arts and for the fullness of that intellectual life which makes its dwelling in the abode of peace. But if our forefathers in pioneer days, and if our fathers in still more stirring times, had work to do which excused them from following to their sources the early records of American history, the same may not be said of the generations in these piping times of peace and of scientific research into the annals of the past.

This essay on *Columbus and his Predecessors* is but one among the signs that the duty which Americans owe to the memory of Columbus, is before the eyes of the present generation. The learned author in the following pages has set himself the task of clearing the ground and setting the stage, as it were, for a true survey of the drama whose culmination finds the immortal navigator of Genoa on the shores of a new world. With painstaking care he sketches, beginning with the Phœnicians, what the old pagan world knew about the globe and about navigation; also the extent of the knowledge of these matters among the early Christian nations, down to the famous explorations of the hardy Norsemen. Briefly, too, he reviews the nautical expeditions, before Columbus' time, undertaken by Italy, France, Spain, Portugal, and England, showing in the course of the interesting story that as the

outcome of all this maritime activity there came a system into their schemes of discovery, greatly increased geographical knowledge, and better instruments and sea-going apparatus. Columbus, the man of destiny, steps into the story now, and the genesis of his grand project is skilfully traced, and the story told of his struggles, stage by stage, up to his glorious triumph. The legend of the "Nameless Pilot" is critically examined and rejected as the fabrication of an enemy. Next follows a chapter, which is perhaps the most important in the whole book, on the equipment of the expedition and the discovery of the new Continent. From the records in the archives of Spain it is clear that seven-eighths of the money needed for the equipment was loaned to Ferdinand and Isabella by the *Santa Hermandad* of which Santangel and Pinelo were the treasurers. We do not yet know whence came the one eighth furnished by the Admiral himself.

One of the concluding sections makes it plain that the discoveries of Cabot were suggested by the success of Columbus. It was upon the explorations of the former that England based her claims to North America. The United States sprang from the union of thirteen English dependencies. Hence the interest of Americans in everything pertaining to the discoverer of the New World. The study is concluded by a brief

but very suggestive statement of Spanish achievement in America.

The publication of the volume on the eve of the unveiling in Washington of the Columbus statue, by the order of Congress, is most opportune. It is a like happy circumstance that the essay comes from the experienced pen of the Professor of American History at the Catholic University, Washington, D. C. His gracious act in dedicating the volume to the Knights of Columbus is deeply appreciated, and it will doubtless serve as an encouragement to them to a renewed and patriotic interest in the history of their country.

JAMES A. FLAHERTY,
Supreme Knight,
Knights of Columbus.

April 25, 1912.

FOREWORD

The brief study included in the following pages is intended to supply the needs of the general reader. Indeed, it was partly suggested by a number of inquiries received by the author concerning some of the topics of which it treats. It is also designed to furnish supplemental reading matter for all institutions of learning that offer courses of instruction in American political history. It will be found useful by readers of every class, except a few Columbians, special students of every topic connected with the progress of geographical information.

This essay is based upon the great scientific works bearing upon the discovery of America as well as upon former studies of the writer. For the benefit of readers desiring to enter more fully upon an examination of the larger topics considered in this volume there has been added a brief bibliography.

Washington, D. C.,
April 15, 1912.

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INTRODUCTION

This re-study of familiar themes attempts no more than the correction of certain popular errors relative to the significance of Norse exploration in America, European knowledge of Asia in the fifteenth century, the geographical information of Columbus, and the equipment of that memorable expedition which gave to civilization a new world. To trace in outline the maritime achievements which culminated in the discovery of the American continents is an undertaking of the greatest magnitude. To endeavor to sketch even a few of its more important phases may be regarded as a piece of presumption. The main facts in the extension of geographical science are mentioned in countless monographs and unnumbered volumes. To collect and arrange this material is something more than the labor of a summer's day. With some suspicion, then, of the extent of the larger theme, the author of this study has chosen a smaller one. It is, however, sufficiently ample, and an accurate knowledge of it is indispensable to a firm grasp of the beginnings of American history. The discovery of the New World was

not an isolated event. It was rather the culmination of a succession of great movements which collectively gave new proofs of the form and made known the magnitude of the globe. Therefore we shall glance hastily at the extent of geographical learning in classical times and endeavor briefly to trace its progress from the age of Eratosthenes to the triumph of Columbus.

COLUMBUS AND HIS PREDECESSORS

CHAPTER I.

GEOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE OF THE ANCIENTS.

The Phœnicians.

Of the nations that grew up around the Mediterranean the Phœnicians were the first to win wealth and immortality in trade. From Sidon and from Tyre they colonized its shores and sailed even in the great ocean beyond; toward the east their commodities entered the Red Sea and found their way to India. It matters not whether Tarshish was Cadiz or Carthage, Tyrian ships were known there and in every other emporium.

Solomon was not the only ruler in the ancient world who confided his commerce to the fleets of Tyre. Herodotus, himself a notable traveller in the fifth century B. C., relates that the Egyp-

tian king Necho, of the XXVI Dynasty (about 600 B. C.), built a fleet on the Red Sea, manned it with Phœnician sailors, and directed them to sail southward and return to Egypt by way of the Pillars of Hercules and the Mediterranean Sea. According to this tradition, which the Greek historian quotes sceptically, the voyage was accomplished in about three years. The account is too vague, however, to be accepted as anything more than a possibility.

The Carthaginians.

The Senate of Carthage, the most famous of the Phoenician colonies, sent an expedition under Hanno, somewhere between 570 and 480 B. C., with the intention of establishing new colonies along the west coast of Africa. The expedition is believed to have sailed along the northern coast of the Gulf of Guinea. This attempt at colonization was made when the prosperity of Carthage was greatest. It was during the same epoch that Himilco was commissioned to explore toward the north the coast of Iberia. He may have reached the Bay of Biscay or even have sighted Britain. The details of his exploration are not clear.

The Greeks.

In the twentieth century it is not necessary

to discuss minutely the geographical learning of classical times. It will be sufficient to notice some signs of early nautical activity among the Greeks and barely allude to the epoch of Alexander the Great. In another connection will be discussed their geographical theory. Though the Romans in many departments of human activity were followers of the Greeks, and in those fields did not attain to the same eminence, in many lines they were themselves pioneers and far excelled their gifted neighbors in Hellas. The purpose of this essay is to show not their respective contributions to civilization but the geographical knowledge and the geographical theory of each.

As early as 330 B. C. one Pytheas, a navigator of the Greek colony of Massilia (Marseilles), is believed to have sailed far beyond the Pillars of Hercules, to have entered the English Channel and to have followed the coast of Britain to the extreme north. Beyond this he spoke of a land called *Thule,* which may have been Shetland or even Iceland. A sea was reached through which he could not sail. From this it has been inferred that he was the first of the Greeks who knew of the Arctic regions. Either on this voyage or a later one he entered the Baltic and there found the coasts where amber is obtained. No other discoveries are

mentioned before his return to the Mediterranean. The scholarship of our time is inclined to accept this account of discoveries by the Massilian seaman, though it was rejected by Strabo, one of the greatest of Greek geographers.

In the fourth century of our era, the Greeks knew Asia from the river Indus to the Mediterranean and from the Sea of Arabia to the mountains of Armenia. The armies of Alexander crossed the plains beyond the Caspian, penetrated the wild passes in the mountains northwest of India and did not turn back until they entered the country between the Indus and the Ganges. As is well known, a part of Alexander's victorious army returned by ships from the Indus to the Tigris. In October, 326 B. C., Nearchus left the Indus with his great fleet Though some of the records have perished, enough remains to show that between those two rivers a careful exploration was made. Nearchus was preparing to sail around Arabia when the death of Alexander led to the breaking up of the fleet without making the voyage. This was a very great epoch of discovery. The Greeks who accompanied Alexander described carefully the towns and villages through which they passed; also the products and the physical appearance of the country. There was then estab-

lished a connection between the civilization of Hellas and Hindustan.

As Carthage continued the maritime enterprise of the mother country, Phœnicia, so now the kingdoms founded by the generals of Alexander preserved for a time the civilization of the Hellenic world. Thus was supplied by Megasthenes, an ambassador of Seleucus, full information concerning the valley of the Ganges. The dynasty of the Ptolemies, founded by another of Alexander's generals, manifested much interest in extending geographical information. Indeed, by the protection and encouragement of Eratosthenes, Ptolemy Euergetes (247-228 B. C.) rendered the greatest service to geographical science. The researches of Eratosthenes gave the first approximate knowledge of the size of the spherical earth. Under the successors of Ptolemy Euergetes vessels were equipped to explore the Red Sea. Eudoxus, the navigator who commanded these expeditions, left the service of Egypt and visited the prosperous ports of the Mediterranean for the purpose of obtaining financial assistance to undertake the exploration of Africa, which he believed to be washed by an ocean on the south.

The Romans.

The Romans, at least in their early history,

did not encourage navigation and commerce with the same ardor as did the Greeks. It was the military genius of Rome and her ambition for universal empire that led to discovery. Every war gave occasion to a new survey. In this way the Romans knew minutely nearly all Europe as well as large tracts in Asia and in Africa.

In her high and palmy state Rome had explored and surveyed all the coasts of the Mediterranean: Italy, Greece, the Balkan peninsula, Spain, Gaul, western Germany and also much of Britain. In Africa her possessions included Egypt, Carthage, Numidia and Mauretania. In the third continent her authority was acknowledged in Asia Minor and Syria. Roman legions had entered the vast and mysterious country of the Arabs, and the Roman people knew something of the regions that had been conquered by Alexander. The resources and the extent of Persia were not unknown to them. Something more vague was their knowledge of Bactria and Scythia. Roman intercourse with India led to a very great extension of geographical information.

Before the Romans undertook new conquests it was usual with them to send out exploring expeditions to report concerning the nature of the country. This policy collected at Rome a vast mass of geographical facts. Centurions

were commissioned to explore the upper reaches of the Nile, and at least one expedition had sailed, out of sight of land, across the Arabian Sea to India. In the time of the Emperor Severus and in the reigns of his immediate successors intercourse with that country was at its height. From the writings of Pausanias (about 174 A. D.) it appears that direct communication had already been established between Rome and China.

After the division of the Roman empire, Constantinople, the capital of the eastern portion, became the refuge of learning, of arts and of taste. Justinian, in whose reign (527-565 A. D.) the greatness of the empire culminated, sent to China two Nestorian monks, who returned with eggs of the silk-worm concealed in a hollow cane. From these were obtained the first silk-worms in Europe and in this way was begun in the Peloponnesus and the isles of Greece the manufacture of silk. It was in the same memorable reign that Cosmas Indicopleustes, an Egyptian merchant, made several voyages to India and afterward composed his *Christian Topography*, which contains a tolerable description of that country.

The Arabs.

During the period of Arabic ascendency the

Mohammedan world had considerable intercourse with Central Asia and had some knowledge of the Far East. For reasons of trade, however, information concerning the routes thither was carefully guarded. For Europeans, therefore, there was little prospect of expansion toward either the South or the East. In those regions Islam stood guard. The brilliant speculations of Arabic geographers, though often attractive, added little to the scientific conclusions of the Greeks. It was not the Arabs who extended the limits of the known world beyond Thule. As we shall see, that honor belongs almost exclusively to the Scandinavian nation. The actual contribution of the Arabs to geographical information was their exploration of the northern shores of the Indian Ocean, from Magadoxa or Mozambique to Hindustan. Concerning that part of the world European knowledge was extremely vague.

As stated above, the Arabs had some knowledge of distant countries. In the middle of the ninth century one Sulaiman, a merchant of that nation, embarked in the Persian Gulf and made several voyages to India and China. It is said that from personal experience Masudi knew all the countries between Spain and China. In his *Meadows of Gold* he describes lands and peoples. Other Arab writers of that epoch were: Istakhri,

who travelled through all Mohammedan countries and in 950 wrote his *Book of Climates;* Ibn Haukal, whose book of *Roads and Kingdoms,* written in 976, was based on the work of Istakhri. The best known of Arabian geographical authors was Idrisi. After travelling extensively in the first half of the twelfth century he settled in Sicily, where he wrote a treatise descriptive of an armillary sphere, which he had constructed for Roger II, the Norman king.[1] In his work Idrisi incorporated all accessible results of contemporary travel.

[1]An armillary sphere was a skeleton celestial globe, consisting of metal rings or hoops representing the equator, ecliptic, tropics, arctic and antarctic circles, and colures, revolving on an axis within a wooden horizon.

CHAPTER II.

CHRISTIAN PILGRIMS.

Early Christian Pilgrims.

From the time of the Emperor Constantine, whose mother, St. Helena, had founded a church at Bethlehem, thousands of nameless pilgrims from Europe visited the Holy Places of Syria. The route generally followed, took them through North Italy, Aquileia, Sirmium, Constantinople, and Asia Minor. Of these multitudes perhaps fewer than a dozen have left any valuable record of the journey to the Levant. Etheria, a Spanish nun, long believed to have been Sylvia of Aquitaine, (about 385) travelled not only through Syria but in Lower Egypt, in the Sinaitic peninsula, and in Northern Mesopotamia. From the Euphrates her party returned toward the coast and thence by the military road which connected Tarsus with the Bosphorus. In the thirteenth and the succeeding centuries, when greater and more enlightened travellers went into Central Asia and even as far as China these travellers were forgotten.

For five hundred years afterward there was indeed much travel but little of geographical theory. The semi-barbarous conquerors of the Empire of the West had not yet come to appreciate the civilization which they had nearly destroyed. In the seventh century the victorious Saracens, still engaged chiefly in destruction, did not encourage European travellers to come amongst them. Even in this memorable era there were men like Isidore of Seville, and Vergil, an Irish missionary of the eighth century, who held to a more scientific geography. Though little had been discovered that was new, yet the knowledge of the Greeks had not perished. The religious influence was the first agency in the formation of modern nations. It was also "the first impulse towards their expansion."[1]

Arculf and Willibald.

To this epoch (600-870 A. D.) belong Arculf and Willibald, names more familiar in English-speaking countries. The Eastern adventures of the former were written by Abbot Adamnan, to whose great monastery of Iona, Arculf had been driven by storms. This narrative (about A. D. 701) was presented and dedicated to Aldfrith the Wise, in his court at York. As a useful manual for Englishmen, *Concerning the Holy*

[1]Beazley, *Prince Henry the Navigator*, p. 42.

Sites, the account was summarized by the Venerable Bede. Willibald, a nephew of St. Boniface, spent in oriental and other travels a period of ten years. This included many of the countries between places as far apart as Southampton and Damascus.

Fidelis and Bernard the Wise.

To the same age belongs Fidelis, who travelled in Egypt about the year 750. More than a century later, 867, Bernard the Wise of Mont St. Michel mentions a circumstance which shows the undoubted supremacy of the Saracens at that time. The Emir of Bari forwarded Bernard's party of pilgrims in a fleet of transports that was carrying 9,000 Christian slaves to Alexandria. Other travellers and writers in the age succeeding are known to us, but they made few important contributions to geographical learning. The haughty science of to-day characterizes the narratives of the pilgrims of those distant ages as infantile. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that they had comparatively large knowledge and experience. However, when we come to examine the travels and the narratives of the Franciscan friars of the thirteenth and the following centuries, we become conscious of an immense advance.

The Irish in Iceland.

In the epoch at which we have arrived popular fancy regards the Norsemen as the sole voyagers in the Arctic seas. This opinion, so in harmony with circumstances, is almost literally, but not absolutely true. In Iceland they were anticipated by a race that they were destined to meet in their endeavor to conquer the maritime parts of western Europe. The succession of triumphs which attended their arms is a commonplace of school histories; an enumeration of Norse defeats is less familiar reading. From the death of St. Patrick scarcely half a century had passed when Irish missionaries were engaged in the war that paganism was waging against the Christian world. The conversion of northern England is chiefly to be ascribed to the zeal of Aidan and his countrymen; Irish missionaries crossed to Flanders and to Burgundy; they penetrated even into Italy and Switzerland, where the canton of St. Gall commemorates the labors of an Irish monk. In their apostolic journeys they left valuable manuscripts along the Danube and the Rhine. These wanderings, it is true, were not discoveries, but the zeal which sustained the disciples of Patrick and Columba in such undertakings drove them into all the neighboring lands where there were souls to save. This zeal it was that in the year 795, from Feb-

ruary 1 to August 1, led Irish hermits to Iceland.

On the return of these missionaries they reported the marvel of perpetual day in *Thule* (Iceland), where there was then "no darkness to hinder one from doing what one would." On their arrival in Iceland they found the ocean ice-free for one day's sail; after that they came to an ice-wall. Memorials of this, and perhaps of other religious settlements were found by Scandinavian colonists when, in the ninth century, they came to take permanent possession of the island.

Dicuil, an Irish Geographer.

The earliest unquestioned mention of the European discovery and the European settlement of Iceland is to be found in *De Mensura orbis terrae,* finished in 825.[1] The same essay, of which the author was the Irish monk and geographer Dicuil, also contains the first definite Western reference to the old fresh water canal between the Nile and the Red Sea. This was finally blocked up in 767. Dicuil learned of this from Brother Fidelis, probably another Irish monk, who in going to Jerusalem sailed along the Nile into the Red Sea, passing on his way

[1]The best text is that of G. Parthey, Berlin, 1870.

the "Barns of Joseph" or the pyramids of Giza. These are well described.

Dicuil's knowledge of the isles north and west of Britain is evidently intimate, while his references to Irish exploration and colonization, and to the later Scandinavian devastation of the same, are in every way noteworthy. This is not the place to discuss the scholarship of Dicuil, which was considerable. He quotes from and notices thirty Greek and Latin writers; was the author of a metrical work on astronomy and wrote a grammar, which has been lost. Concerning Iceland, his information was derived from the missionaries who had sojourned there.

Predecessors of the Polos.

Early in the Crusades, Saewulf of Worcester, Adelard of Bath, and Daniel of Kiev were among the peaceful pilgrims who traversed Palestine after the ways had been made smooth by the victorious warriors of the First Crusade. They have little more to tell us than was related centuries before by Fidelis and others. Coming shortly after Abbot Daniel of Kiev, was one Benjamin of Tudela, a Jewish rabbi, who visited communities of his own people from Navarre to Bagdad, "and described those beyond from Bagdad to China." He seems, however, to have

written chiefly for members of his own race and appears otherwise to have attracted little notice.[1] His discoveries (about 1160-73) seem to have added to the geographical information of Western Europe only what was known to the Greeks and the Arabs. For Europe, however, he may be regarded among overland travellers as a forerunner of the Polos.

In the year 1258 the Caliphate of Bagdad was overthrown by the Mongol Tartars. The last Caliph of the Saracens was butchered by Holgalu and his Tartars and, according to one account, sewn in a sack and cast into the Tigris. The House of Jenghiz Kahn, whose dominions extended from the China Sea to the river Dnieper, was more enlightened than any former eastern dynasty. As will presently appear, the Pope and the King of France sent missionaries to the Tartar rulers, who were believed to be wavering between Islamism and Christianity. It was during this period (1260) that Nicolo and Maffeo Polo, Venetian merchants, began their memorable journey to the Far East.

[1]Beazley, *Prince Henry the Navigator*, pp. 88-89.

CHAPTER III.

NORSE ACHIEVEMENT IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE.

Extent and End of Norse Dominion.

The Danish conquest of England and Normandy as well as the occupation of commercial centres in Ireland are among the commonplaces of school history, but the ambition and the successes of other branches of that race extended far beyond western Europe. They had visited and ravaged every nation from Archangel to Cordova and from Limerick to Constantinople. For two hundred years they had ruled one-half the British Isles. Their devastation of Irish colonies has been noticed. Indeed, the Danish invasions first arrested the development in Ireland itself of a flourishing civilization. That nation, however, finally checked the conquering career of the Vikings. The complete destruction of Norse dominion was begun in 1014 by King Brian Boru at Clontarf. Between 1042 and 1066 they met many defeats in England at the hands of Godwin and his son Harold. The overthrow

of Hardrada at Stamford Bridge will suggest the nature of their chastisment by the last ruler of the Saxons.[1] In the next generation the sovereigns of Scotland inflicted upon the sea-kings still other defeats. Indeed, even earlier a sovereign of that country had punished their invasions. When the witches foretold that Macbeth would be thane of Cawdor, that ambitious General was returning from the defeat not only of the disloyal subjects of King Duncan but of their Scandinavian allies. Outside of their kingdom in the Orkneys, Norse dominion in western Europe ended in the last half of the eleventh century.

Place of the Norse as Explorers.

Between the era of Constantine and the beginning of the Crusades the greatest progress in geographical knowledge was that made by the Vikings. Their exploration of northern Europe, as well as the settlement of Iceland and the discovery of Greenland, were made when they were still pagans. It was while their great nautical hero, Leif the son of Eric, was on his way from

[1]Edgar Atheling is, of course, always included in the list of the Saxon kings of England. Though Edgar, for a short time after the battle of Hastings, was the lawful king, Harold was the last actual ruler before the Norman Conquest.

Norway to proclaim Christianity to the people of Greenland that the wooded shores of America were first seen.[1] Their voyages thither and their attempt to colonize it will be noticed presently.

Early American history is concerned with that branch of the Scandinavian race which colonized Iceland and Greenland and discovered *Wineland the Good*. For centuries preceding these events its home had been in those countries that we know as Norway and Sweden. The members of this enterprising nation were kinsmen of the Danes, those renowned warriors who placed a line of kings on the throne of England, who wrested from Charles the Simple the valley of the Seine and there built up the powerful dukedom of Normandy. They intermarried with the Romanized Celtic natives of Gaul and soon became the most polished as well as the most warlike people of Europe. In the short space of five years this new nation put an end to Anglo-Saxon domination, which had been established in England for more than six hundred years. Indeed, they practically destroyed the Anglo-Saxon monarchy in one October day. Wales, Scotland, Ireland, Italy and Palestine were destined soon to become acquainted with

[1]It is well known that there is some authority for believing that Herjulfson had seen the American coast even before the accidental discovery by Leif.

the Normans. With their remarkable history this essay is not concerned. Their kinsmen, the Norwegians, did not come into so close contact with the civilization of southern Europe and therefore did not play so important a part in history. They did, however, act a very interesting part, and in a climate more congenial than that of Iceland and Greenland would, doubtless, have built up a powerful and enduring state.

Eric Discovers Greenland.

In the sagas, or Norse histories, we are told that Eric and his father, on account of manslaughter, went from Norway to Iceland. Not long afterward, about 985 A. D., Eric discovered a new country and named it Greenland, not indeed, because it was a pleasant place, but in order to attract settlers. In the tenth century the climate of Greenland was very much the same as it is to-day. From its history we know that even in its most flourishing state it was not easy during the long winters to find food for cattle; we know too, that many ships trading there were hemmed in by icebergs and that countless others were wrecked in its dangerous waters.

It was not long until settlements were made in the new land. From a partial examination of its

ruins and its records it is certain that the principal colonies of Greenland, the Estribygd and the Vestribygd, were situated along its southwestern coast. The people were engaged chiefly in hunting, in fishing and in cattle-breeding. Their conversion to Christianity, in the beginning of the eleventh century, brought them into such intercourse with Rome as their remote situation would permit. They contributed tithes to the Crusades and, as late as the year 1418, in walrus-tusks paid their Peter's Pence to the Holy See. In its most flourishing era the population of Greenland was about five thousand. The western settlement contained four churches, the eastern twelve. There was a monastery of Saints Olaf and Augustine; also a convent of the Benedictine order. From the time of the conversion of its people until the year 1492, when the last spiritual head was nominated to the See of Gardar, Greenland could claim a line of at least sixteen bishops.

In developing their fisheries and in seeking pasture for their cattle, the people of Greenland became familiar with its western coast. They appear to have also explored its more perilous eastern parts. Their nautical activity was not confined, however, to their own inhospitable land. An accident broadened their maritime horizon.

Leif Discovers a New Land.

Leif, one of the sons of Eric the Red, had gained the good opinion of Olaf Tryggvason, King of Norway. On one occasion this ruler asked, "Is it thy purpose to sail to Greenland this summer?" "It is my purpose," said Leif, "if it be your will." "I believe it will be well," answered the King, "and thither thou shalt go upon my errand to proclaim Christianity there." When Leif's modesty suggested doubts concerning the success of the proposed mission, the King replied that he knew no man better fitted for the undertaking, and added, "In thy hands the cause will surely prosper." King Olaf then gave to Leif a man and a woman, both Gaels, and assured him that if he had need of fleetness, this couple would serve him, for they were as swift as deer. Haki and Haekia, the Irish runners, will be heard of again. What followed this conversation is told by the sagas in a simple and straightforward manner.

When his ship was ready for the voyage, Leif put to sea. For a long time he was tossed about upon the ocean and finally came upon lands of which hitherto he had had no knowledge. "There were self-sown wheat-fields and vines growing there. There were also those trees growing there which are called 'mausur' and of all these they took specimens." On resuming his voyage,

Leif rescued a shipwrecked crew, took the men with him to Greenland, and procured them quarters during the winter. On arriving at his home in Brattahlid he was well received by everyone. "He soon proclaimed Christianity throughout the land, and the Catholic faith, and announced King Olaf Tryggvason's message to the people, telling them how much excellence and how great glory accompanied this faith. . . .[1]

Exploration of the New Land.

These were the principal events in a great discovery, though, for reasons that will be explained, it did not prove a valuable one. At Leif's home there was much talk of his accidental discovery, but his neighbors and kinsmen did not confine themselves merely to talking about exploration. In the spring of 1005 Karlsefni and Snorri fitted out their ship to search for the land discovered by Leif. Biarni and Thorhall with their crew joined the expedition. In all there were one hundred and sixty men. From the western settlement they sailed to Bear Island; thence southward for two doegr[2] until they saw

[1] Arthur Middleton Reeves, *The Finding of Wineland the Good*, p. 36.

[2] It is not certain whether the term *doegr*, in the sagas, means a day of twelve hours or one of twenty-four.

land. This country they explored and named *Helluland;* that is, the land of flat stones. Continuing for two days more they came to a forested region, which they called *Markland.* Another voyage farther southward brought them to a sandy shore. So long was it to sail by that they called it Wonderstrands. Afterward they put the Gaels ashore to explore the country beyond. On their return, with an ear of "new-sown wheat" and a bunch of grapes, the expedition resumed its southerly course. Part of a winter was spent at one point; then other long voyages were made and they rested for half a month. Here there was barter with the natives, who visited them in skin-canoes. They are described as ill-looking and swarthy men with ugly hair, great eyes and broad cheeks. The Norsemen built huts and remained for the winter. In the spring there was an unsuccessful battle with the natives, whom they called Skrellings. At this time there was some dissension among the Norsemen. This internal weakness and the certainty that there would be constant warfare with the savages convinced Karlsefni that life in that otherwise pleasant country would be a thing of constant dread. In the summer of 1006 he returned with the survivors to Greenland.

Intercourse with Wineland.

Many later voyages were made to Wineland. Indeed, as late as 1121 Bishop Eric left Greenland in order to visit that part of his See. Afterward he was never heard from. For a long time *Wineland* was a geographical landmark, and occasional voyages were made thither. The attempt of Karlsefni, however, appears to have been the most serious that was undertaken for its colonization, but beyond the building of some huts and a few trading booths he attempted to erect no durable structures. Therefore we need not seek for architectural memorials of his brief sojourn.

No historical student has the slightest doubt that the Norsemen discovered America almost five hundred years before Columbus arrived at the Bahamas. There is, however, no such unanimity of opinion concerning the latitude at which Leif was driven upon its coast or the places which Karlsefni explored. Speculation, it is true, has assigned certain regions to *Helluland, Markland* and *Wineland.* The last named was the most southerly and has been fixed in many places between Nova Scotia and Rhode Island. Though of some intrinsic interest their precise location does not greatly concern us. The important question is the fact of discovery.

Destruction of Greenland Settlements.

Many races in western Europe claim to have discovered America in the remote past. These claims, however, rest on foundations very different from those of the Norsemen. The story of their voyages to *Wineland* as well as their attempt to colonize it comes to us from Iceland rather than Greenland, because the settlements in the latter country were destroyed early in the fifteenth century in a succession of attacks by the Esquimaux. The Greenland ruins have been located, but as yet only a few of them have been carefully explored. Even this partial examination has yielded many antiquities. Further work with the pick-axe and the spade, especially on the sites of the homesteads, the convent, the monastery and the churches, will no doubt tell us new facts about this vanished race. As Greenland was a Catholic country, it is possible that the Vatican archives may furnish additional information concerning that lonely outpost of Christianity. Already they have told us much. In his *Ecclesiastical History of Northern Europe,* written during the eleventh century, Adam of Bremen makes mention of *Wineland.* Indeed, it is not improbable that he may have talked at the Norwegian court with men who participated in those distant voyages.

Basis of England's Claim to North America.

If, as has been said, the Norsemen discovered America four hundred and ninety-one years before the arrival of Columbus at San Salvador, why have the people of the United States failed to commemorate that event? This question is easily answered. The United States developed from a confederation of thirteen colonies which England had either settled or conquered. That nation has always based her claim to North America upon the discovery of John Cabot and upon the alleged exploration of his son, Sebastian Cabot. English statesmen never admitted the right of the French, the Dutch or the Swedes to colonize the Atlantic coast of North America. John Cabot's expedition of 1497 was suggested by the startling success of Columbus, and we have no proof that *he* had any knowledge of Norse exploration. It was long believed, indeed, that he had made a voyage to Iceland and then gained intelligence concerning *Wineland the Good.* There is no evidence, accepted by recent Columbian students, that the great discoverer ever visited that island. In other words, modern historical experts are inclined to reject the Iceland voyage. If Columbus knew even vaguely of Greenland's intercourse with a western world, that knowledge had no influence whatever upon his cherished project, for he sailed from Palos

not northwest nor even westward but almost directly south. His discovery was as unconnected with the geographical opinions of his own and of former times as it was possible for it to be. Yet, as will appear, that was no isolated event.

Norsemen did not found the United States.

If the Norsemen, like the Spaniards who came in the fifteenth century, had a knowledge of the use of firearms, they would doubtless have held their ground against the swarthy Skrellings of Wineland, and, perhaps, the history of the modern world might have been very different from what it is. This, however, is speculation and belongs to the world of fancy. So long as the useful efforts of intelligence, courage and enterprise are admired, the memory of Norse exploits will not perish. However, that race did not call the United States into existence. Their beginnings resulted from other movements presently to be noticed. With the progress of these movements the sea-kings had no connection.

CHAPTER IV.

FRANCISCANS AND MARCO POLO.

Overland Trade with Asia.

The reader is not to suppose that in pursuit of trade the merchants of Europe went to China, to Siam or even to India. The Italian traders, who had a monopoly of this commerce, made the journey to Constantinople or to other ports on the Black Sea. There they purchased commodities that had come from the interior. The native products of India were brought by Arabs to Mecca, where, as we shall see, John Cabot claimed to have been. Intelligent Europeans could hardly have met the men from central Asia without learning much about its resources and its people. Incidentally, they would hear something of Siam and of China. As a rule these merchants were not good writers, and their books tell us little. To this remark there was one notable exception.

In the year 1260 Nicolo and Maffeo Polo, prosperous Venetian traders, made a successful

business venture in the Crimea. An uprising of Tartar tribes prevented their return. As they could not go back, they went forward as far as Bokhara, where they remained for three years. They then determined to visit "Kubla Khan," a party of whose envoys were about to return to Cathay (China). A year's journey brought them to his court, where they were kindly received. The great Khan asked them many questions about Europe, especially about its rulers, about the Pope and the Church. It was not long before he sent them back as an embassy to the Pope. They were instructed to ask His Holiness to send a hundred missionaries to convert the people of Cathay to the Christian faith and instruct them in the liberal arts. The dangerous homeward journey was begun, and in three years the merchants were at Acre, on the Mediterranean.

Marco Polo Goes to China.

Great was the disappointment of the Polos when they learned that the Pope was dead. They concluded, therefore, to return to Venice and remain until the election of his successor. There they continued for two years awaiting that event. As there seemed to be no prospect of its happening, they resolved to return to Cathay and

report the failure of their mission. After obtaining from the Papal Legate at Acre a letter explaining the situation, and taking with them some of the holy oil from the lamp of the Holy Sepulchre, they set out on their return. This time they were accompanied by Marco, the seventeen year old son of Nicolo Polo. They had not proceeded far when they were overtaken by a messenger, who informed them that the Legate had himself been chosen Pope. Instead of sending one hundred missionaries, however, the new Pope appointed two preaching friars. When the party reached Armenia the rumor of war caused the missionaries to turn back. The Polos resumed their journey and after travelling for three years arrived in 1275 at the Khan's court in Shang-tu near Pekin. This was the place of which Coleridge wrote:

> At Xanadu did Kubla-Khan
> A stately pleasure-dome decree,
> Where Alph, the sacred river, ran
> Through caverns measureless to man
> Down to a sunless sea.

The Khan, who welcomed them graciously, made much of Marco, then twenty years of age.

A Voyage from China.

After serving the Grand Khan of all the Tar-

tars for seventeen years, they had acquired considerable wealth, and became eager to return to their native land. That ruler was sending to Persia his young daughter, who had been asked in marriage by its Khan. His envoys had requested of Kublai permission for the Polos, who were familiar with the art of navigation, to accompany them. This favor was granted, and in 1292 a great fleet sailed away from Zaitum, the largest Chinese port of that time. Before they arrived in Persia two years had passed, and during that time some of the envoys had died and the fleet had lost six hundred men. Though the Khan of Persia had died, the young maiden was well received by his brother, who had succeeded as ruler, and afterward she was married to the Khan's son. Because of its disturbed state the Polos were escorted through that country by troops of horse. After many hardships they finally arrived in Venice sometime in the year 1295.

Polo taken Prisoner.

A war breaking out soon after between Venice and Genoa, the wealthy Polos were asked to equip a galley. Marco sailed in command of this vessel and was captured in 1296, when the Venetian fleet under Dandolo was defeated by

the Genoese. Polo was carried a prisoner to Genoa and remained there for three years.[1] It is generally believed that it was during this time that he dictated to a fellow-prisoner, Rustician of Pisa, *The Travels of Marco Polo The Venetian.*[2]

Polo in the Service of Kublai Khan.

The Polos had scarcely arrived in Cathay when Marco began earnestly to study the languages of the multifarious nations subject to Kublai Khan. Seeing that he was both clever and discreet, the great ruler soon employed him in the public service. In 1277, as is shown by Chinese annals, "a certain Polo was nominated as a second-class commissioner or agent attached to the imperial council." His public missions carried him to the provinces of Shansi, Shensi and Szechuen; also to the wild country on the borders of Tibet, to the distant province of Yunnan and into northern Burma. For three years he held the government of the great city of Yangchow. Again he was in southern Cochin-China, and perhaps also on a mission to the southern states of India.

[1]Some authorities give the term of his imprisonment as one year.

[2]See *Introduction* to this work by Masefield

Polo's Travels.

Seeing that the Khan appreciated all sorts of tidings concerning his distant subjects, Polo was careful to store his memory or his note-book with those matters that would please his master. These journeys sometimes took him through regions almost unknown till 1860. "In his account of the desert of Gobi, he gives some description of the terrors and superstitions of the waste, a description which strikingly reproduces that of the Chinese pilgrim, Suan T'sang, in passing the same desert in the contrary direction six hundred years before." Lop-Nor, through which the Polos passed on their way to Cathay, was not visited again by Europeans until it was reached by Prjevalsky in 1871.

Whether his father and his uncle accompanied him on these distant missions we do not know. He visited Kankchow, the capital of Tangut, within the Great Wall, and, perhaps, Karakorum on the north of the Gobi. He was sent to Ciampa (southern Cochin-China) a second time, and he may have gone twice on imperial business to India.

Until recently the story of Polo was regarded with grave suspicion. It is now universally believed that he was not only the greatest of mediaeval travellers but also a most veracious

one. It was in describing what he had never seen that he most frequently erred. He was the first European to trace a route across the whole longitude of Asia, naming and describing kingdom after kingdom; the first to make known China in all its wealth and vastness; the first to speak of the new and brilliant court which had been established at Peking. For the first time Europeans learned from his book something more of Tibet than its name. In it they first saw the names: Burma, Laos, Siam, Cochin-China, Japan, Java, and Sumatra. From him they first heard of the Nicobar and the Andaman Islands, of Ceylon and its sacred peak. Polo was the first in mediaeval times to give any distinct account of the secluded Christian kingdom of Abyssinia; he was the first to speak of Zanzibar and Madagascar. He takes his reader to the far north also, to Siberia and its Arctic shores; he speaks of white bears, of dog-sledges and of the reindeer-riding Tunguses.[1]

From having doubted many of the facts narrated by Polo, opinion so changed that to him it ascribed the introduction into Europe of several very useful inventions. As we shall see, there were flourishing missions of the Catholic Church

[1] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edition, Art. *Marco Polo.*

in many of the principal cities of eastern China in the fourteenth century. There was also a regular overland trade between Italy and Cathay by way of Tana (Azov), Astrakhan, Otrar, Kamul and Kangchow. Many a traveller besides Polo might have brought from the Far East the idea of block-books, the mariner's compass and other important inventions.

Among thirteenth century travellers in Asia, Polo was a prince. Certainly no one of them, and, perhaps, not all of them together collected an equal amount of information concerning that vast and mysterious land filled with splendors and, to many European minds, with things appalling. There were, it is true, other keen observers and intelligent recorders, who crossed the rivers and the mountains of Asia and who knew its deserts and its plains. They did not, indeed, possess equal opportunities with the trusted envoy of the Grand Khan. They travelled by different routes, visited different provinces and were interested in different matters. As we would expect under such circumstances each narrative, while containing much that is new, supplements and verifies the others.

Friar John of Plano Carpini.

It has been said that two friars undertook the toilsome journey to Cathay in the company of

the Polos and that they were diverted from their purpose by alarms of war. All missionaries, however, were not like these timid friars. On the contrary, the deeds of a great majority show them to have been distinguished by rare energies of body as well as mind. Next in importance to Polo as a writer of that era was John of Carpini, a Franciscan friar. In his youth he had been a companion and in his maturer years became a disciple of St. Francis of Assisi. Before he was commissioned to go as envoy into Asia, he had been a prior of his order in Saxony, and a Provincial in Germany. Subsequently he went as an organizer into Spain and even visited the coast of Barbary.

In Asiatic travel this celebrated man was not a follower of Polo but a predecessor. In fact, he entered that continent about a decade before Marco was born. In those days the merchant was often a follower of the friar. In 1245 Pope Innocent IV selected this accomplished man for the dangerous mission to the Tartars, who just at that moment threatened to overrun Europe. The battle of Liegnitz, April 9, 1241, threatened to cast Christendom beneath the feet of barbarous hordes. Though more than sixty years of age, the envoy set out on his perilous way with a single companion, a Polish friar, who went to act as interpreter.

From Poland they travelled to Kiev. Afterward their journey lay across rivers and plains until they arrived at Kanev, where they came up with the Tartar outposts; thence they proceeded to the Volga, finally arriving at the camp of Batu, a prince of the house of Jenghiz Khan. After an exchange of presents Batu allowed them to pass on to the Grand Khan in Mongolia. In one hundred days they journeyed 3,000 miles. Three months later they set out on their return with the Khan's brief message to the Pope. The supreme ruler of the Tartars said in a letter, written in Mongol, Arabic, and Latin, that for Christianity he was the scourge of God. This ominous threat was of but little consolation for the dangers and discomforts of their homeward journey. Frequently they slept on ground which they had scraped bare with their feet, and oftentimes their bed was the frozen snow. At the end of seven months they arrived at Kiev; thence they proceeded to Lyons, where they delivered the imperious letter to the Pope.

The Narrative of Friar John.

On his return Friar John often told the story of their travels. In order to avoid its too frequent repetition he finally prepared an account of the strange lands through which they travelled and the strange inhabitants of those regions.

This narrative is called the Book of the Tartars, *Liber Tartarorum*.[1] The work is epic in character, being almost without any personal note. Half a century ago a Mongol scholar bore testimony to the accuracy of its statements.[2] Portions of the work will be found in Hakluyt. About the middle of the last century an edition of this book was brought out by the Geographical Society of Paris. This publication included also a narrative by Friar Benedict, the companion of John of Plano Carpini.

Estimate of Friar's Merits.

An English author, competent to speak not only on the dawn of modern geography but on every phase of its progress, describes this missionary as "an honest and clear-headed and

[1]*Liber Tartarorum* is divided into eight chapters, which treat of the country and its people; of their manners, character, and religion; of the history, policy and tactics of the Tartars and the best method of opposing them. A single chapter describes the regions through which the travellers passed.

This narrative is in many respects the chief literary memorial of European overland expansion before Marco Polo. It first revealed the Mongol world to Christendom; it told of the nations conquered by the Mongols, of the nations which up to that time had successfully resisted them, and it included a list of Mongol princes. In a word, Friar John's *Historia* is of the utmost historical value.

[2]Galsang Gombeyev, Historical and Philological Bulletin of the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg.

keen-eyed observer, neither timid nor credulous,"[1] and he adds: "We have gone a good way from Abbot Daniel, for in John of Plano Carpini, Christian Europe has at last a real explorer, a real historian, a genuine man of science, in the service of the Church and of discovery."[2]

Odoric of Pordenone.

Odoric of Pordenone, one of the greatest travellers of the Middle Ages, was born of a Czech family named Mattiussi, about the year 1286 at Villa Nuova, a hamlet near Pordenone in Friuli. He died at Pisa on the 14th of January, 1331, while *en route* to Avignon, then the residence of the Pope. In 1775, four hundred and forty-four years afterward, he was beatified. Like many other great missionaries of that era he was a member of the Franciscan order. *The Encyclopaedia Britannica,* eleventh edition (1911), says that "a remarkable extension of missionary action was then taking place" in the East. In April, 1318, Friar Odoric was sent thither. About 1329 or 1330 he returned.

Odoric went to Cathay by way of Tabriz, Erzerum and Sultanieh, places at which the Franciscans had houses. From Sultanieh he proceeded by Kashan and Yezd. By a circuitous

[1]Beazley, *Prince Henry the Navigator*, p. 91.
[2]*Ibid.*, p. 92.

route he arrived at the Persian Gulf. In this journey he appears to have passed Persepolis as well as the regions of Shiraz and Bagdad. At Hormuz he embarked for India and landed near Bombay. For the Christian missionary that must have been a land of terror, because it was only a short time before his arrival that four of his brethren met death at the hands of the Mohammedan governor. Their remains Odoric collected and took with him for the purpose of burial in China. Afterward he visited Malabar, Cranganore, and Quilon, proceeding thence to Ceylon and to the shrine of St. Thomas near Madras.

From India, Odoric sailed in a Chinese junk to Sumatra. He visited various ports on its northern coast before embarking for Java. Thence he seems to have sailed along the coast of Borneo on his way to South Cochin-China and Canton. Thus was the route between China and Persia twice travelled by Italians.

Travels of Odoric.

Leaving Canton the missionary visited in succession the great ports of Fukien, at one of which he found two houses of his order. In one of these he deposited relics of the four friars who had suffered martyrdom in India. Leaving Fuchow he proceeded across the mountains to

Hangkow, then known as *Cansay,* or *Quinsai.* The splendors of this renowned city he described. To a description of Kin-sai, Marco Polo devotes an entire chapter. In it are noticed its canals and streets; its 12,000 bridges and its circumscribing moat. He also estimates the number of inhabitants with their various occupations, their government, their commerce and their somewhat unwarlike character. By him it was considered the largest, the most splendid and the wealthiest city in the world. Marignolli, a Papal legate, has also left us a description of this magnificent city.

By way of the Grand Canal, Odoric went on to Cambulac (Peking). Here he remained for three years attached, it is supposed, to one of the churches founded by that famous friar, John of Monte Corvino, then in extreme old age. Odoric did not return to Europe by water, but by land. He crossed the kingdom of Prester John and Casan. The venturesome missionary seems also to have entered Tibet, and it is believed that he visited Lhasa. Next he is found in northern Persia. His further progress is not so clearly described. It is probable, however, that he passed through Tabriz. Finally he arrived safely in Padua. During much of his travels his companion was one Friar James, an Irishman who had gone to Italy to join the Franciscan order.

"Mandeville" Borrowed from Odoric.

"The fame of his vast journeys," says the *Britannica,* from which is derived much of this outline of Odoric's travels, "appears to have made a much greater impression on the laity of his native territory than on his Franciscan brethren." However this may have been it was at the request of his superior, Giudotto, that Odoric, while at the monastery of St. Anthony of Padua, dictated to Brother William of Solagna an account of his travels. His wondrous journeys and voyages were soon known in Carniola as well as in Friuli. In the Latin, the Italian, the French and other languages there are known to exist seventy-three manuscripts of Odoric's narrative. This fact would indicate that the geographical knowledge contained in it must have become a familiar possession of the Latin and the neighboring races. It was given a still wider circulation by "Sir John Mandeville," who composed his own travels from the account of Odoric and the narratives of others. To this unchivalrous knight we shall refer presently.

After Marco Polo, Odoric of Pordenone is the first European who mentions Sumatra. The cannibalism and the community of wives which he ascribes to its natives belonged to it or to some of the adjacent islands. In his account of

the Chinese he mentions many peculiarities omitted by Polo. He notices the extravagant finger-nails of the natives, the custom of compressing women's feet, and the practice of fishing with tame cormorants.

Friar William at Karakorum.

Another renowned traveller of that epoch was William of Rubrouck, a Franciscan friar, who is believed to have been a native of Rubrouck, in mediaeval French Flanders. All that we know of him is derived from his own narrative and from the statements of his contemporary and brother-Franciscan, Roger Bacon. He was sent to the East by King Louis IX for the purpose of introducing Christianity. St. Louis appears to have sent into Tartary an earlier mission also. So unsuccessful was this embassy, however, that he regretted that he had sent it. Friar William, therefore, disclaimed any official character. He went as far as Karakorum to the court of the Great Kahn. There in the presence of the Khan, and before three umpires, a Christian, a Mohammedan and a Bhuddist, Friar William maintained a public disputation. The Khan seems to have been desirous of discovering the truth of these religions, so that he might adopt the one which was adjudged by his secretaries to have the best foundation in reason. However, no decision was

rendered, probably because the interpreters were unable adequately to state the cause of Christianity. The return, which was made in the summertime, permitted the missionary to take a more northerly route.

Additions to Scientific Geography.

The sprightly and interesting account of Friar William's travels, written for the King of France, made important additions to scientific geography. It also made contributions to ethnography, philology, Asiatic morals and commercial customs. A writer in *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th edition) sees in the account of this missionary, who tells so little of himself, "an honest, pious, stout-hearted, acute and most intelligent observer, keen in the acquisition of knowledge, the author of one of the best narratives of travel in existence. His language indeed is dog-Latin of the most un-Ciceronian quality; but it is in his hands a pithy and transparent medium of expression. . . . He gathered a mass of particulars, wonderfully true or near the truth, not only as to Asiatic nature, geography, ethnography and manners, but as to religion and language."

Giving an example of Friar William's qualifications for observing what was passing before his eyes the same writer has the following:

"The current money of Cathay is of cotton paper, a palm in length and breadth, and on this they print lines like those of Mangu Khan's seal:—*'imprimunt lineas sicut est sigillum Mangu'*—a remarkable expression. They write with a painter's pencil and combine in one character several letters, forming one expression:—*'faciunt in una figura plures literas comprehendentes unam dictionem,'* a still more remarkable utterance, showing an approximate apprehension of the nature of Chinese writing."

Work of Friars Verified.

Without doubt Rubruquis, as he is often called, was the most brilliant and literary of mediaeval travellers. By some modern writers far inferior to him in natural acumen and candor this informal envoy of St. Louis is characterized as an untruthful blunderer. A pseudo-scientific age rejected with almost indiscriminate disdain many mediaeval narratives that possessed all the earmarks of truth. That age has passed away forever. Since 1860 explorers have verified many of the statements that were once cast aside with indignation or contempt.

In 1307 Hetoum, an Armenian of princely family, who became a monk of the Praemonstrant order, dictated his *Historiae Orientis,* a

work on the East, which he was able to prepare from his own extraordinary acquaintance with Asia and its history in his own time. This book made its appearance in the French language.

In the last quarter of the thirteenth century it was not possible for the Pope to send to Cathay as many as one hundred missionaries, the number requested by Kublai Khan. That great ruler expected, no doubt, that the learning and the religion of Europe would assist somewhat in taming the more turbulent of his subjects. The Holy Father could not have been indifferent to the benefits that would result from the conversion of the Tartars. Indeed, the early missions to Mongolia and Karakorum were not unconnected with a fear of Asiatic invasion. This consideration must have been in the mind of Innocent IV, when he sent Friar John of Plano Carpini into the interior of Mongolia, and in the mind of St. Louis also, when he sent William of Rubrouck as far as Karakorum.

John of Monte Corvino.

Marco Polo had scarcely sailed from Zaitum when, in 1295, a Franciscan friar, John of Monte Corvino, began his labors in the most populous part of the pagan world. At first the results of his activity were not encouraging, but to the

missionary it mattered not that success was banished from his field or that hope itself seemed to have fled; he toiled on. Years of endeavor were finally rewarded by a multitude of converts; the faithful Friar was joined by several coadjutors and in time was consecrated Archbishop of Peking, then called *Cambulac*. The beginning of the fourteenth century saw Christianity flourishing in the principal cities of eastern China.

It is impossible to give here even a hasty sketch of Friar John's career. This essay must leave to the student of Church history an account of his attempt under a commission of the Emperor Michael Palaeologus to negotiate with Pope Gregory X for a reunion of the Greek and the Latin churches. He also must do justice to the Franciscan's merits as a missionary in the Nearer as well as in the Middle East, and as an envoy to many of the leading personages in the Mongol world. This study is chiefly interested in his contributions to geographical science.

Christianity in China.

In December, 1291 (or 1292) he wrote the earliest account of the Coromandel coast furnished by any European. When next heard from he is in *Cambulac* or Peking. Thence, on Jan-

uary 8, 1305, and again on February 13, 1306, he wrote letters describing the progress of his missions in the Far East notwithstanding Nestorian opposition. These letters also allude to a Roman Catholic community that he had founded in India and to an appeal that he had received to preach in "Ethiopia." He also describes the overland route from the Black Sea, and the sea-route from the Persian Gulf to Cathay.

In 1303 he was joined by his first colleague, the Franciscan, Arnold of Cologne; in 1307 Pope Clement V created him archbishop of Peking, and sent seven bishops to consecrate and assist him. Of these only three arrived (1308). Three other suffragans were directed to go thither in 1312, and of these at least one reached the East. When at an advanced age this statesman, traveller and missionary died in 1328, heathen vied with Christian in doing him honor. At last far off Cathay was illuminated by the light of the gospel, and, for a moment it seemed as if the religion and the civilization of Europe were about to become established forever among the followers of Confucius.

Intercourse with China Ceases.

But the Mongol dynasty was even then tottering on the verge of destruction; half a century

ended the prosperity of the Christian missions in Cathay, and one hundred and forty years after the death of Jenghiz Khan his feeble descendants were hurled from power by a revolt of the native Chinese. Night came down on the East; Islam recovered control over Central Asia, and again the world of Christendom shrunk to almost its former limits. With the narrow policy that has distinguished them down to our own time the Chinese kept foreigners at a distance. Missionaries, it is true, were regularly sent forth from Avignon or from Rome, but they went out into darkness and were heard of no more.

CHAPTER V.

ITALIAN SUPREMACY IN NAVIGATION.

The geographical conquests described in the preceding section were to a great extent won on land. In the same era, however, there was considerable exploration by sea. As in the overland travel, so in maritime enterprise the republics of Italy were the leaders of Europe. Chief among these city states were: Amalphi, Pisa, Venice, and Genoa in ancient Liguria. The Dorias, the Vivaldi, and the Malocelli of Italy were the Greeks and the Phoenicians of the Middle Ages. In that epoch not a little of the geographical knowledge of the ancients had become a sort of dim tradition.

Italians attempt to find a sea-route to India.

In the year 1270, while the elder Polos were awaiting in Venice the election of a new Pope, Lancelot Malocello discovered the Canaries. In the next decade, between 1281 and 1291, Tedisio Doria and Ugolino de Vivaldi, while trying to

"go by sea to the ports of India to trade there," arrived at Cape Non, in Barbary, and, according to another account, "sailed in the Sea of Ghinoia (Guinea) to a city of Ethiopia." Though they were never heard of after 1312, the fame of these Genoese mariners did not fade in the mists of the Sea of Darkness. Their daring voyage continued long to attract the attention of scientific geography and commerce. These intrepid seamen were the pioneers of Christian exploration toward the South, for in that direction even the hardy Norsemen had never passed the Pillars of Hercules.

Italians Teach Navigation.

As is well known, the first stage of South Atlantic exploration was purely Italian. The second was chiefly marked by the efforts of Spanish states to equip vessels and send out explorers under Genoese captains.[1] In 1317 Emmanuel Passanha, a Genoese, became Admiral of Portugal. In 1341 three ships manned by the Portuguese, "other Spaniards," and Italians left Lisbon to search for the Rediscovered Islands of Malocello. Five days afterward they discovered land. The archipelago then found was probably the Fortunate Islands of

[1]Beazley, *Prince Henry the Navigator*, p. 107.

Greek geography, more familiar to us as the Canaries. Jayme Ferrer left Majorca in 1346 for the River of Gold, but of him and his galley no tidings ever reached Europe.

An English Discovery.

To a later generation (about 1370) belongs the interesting story of an Englishman, Robert Machin, who eloped with Anne d'Arfet from Bristol, and by a relentless northeast wind was driven off the coast of France, which he was attempting to make. After thirteen days his crew sighted Madeira. During the involuntary voyage Machin's mistress had died of terror and exhaustion. Five days later his men laid him beside her; then in the ship's boat, which they had saved, they reached the coast of Africa, where they were promptly enslaved by Barbary pirates. A Spanish fellow-prisoner, who had been ransomed in 1416, was again taken, on his way to Seville, by the Portuguese Captain Zarco, a servant of Prince Henry. In 1420 this enterprising navigator sent Captain Zarco, with his accidental knowledge, on an expedition which re-discovered Madeira. This romance of the sea is told here because of its bearing upon a legend connected with the discovery of America.

French Exploration.

About the voyages of the French predecessors of Prince Henry there is much vagueness. Between 1364 and 1410 the men of Dieppe and of Rouen are said to have opened a regular trade with the coast of Guinea. Concerning the genuine Norman voyage of Béthencourt in 1402 it is different, but this made no contribution to geographical knowledge. Tidings reached Rochelle of visits, accidental and designed, which the Spaniards had made to the Canaries. In July, 1402, Jean de Béthencourt and Gadifer de la Salle left France to conquer in the sea a kingdom for themselves. Owing to a disagreement between the leaders the enterprise was not completely successful. However, several of the islands became Christian colonies. There is nothing in the history of French undertakings of that era to indicate that the mariners of that country had any definite knowledge of either Guinea or the way thither.

Italians Independent of Arabs.

Before the era of the Crusades the scientific geography of Christian Europe was derived mainly from the Greeks. Though the Arabs made but slight addition to the body of classical knowledge, they at least preserved what they

had inherited. From the ninth century forward a growing interest in learning marked many of the Christian countries of Europe. With the impetus given to navigation by the Norsemen and the awakening caused by those huge military invasions of Asia both the mind and the empire of Christendom began to expand. The Christian states, especially those along the Mediterranean, soon became independent of the geographical theory of the Arabs. In the year 1400 Italian mariners used compass, charts, timepiece and astrolabe as well as did Arab seamen.

It is an English monk, Alexander Neckam, of St. Albans, who makes the earliest mention of the "black ugly stone." Writing about 1180 on *The Natures of Things,* he tells us that it was not merely the secret of the learned, but was commonly used by sailors. "When they cannot see the sun in cloudy weather, or at night, and cannot tell which way their prow is tending, they put a Needle above a Magnet which revolves till its point looks North and then stops." It may have been Flavio Gioja, or some other citizen of Amalphi, who fitted the magnet into a box, and by connecting it with a compass-card, made it easily available. Before the time of Prince Henry the Italians as well as their Spanish

pupils were familiar with the use of the mariner's compass.

Italian Science Dominant.

Long after Italian leadership in exploration had passed to the rising western nations, Italian science remained in control of geographical theory. The Venetian charts of the brothers Pizzigani (1367), the maps of the Camaldolese convent at Murano, 1380 and 1459, and the work of Andrea Bianco in 1436 and 1448 were the most important of Mediaeval charts, after the Florentine map of 1351, known as the Laurentian Portulano. Space will not permit even an emuneration of many others that are known. It will be sufficient to state that until after the death of Prince Henry the Navigator, in 1460, Italian draughtsmen held the field. Their supermacy in that and in the succeeding age is skillfully summarized by an able American historian. "Educated men from Venice, Genoa, Pisa and Florence emigrated to other lands, carrying with them science, skill and ingenuity unknown except in the advanced and enterprising Italian city republics and principalities. Italian mathematicians made the calculations on which all navigation was based; Italian cartographers drew maps and charts; Italian ship-builders designed and built the best vessels of the time; Italian cap-

tains commanded them, and very often Italian sailors made up their crews; while at least in the earlier period Italian bankers advanced the funds with which the expeditions were equipped and sent out."[1]

[1]Cheyney, *The European Background of American History*, p. 42.

CHAPTER VI.

PORTUGUESE ACHIEVEMENT.

Portugal Once a Leader.

Were it not that the loss of their possessions has occurred in times so recent, many of the Portuguese nation could scarcely believe that their ancestors had founded a vast colonial empire. Though Portugal still gives laws to distant dependencies, it would not be easy to discover in the revolutionary kingdom of our day any proofs that it was once the home of a giant race of navigators and statesmen. Nevertheless, Portugal had her era of maritime supremacy, a supremacy as unquestioned as was that of Spain or of Britain in later times. It is the purpose of these paragraphs to show not how that supremacy was lost, but in what manner it was acquired.

Henry the Navigator.

Portugal is geographically a part of Spain, and there is a political party in the latter country which believes that there should be in the Iberian peninsula but one government and one state.

Centuries of successful warfare, however, gave the gallant inhabitants of Portugal the right to be a distinct people. When they had waged successful war against the hosts of Islam, they turned their victorious arms against their fellow Christians in Castile. Next there was imposed a long peace upon certain restless elements at home. In its strange and eventful story, crowded though it is with names of note, Henry the Navigator stands out conspicuous and alone. He towers above all the heroes in his country's history.

To the military qualities of his people he gave a new tendency. He stirred to life in them an appetite for knowledge. The result of this awakened interest in matters non-military was the finding of a vast continent beyond the Sahara, the discovery of another continent in the western seas, the opening up of the Indian Ocean to the commerce of Europe and the location of the Moluccas. Indeed, it was the seamanship of a Portuguese that was first to trace a route around the world. In a word, Prince Henry had much to do with the establishment of modern commercial civilization.

For Portugal and for mankind the union of King John I and Philippa, daughter of "time-honored Lancaster," was most fortunate. Of their five sons, Edward the Eloquent, Pedro the Great Regent, Henry the Navigator, John the

Constable, and Ferdinand the Saint, we are now interested in only one.

To his brother Edward, Henry was indebted for assistance in his schemes and for bringing them into fashion at a time when enterprise seemed about to slacken, but his greatest auxiliary was his brother Pedro the Traveller, "who, after visiting all the countries of Western Europe and fighting with the Teutonic knights against the heathen Prussians, brought back to Portugal for the use of discovery that great mass of suggestive material, oral and written, in maps and plans and books, which was used for the first ocean voyages of Henry's sailors."[1]

Henry, surnamed the Navigator, was born March 4, 1394. Notwithstanding attractive offers, while still a youth, he chose the life of a seaman and a student. By the year 1415 he had grown to manhood and had acquitted himself with credit in the campaign which ended in the capture of Ceuta. After that event he established himself in his Naval Arsenal at Sagres, near Cape St. Vincent, where for more than forty years he spent his time considering plans of discovery. Almost annually until his death in 1460 he fitted out expeditions to discover new lands, to add to the greatness of his country and

[1]Beazley, *Prince Henry the Navigator*, p. 136.

to spread the Christian faith. These were the grand objects to which he consecrated his useful life.

Before the age of Prince Henry, Marco Polo had traced the outline of southern Asia, and, as we have seen, at least mentioned Madagascar. Concerning the shape of Africa the designer of the Florentine map (1351) had made a remarkable guess. In his conjecture, the Italian cartographer could not have been assisted by any tradition of the Tyrians whom Pharaoh Necho sent down the coast of Africa six hundred years before Christ. After three years those mariners returned with a story that they found Africa to be an island. In the time of Prince Henry the Arabs still preserved their monopoly of the trade with India.

Prince Henry as a Soldier.

In the year 1415 King John brought together 80,000 Portuguese soldiers and seamen for the siege of Ceuta. Merchant adventurers from England, France and Germany accompanied the expedition. By September of the same year the conquest was so far completed that King John and his chivalrous sons sailed for Portugal, leaving their splendid prize to be defended by a small garrison commanded by a subaltern. Three years later this force was hard pressed as well

by Moors from the back country as by other Moors from Granada. The latter had blockaded the city by a powerful fleet. This circumstance brought Henry, who had taken a leading part in its capture, with a force to the relief of the besieged. The Moors from Granada were cut to pieces and the native Moslems again driven into the interior of Morocco. Henry's second visit was made in the year 1418.

The second expedition confirmed Ceuta in possession of the Christians, but Henry was not content with the victory to which his skill and gallantry so largely contributed. He had concluded, even against the advice of his officers, to attempt the capture of Gibraltar on the opposite shore. With the two Pillars of Hercules in Christian hands commerce would be safer in the western Mediterranean as well as on the Atlantic coast. The conquest of Gibraltar, then, was designed to promote Portuguese exploration in North Africa. However, a storm broke up the fleet of Henry and before it could be reassembled the opportunity had passed.

In his two visits to Ceuta, Prince Henry learned from masters of caravans and from Moorish prisoners much about the interior of Africa. He learned how merchants passed from

Tunis to Timbuctoo and to Cantor, on the Gambia. This inspired him with the idea of seeking those lands by way of the sea. When his captains would reach the mouth of the Senegal, they could identify it by the tall palms growing there. Of this fact he had been told by his "tawny" prisoners. Henry had many reasons for desiring to explore the coast of Guinea:

1. He wanted to know something of the country beyond Cape Bojador. Concerning it there were no reports by sailors and there was no account in books.

2. If there were any good ports or any Christian people in that country, he was anxious to trade there, for European nations had no commerce in those regions.

3. He feared there were no Christians there at all. If not, he could ascertain the strength of the Moors, whom he regarded as stronger in those parts.

4. In all his fighting with the Moors he had never received any assistance from that side of Africa. From this fact he concluded that there were no Christians there. If there were, he wanted to meet them. We are also told that, perhaps, the conclusions of astrology had a share in the Prince's interest.

Finally his great desire was to spread the Christian faith and to redeem the vast tribes

of men dwelling in the regions of the interior. Thus it will be seen that Henry had in mind the conquest of a land empire in North Africa as well as the exploration of its coast.

Systematic Exploration.

Even from a King who was not his father Prince Henry would have been certain to receive some reward for his services in Africa. As it was, he was made Governor for life of the Algarves, the southern province of Portugal. After his appointment, in 1419, he began at once to rebuild and enlarge the old naval arsenal near Point Sagres or Cape St. Vincent. Indeed, even before the capture of Ceuta he had equipped a few expeditions for discovery. With the account of these we are not now concerned. At Sagres, adjacent to the port of Lagos, Prince Henry continued for more than forty years to apply himself to problems of navigation and systematic discovery. Geographical information was reëxamined, maps and nautical instruments were corrected and schemes of discovery thought out by Henry and the experts that he brought round him from many of the enlightened nations of Europe.

Italian and Portuguese Exploration.

On the desolate promontory of Sagres, on three

sides washed by the Sea of Darkness, Prince Henry built for himself a palace, a chapel, a study, an observatory, and, for his helpers, a village. He is said to have secured at much expense the services of one Master Jacome from Majorca, a practical navigator, skilled in the making of both maps and instruments. From Sagres went out sailors well instructed in seamanship and equipped with the theory and rules for designing charts. In a word, Prince Henry improved among the Portuguese the art of map-making and the construction of caravels. His advance was based upon the results achieved by the Italians. The fame of Henry attracted to his settlement mariners of that nation, such as DeNolli and Cadamosto, scientific draughtsmen like Fra Mauro and Andrea Bianco.

First Successes.

The results of the nautical activity at Sagres soon began to be apparent. In 1415 a voyage had been made to the Grand Canary, but, as we have seen, that was already known to the French, as far back as 1402, and had been conquered by Béthencourt. John Gonzalvez Zarco and Tristam Vaz were caught in a tempest near Lagos and carried to Porto Santo (Holy Haven), which they named. On their return to Sagres they reported the island to be worth permanent settle-

ment. In acting upon their recommendation Henry authorized the discoverers and one Bartholomew Perestrello to undertake its colonization. He gave them two ships; also seed-corn, sugar-cane and vines.

It was in returning from Porto Santo, already a Portuguese colony, that Captain Zarco met the Spaniard Morales, who had been a fellow-prisoner of the English seamen that had been driven to the Madeiras. In 1420, with Morales as guide, Zarco sailed from Lagos, found and explored Machin's island, of which he took possession in the name of King John, Prince Henry, and the Order of Christ.

On his return to Portugal, Zarco was enthusiastically received at court and made governor of Madeira for life. Afterward the governorship was made hereditary in his family, while Tristam Vaz was given a captaincy in the northern half of the island. In 1425 Henry began its more systematic colonization. Wood, wheat, dragon's blood, and wine were among the early exports. Family registers were carefully kept and even a census of the little community was ordered by the Prince.

Don Pedro, The Traveller.

Notwithstanding the success of Zarco but little progress had been made in the endeavor to trace

the coast-line south to Guinea. In 1428 Don Pedro, Henry's elder brother, had returned from his travels, bringing with him books and charts and the Mappa Mundi given him in Venice. It is believed that this influenced later voyages to the south and to the west. In 1431 the Portuguese re-discovered the Azores. Up to that time they had made no headway in their efforts to pass the dangerous currents of Cape Bojador. These expeditions were a constant and heavy source of expense and they brought no profits. Though this discouraged the nobility as well as the merchant classes, Henry persevered.

After many Portuguese failures Captain Gil Eannes, in 1434, doubled the barrier of Bojador, and found, contrary to the representations of Arabian geographers, no sea monsters, water unicorns or serpent rocks but tranquil waters and a rich and pleasant land. At last the terrors of the Saracen legends had vanished.

The Land of the Negroes.

In 1435 Baldaya sailed 390 miles beyond Cape Bojador, sent on shore two mounted noblemen who penetrated into the country until they met and fought with nineteen natives armed with assegais. They returned, however, without any prisoners. The captain of the vessel with a stronger party in the ship's boat then rowed up

a river. In taking a prisoner, as he had been instructed to do, Baldaya was not more successful than the two young men who had first been sent on shore. If he was not able to bring back a native to the Prince, he brought tidings interesting to Christendom. Beyond the zone of Islamism that faced Europe in north Africa were wild tribes of negroes. These had been seen and even fought with, but as yet there had been established no intercourse with them.

Loss of Ceuta.

By reason of the death of his father and one of his brothers, Henry found it necessary to assist in ruling the kingdom. For seven or eight years this withdrew him from the work of discovery. This essay is not interested in the second invasion of Morocco, and the consequent loss of Ceuta, or with the quarrels of political factions in Portugal. By 1440 Henry succeeded in restoring peace to the kingdom. After that service he returned at once to Sagres and resumed his work.

Gold Dust from Guinea.

In 1441 Antam Gonsalvez with a single caravel and a small crew sailed far down the African coast and succeeded in capturing a man and a woman. Another Portuguese vessel, under Nuno

Tristam, arrived soon afterwards and a joint expedition into the interior resulted in the capture of about ten other natives. These were taken to Portugal, but later were brought back to Africa for ransom. In this exchange the Portuguese obtained, besides native captives, a little gold dust, the first ever brought by Europeans from the coast of Guinea.

Beginning of the Slave Trade.

The Sahara was soon passed, and a later expedition, in 1448, built a fort which soon became a considerable center of European commerce. This was one of the first steps in modern colonization. The arrival in Portugal of cargoes of gold dust and slaves hushed the murmurs caused by the expense of the Prince's experiments. Without a license no one could trade in the new regions, but permission was applied for and cheerfully granted. In 1444 six caravels set out on an exploring voyage. It was about this time that the African slave trade began to be an element of European commerce.

Henry welcomed the arrival of prisoners, whom he ordered to be treated with all kindness. By educating these and returning them to their homes he had hoped to win all the tribes to Christianity. His captains, however, often overlooked these important considerations and

were frequently ruthless in seizing Moors and Negroes. An English writer says that a Black-Moor hunt came to be regarded, "like the killing of the wild Irish in the sixteenth century," as the best of sport. So easy is it for greed to turn awry the most enlightened plans.

So long as the followers of the Prince were influenced chiefly by the prospects of plunder and the profits of slave-hunting not much could be done for either discovery or Christianity. It was necessary for Henry first to convert his friends to his own lofty principles. Real progress was made "by the slow increase of that inner circle which really shared Henry's own ambition, of that group of men who went out, not to make bargains or do a little killing, but to carry the flag of Portugal and of Christ farther than it had ever been planted before, 'according to the will of the Lord Infant.'"[1]

Man-hunting Retards Discovery.

Some captains had altogether ceased to have any interest in discovery. The voyage of Lançarote, which in all its phases was a man-hunt, resulted in the capture of 235 blacks. When these arrived in Portugal, they were treated with much kindness. The younger were taught

[1]Beazley, *Prince Henry the Navigator*, p. 211.

trades, while those who showed ability to manage property were set free and allowed to marry. Ultimately they all became Christians. Though they seem to have been treated very much like the members of the families with which they lived, it must be remembered that in seizing them there was considerable slaughter, and in allotting them among the captors there was a ruthless separation of families. Henry finally succeeded in imposing some sort of a check upon the buccaneering spirit of those trading on the African coast.

Diaz Reaches Cape Verde.

This is not a history of the institution of slavery in either its gentler or more cruel aspects. Whatever may have been Henry's motives, and they were undoubtedly high, the system permitted hideous excesses. Upon his grand work, systematic exploration, the slave trade acted as a check. Though most explorers turned aside from objects of discovery, one was at last found faithful to the ideals of the Prince. Diniz Diaz passed Cape Blanco, Cape Palmar and other landmarks and entered the mouth of the Senegal. Resuming his voyage he reached Cape Verde beyond which there stretched no western land. After these achievements he returned to Portugal.

By the year 1445 there had grown up in Portugal almost a universal interest in these Guinea voyages, as by that time they began to be called. On August 10, 1446, there sailed from Lagos the largest fleet that had gone down the African coast since the Senate of Carthage had sent Hanno to colonize the country of Guinea. Of caravels, galleys and pinnaces there were twenty-seven. In that armada sailed nearly all the surviving navigators who had won renown in ocean voyages. Joined by three returning vessels the thirty ships with their crews arrived amongst the Moors and after capturing more than half a hundred agreed to separate. Some crews concluded to return at once to Portugal. Six caravels sailed southward until landing on Cape Verde they found carved upon a tree the arms of the Infant and the words of his motto, *Talent de Bien Faire,* two thousand miles from Sagres. This immense fleet accomplished little for discovery.

Voyages continued to be made with great regularity; those members of the crews who landed were in danger of being ambushed or being wounded by the poisoned arrows of the natives, who were both well armed and capable of fighting. However, from the multitude of reports Henry was able so far as concerned the west

African coast to correct the Mappa Mundi; also to perceive that on the part of its designer it was mere conjecture.

Insular Possessions Colonized.

From 1448 to 1460, the last twelve years of Henry's life, but little progress had been made in exploration. There was, however, not a little activity in discovering and colonizing islands of the western archipelagos. In the lifetime of the Prince all the Azores had been found and colonized. It does not seem to have occurred to any of these navigators to seek, as afterwards Columbus sought, islands or mainlands in the boundless seas to the westward. Some of this settlement was made by private enterprise. Among the early colonists were certain Flemings. To that nation belonged Jacques de Bruges, one Van der Haager, and Job van Heurter. In 1431 an expedition of Henry had re-discovered these islands. Sixty years later they contained some thousands of people.

Cadamosto's Discoveries.

In the year 1455 Luigi Ca da Mosto, a Venetian, who had taken refuge at Sagres from a storm, obtained the consent of Prince Henry to

equip at his own expense a vessel for the purpose of trade and discovery. From Lagos, Cadamosto and a Portuguese captain sailed in four days to Porto Santo. A few days later they took their departure for Madeira; then they steered to the Canaries, three hundred and twenty miles distant. From these islands Cadamosto sailed for the mainland. Though he has written an ample account of his voyages as well as of the countries and the peoples that he saw, he made no important discoveries on his first expedition. Finally he returned to Portugal to refit.

Later Cadamosto sailed again for the Canaries; on this voyage he discovered three islands that were unsettled. Thence he steered once more for the mainland and was soon back in the country from which he had recently returned to Portugal. This time his trading venture was more successful, but he made no important discoveries besides the new islands found in the Canaries. He had gone so far south that the North Star had sunk almost to the horizon. The two voyages of this Venetian are well known because he wrote an ample and interesting account of them.

The last of the many expeditions equipped in Henry's lifetime was that intrusted to Diego Gomez. This followed close upon the voyages of Cadamosto. By his kindness and generosity

to the chiefs whom he met, Gomez did much to efface the bad impression which Portuguese slave-hunters had made at the outset. Above all he had promised one of the negro lords of the Guinea regions to bring a missionary to them. This he was unable promptly to do because King Affonso was then conducting in Africa a war which required much of his attention. Finally there were brought together in 1458 the presents promised King Nomimansa. The Abbot of Soto de Cassa was sent as missionary; a member of the royal household also joined the expedition. At this time, 1458, it became necessary to deal harshly with those traders who sold arms to the Moors. One of these offenders was thrown alive into a fire and burned to death. The expedition of Gomez was the last that Henry was destined to see. "In the year of Christ 1460," says his faithful body-servant, Diego Gomez, "the Lord Infant Henry fell sick in his own town, on Cape St. Vincent, and of that sickness he died on Thursday, November 13th, in the selfsame year."

Results of Henry's Expeditions.

Henry's captains had dispersed the monsters of the deep, and had extended the traditional limits far toward the south and the west. His

last enterprise began the conversion of the native Africans, as his earlier ones had commenced their civilization. His trading sites grew into colonies, which tended to make the civilization permanent. These exploits were enough for immortality but to his credit are recorded countless things besides. In modern times he was the originator of continuous and systematic discovery and the founder of a school of navigators whose achievements surpassed anything that he had ever known.

Map of Fra Mauro.

King Affonso V, the nephew of Henry, had done his best to get the great map of Fra Mauro completed. This map, which came out in 1459, was the most comprehensive that was ever seen, and included all the achievements of Henry. The King also undertook to regulate the slave trade; he had the good fortune to be served by Fernando Po and by the pilots Fernandez and Esteeves. The two last named had crossed the equator and were rewarded by a view of the southern heavens. King Affonso dying, his work was taken up by his successor, John II.

St. George da Mina.

The trade of the Guinea coast was secured by the building of a fort at St. George da Mina;

Henry's fort was reconstructed and the unknown portion of the coast designated for exploration. A church also was built at La Mina. In 1484 Diego Cam reached the mouth of the Congo. In the following year he sailed six hundred miles beyond. In 1486 Bartholomew Diaz sailed to explore as much of the undiscovered coast as possible. Envoys were sent to search for Prester John, another expedition was instructed to ascend the Senegal as far as the Nile; finally a fourth party started for Cathay by a north-east passage.

Diaz Rounds Cape of Good Hope.

Beginning in 1486 Bartholomew Diaz, in a single voyage of sixteen months, solved the problem that Henry had proposed to his countrymen seventy years before. Passing Walvisch Bay, the most southerly point reached by Diego Cam, Diaz set up his pillar at a place still known as Diaz Point; thence he sailed on, passing the mouth of the Orange River; steering well out to sea he ran on before the wind hoping that by a great sweep he would be able to pass the end of the continent, which could not now be far off. An antarctic coldness and heavy seas led him to change his course toward the east. Finding, after five days, that there was no land in that direction he sailed northward. At last he saw

the shores of a bay where cowherds were watching their cattle. He then followed the coast for a great distance and found it tending steadily northward. Diaz had sailed far to the south of Africa and was now on its eastern coast. When his ships had reached the Great Fish River, the crew refused to go farther. After setting up his last pillar, Diaz turned back, certain of only one fact; namely, that he had missed the Cape. It was while he was coasting slowly backward and in a despondent state of mind that he sighted the promontory around which lay the route to India. He had gone beyond it five hundred miles.

Exploring East Africa.

At the time that Diaz was returning around the Cape of Good Hope, Covilham and his companions had left Lisbon for the purpose of exploring the northern coasts of the Indian Ocean. After visiting Calicut on one side and Mozambique on the other, Covilham wrote home, "If you persist, Africa must come to an end. And when ships come to the Eastern Ocean let them ask for Sofala and the island of the moon (Madagascar), and they will find pilots to take them to Malabar."[1] King John's Cathay fleet

[1]Beazley, *Prince Henry the Navigator*, p. 319.

found not a north-east passage to China but a frozen island off the north coast of Asia. This was named Nova Zemlaia or Nova Zembla.

Portuguese Reach India.

The great work begun by Prince Henry was approaching completion. In 1497 Vasco da Gama made the outward voyage to India and by 1499 had returned. The exploit of Bartholomew Diaz, the greatest before the time of Columbus, had been forgotten in the national rejoicing over this fulfilment of the Infant's dream. This essay will not consider the manner in which Affonso d'Albuquerque founded for Portugal a vast colonial empire.

Consequences of Henry's Systematic Work.

European forts and settlements were soon established on both the western and eastern coasts of Africa. Ormuz, Ceylon, Goa and Malacca were all in Christian hands. Subjects of Lisbon kings travelled in Japan, the Zipangu of Marco Polo and Columbus, and as early as 1517 opened up a trade with Cathay, then called China. These achievements do not indicate, however, the full extent of Portuguese activity in that stirring epoch. By the year 1520 Alvarez and other Catholic missionaries had made a complete ex-

ploration of Abyssinia, in Malabar millions of natives were converted by St. Francis Xavier and other Jesuits, and at a later time (1599) the old Christian Church of India united with Rome. All of these consequences, and a multitude that cannot be even enumerated, resulted from the great exploring and colonizing movements set on foot by Prince Henry the Navigator. A few words concerning his character and the motives which sustained him in his grand ambition will conclude this summary of Portuguese triumphs.

When in their progress southward Portuguese navigators passed Cape Bojador an account of their discoveries was promptly conveyed to the Pope. The approval of these enterprises was solicited, and Henry, forseeing that many voyages would follow, prayed for a "concession in perpetuity to the crown of Portugal of whatever lands might be discovered beyond Cape Bojador to the Indies inclusive," especially submitting to His Holiness that "the salvation of the natives was the principal object of his labors." The Holy Father promptly complied with the Prince's petition. A bull then issued was afterward confirmed by Popes Nicholas V and Sixtus IV. The limit of each expedition was appropriately marked by a stone cross, and the navigator who erected it farthest south was invariably rewarded by the generosity of Henry. Notwithstanding

the approbation of the Church and the inducements of the Prince, it required more than fifty years for the mariners of that day to creep southward along the five thousand miles of African coast. As he repeatedly states in his letters, it was neither the wish to extend the dominions of Portugal nor the desire to engage in profitable trade with the natives of Africa that sustained for a lifetime his noble efforts. Though not indifferent to the advantages which his country derived from those discoveries, Prince Henry's great anxiety was to confer on the heathen the blessings of Christianity.

CHAPTER VII.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE AND THEORY OF COLUMBUS.

Genesis of the Project of Columbus.

Thus far this essay has been considering a few of the landmarks of history. Concerning their large outlines there is little disagreement. Even in the field of Norse achievement there is much unanimity. It is mainly in the details that the authorities differ. Now we enter a zone in which there is much speculation. Here seem fewer resting-places for the careful student. Objective facts are easy to record and to examine; the operations of the human mind are not so. Our problem is nothing less than to describe the genesis of the grand project of Columbus. Its elements may be stated, but precisely how his intellect turned into shape the mass of facts collected by his industry, we shall probably never know. Indeed, we seldom know much about beginnings. When, for instance, we believe that we have at last traced to the place of its origin some beautiful literary expression, a little re-

search discovers it farther away, more dim, perhaps, but scarcely less elegant. Greater perseverance will enable us to locate it in a region still more distant, but it is not often that we discover the native land of beauty. The project of Columbus, however, possessed none of the conventional characteristics of literature, nor was it to be worked out by the art of the engineer, who, by a succession of improvements upon a familiar contrivance, constructs a machine novel in design and charged with new functions.

After glancing at the slight sketch of Portuguese achievement, given in the preceding section, the reader will not be surprised to find Christopher Columbus trying his fortunes amongst a people already renowned in colonization and discovery. It appears to have been sometime between 1471 and 1476, when the maritime activity of Portugal was approaching its zenith, and just before the navigators of that nation accomplished their greatest exploits, that he arrived in Lisbon. Diego Cam had not yet reached the mouth of the Congo, while the epoch-making voyage of Bartholomew Diaz was at least a decade in the future.

The Youth of Columbus.

From the moment of his birth until the hour

of his death almost every important event in the career of Columbus has been a battle-ground for historians. Many different dates have been assigned for his birth, and various places have competed for that honor. The rank of his family and even its identity have been disputed. Neither the manner nor the extent of his education has been shown with any degree of certainty. Even after he had ceased to be obscure the same ill-fortune attended him. Indeed, one of the most interesting events of his entire career, the equipment of that memorable expedition which discovered America, is not yet known in all its important details. It is not improbable that some day it will be. Finally there exists a little doubt as to the present resting-place of his remains. Columbus is not, however, the only illustrious person about whom we should like to be better informed. The fact that Shakespeare, unchallenged monarch in the realm of letters, is believed to have been educated in the grammar school at Stratford fails for many to explain his undoubted superiority in eloquence and poetry. Notwithstanding all this doubt concerning Columbus many facts have been well established by the researches of four centuries.

From the information now in our possession it appears that Christopher Columbus, the great-

est navigator of recorded time, was born about the year 1446.[1] It is true that the date 1451 is supported by the fact that in 1470 he signed a legal document, and that the formal statement was then made that he was upwards of nineteen years of the age.[2] It has likewise been established that the place of his birth was Genoa, in Italy. By occupation his parents were simple weavers, as he was himself. Indeed, it is probable that all his kinsmen were artisans. He does not seem to have been sent to any university, but received such an education as was given to the sons of plain people. If Columbus had been a boy of average mental power, this instruction would not have done much for him. He was not, however, a common youth, but a young man of genius, and we seldom know precisely how men of genius accomplish what they do. In some way, not yet known to us, Columbus mastered in a few years not only the entire art of navigation but he learned the Latin language and read voluminously in the geographical works written in that tongue.[3] It may be true, as is sometimes said, that his writings exhibit some indifference to the rules of Latin grammar. It was not, however, in the commonwealth of letters that Columbus won

[1]Bourne, *Spain in America*, p. 9.

[2]Vignaud, *Real Birth-date of Columbus*, pp. 74-101.

[3]Bourne, *Spain in America*, p. 9.

immortality. He left to posterity no fine poem, no splendid oration. His achievement was of greater epic grandeur.

His Reading.

After he had attained to his twentieth year he was still working at his trade as a weaver. Precisely when and under what circumstances he did his reading, we do not know. Concerning the nature of his studies, however, there can be no sort of doubt. He read with microscopic eye the *General History and Geography* of Aneas Sylvius,[1] later Pope Pius II. When this author states that the frigid and the torrid zones are uninhabitable, Columbus notes that this is disproved by the voyages of the Portuguese in the south and by the English and the Germans, who sail the northern seas.

Another work that he had read with attention was the *Image of the World,*[2] a vast compilation by Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly. When this prelate and philosopher asserts that the torrid zone is uninhabitable because of the excessive heat, Columbus writes this note on the margin: "It is not uninhabitable, because the Portuguese sail through it; in fact, it is teeming with people, and near the equator is his Serene Highness the King

[1] *Historia Rerum Ubique Gestarum* (Venice in 1477).
[2] *Imago Mundi,* printed between 1480 and 1483.

of Portugal's castle of *Mine,* which we have seen." Of all the statements of Pierre d'Ailly perhaps none impressed Columbus more than the quotation from Aristotle that "between the end of Spain and the beginning of India the sea is small and navigable in a few days."

Columbus scanned the Scriptures with as much care as he had examined the two authors mentioned. Indeed, he seems to have consulted all the serious books that he believed would assist in solving the problems that he was considering. About 1485 there was published, at Antwerp or Gouda, a Latin version of the travels of Marco Polo. Perhaps this book was for the purpose of Columbus the most important of all. In his Latin notes written on the margins of these volumes there is revealed an unusual interest in the East and a disposition to set right, by his own experience and knowledge, the accepted notions of geography.

Interest in Western Lands.

Books did not solve for Columbus all the problems of geography. Every sign that he had observed, as well as every indication brought to his attention of the existence of land beyond the western isles, he carefully noted. He also recorded the reports of voyages of exploration. "In the case of no navigator of that age or

earlier," says an eminent authority, "is there such impressive evidence of protracted study of all available sources of information in regard to any specific problem of geographical exploration."[1] Much, if not all, of this preparatory work was done while he was living in Portugal, whither he had gone early in his nautical career.

During 1479 or 1480 Columbus married one Felipa Moniz Perestrello, a kinswoman of Bartholomew Perestrello, one of Prince Henry's navigators. They removed from Lisbon to the island of Porto Santo, where, it is believed, they lived for a time with Isabel Moniz Perestrello, the mother of Felipa. Precisely at what date we do not know, but almost certainly after the marriage, Columbus received from his mother-in-law the papers, maps, and charts of her deceased husband, who had himself been a considerable traveller. This incident, it appears, determined the vocation of Columbus for maritime discovery. At any rate, his friend Las Casas and his son Ferdinand explicitly state that it was this circumstance which determined him to devote himself to exploration. Except for its bearing upon a singular story, presently to be related, it matters little whether Columbus lived in Lisbon or in Porto Santo, for it would not have been possible

[1] Bourne, *Spain in America*, p. 11.

for him altogether to have escaped the universal interest in exploration. It is certain that he made several voyages, in Portuguese ships, to the coast of Guinea and that in the opposite direction he sailed to the British Isles.

Proofs of Existence of Western Lands.

In his *History of the Indies,* Las Casas tells us distinctly that Columbus derived much information from the maps and charts of Perestrello, and he adds that the future discoverer made the Guinea voyages to learn in a practical way the Portuguese method of navigating the African coast. Las Casas learned this from Diego, the son of Columbus. Other interesting statements are made by Ferdinand Columbus, who wrote the life of his father. "It was not only, " says his son and biographer, "this opinion of certain philosophers, that the greater part of our globe is dry land that stimulated the admiral; he learned also from many pilots, experienced in the western voyages to the Azores and the island of Madeira, facts and signs which convinced him that there was an unknown land towards the west. Martin Vicente, pilot of the King of Portugal, told him that at a distance of four hundred and fifty leagues from Cape St. Vincent, he had taken from the water a piece of wood sculptured very artistically, but not with an

iron instrument. This wood had been driven across by the west wind, which made the sailors believe that certainly there were on that side some islands not yet discovered. Pedro Correa, brother-in-law to the admiral, told him, that near the island of Madeira he had found a similar piece of sculptured wood, and coming from the same western direction."[1]

The colonists of the Azores are said to have related that during protracted west winds the sea, especially in the islands of Graciosa and Fayal, threw up pines of a foreign species. Others told that one day on the shores of the island of Flores there were found the dead bodies of two men whose features differed entirely from the features of Europeans. Whatever may have been wafted across the Atlantic in the fifteenth century, in our time not only tropical seeds from America but the remains of cargoes wrecked in the West Indies are deposited annually on the coasts of Ireland, of the Hebrides, and of Norway.[2] With the facts and the fictions of the western isles we may be sure that Columbus was well acquainted. He disdained no source of information.

For more than fifty years before the arrival

[1]Major, *The Life of Prince Henry of Portugal Surnamed the Navigator*, p. 348.

[2]Humboldt, *Examen Critique*, II, 246-251.

of Columbus in Lisbon the Portuguese had been interested in the problem of finding a water route to India, but there was nothing new about that undertaking, because his own countrymen, Doria and Vivaldi, had made the attempt as early as the thirteenth century. What was novel in the enterprise of the Portuguese was the scientific manner in which they attacked this ancient problem. They patiently traced the coast-line of west Africa; they sought a northeast route around the Scandinavian peninsula, and discovered Nova Zembla; they likewise sent a party to explore the east African coast, and by its leader were urged to persevere in their work. As we have seen, the Portuguese, by following their own plans, finally met with perfect success.

An eager mind like that of Columbus must soon have become acquainted with the chief results of Portuguese maritime activity. In some of their voyages he had participated. Up to 1471, one of the earliest dates assigned to his arrival in Portugal, the success of their attempts to reach India by either the southeastern or the northeastern route was not encouraging. At any rate, the Portuguese method of working out the problem does not appear to have attracted Columbus. In the annals of Portugal he does not appear as a leader in any undertaking, or

as an applicant for a command in any expedition following the usual courses taken by its mariners.

The slender measure of success thus far achieved by Portuguese navigators may have been one of the circumstances that contributed to turn the thoughts of Columbus in a different direction, or confirmed him in conclusions that he had already reached. After all, the cardinal points of the compass are soon exhausted. The overland routes to India and Cathay had been abandoned because, after the fall of Constantinople, they were deemed too hazardous for commerce. By way of the northeast or the southeast success seemed distant; only the western route was left, and one is puzzled to understand why the Portuguese navigators, with their undoubted courage and seamanship, had never tried it. The Greek theory of the sphericity of the earth could not have been unknown to the scientists who surrounded Prince Henry, but in it they had no practical belief.

From our present information on the subject it seems certain that the idea of a westward voyage to the countries of the Grand Khan was never urged upon the consideration of a Portuguese or other European ruler until the moment when Columbus submitted his plan to King João. About the time of his leaving Palos,

August, 3, 1492, he wrote in his *Journal* that his Sovereigns had commanded him to go to the East, not by land, as was customary, but by way of the west, "whence until to-day we do not know certainly that any one has gone."

Opinion of Eratosthenes.

In a preceding section it was said that during the period of Macedonian ascendency, when western Asia was somewhat Hellenized, the Greeks became familiar with all those countries between the river Indus and the Mediterranean Sea. Of course, it was not intended to state that this was their first contact with Asia. More than two centuries before Christ, Eratosthenes[1] of Alexandria not only knew of the existence of India but actually discussed the possibility of going thither by a voyage from Spain. We have seen that the Phoenicians sailed still earlier in the Mediterranean and in their era of prosperity maintained a trade with India. In examining the theory of Eratosthenes, Strabo,[2]

[1]Eratosthenes was born about 276 and died in the year 194 B. C.

[2]Strabo, born about 63 B. C., had before him the results of Eratosthenes, Hipparchus, and Posidonius. The chief conclusions of astronomers concerning the sphericity and the dimensions of the earth, its relation to the celestial bodies, and the great circles of the globe were then considered as well established. The passage quoted is from Book I, of Strabo, p. 85, ch. 65.

another eminent Greek scientific writer, has the following remarkable commentary:

"And so, if the great extent of the Atlantic Ocean did not stand in the way, it would be possible for us to sail on the same parallel line from Spain to India: and that which would be left beyond this distance would not exceed a third part of the entire globe: since the circle drawn through Sina on the parallel which we reckon our distance from India to Spain is less than 200,000 stadia. Here also he [Eratosthenes] does not reason correctly—for speculation concerning that part of the temperate zone in which is the habitable earth is the province of those who understand mathematics, but not so concerning this (so we call that part which we inhabit and of which we have knowledge. But there may be two or more habitable lands in the temperate zone and especially in the neighborhood of the parallel which passes through Sina and the Atlantic Ocean.)"

From this passage, which contains the speculations of at least two of the great geographers of antiquity, it is clear that the Greeks knew something of the world, around them, and that the notion of the sphericity of the earth is not a modern one.

The Latin Poet Seneca.

As may be seen from the following verses of

Seneca, the Romans, too, were dreaming on things to come. This poet inspires the *chorus* in *Medea* to extol the courage of those mariners and travellers who had ventured on the boundless deep before the motions of the stars were known and before the felon winds were named. Since the expedition of the Argonauts, he tells us, the sea is open to all. There is now no need of a vessel shaped by the hand of Pallas. All sorts of craft sail the soundless seas. The poet then contrasts the earliest navigations with those of his own time, when the East and the West come close together. In our travelled world nothing remains as it was, for every boundary has been removed and new cities have sprung up in a new land. To-day the Indian drinks of the icy Araxes,[1] the Persians quaff the waters of the Elbe and the Rhine. Then there shall come a time when the ocean shall break its bounds and a vast world shall appear, and Tiphys[2] shall discover new lands and Thyle[3] shall no longer be the most distant part of the earth.

[1]The Aras, a river of Armenia.

[2]Tiphys was the pilot of the ship of the Argonauts.

[3]Iceland, an island situated between the north and the west seas, the most distant point in that direction which was known to the Romans.

Nunc iam cessit pontus et omnes
patitur leges: non Palladia
compacta manu regum referens
inclita remos quaeritur Argo—
quaelibet altum cumba pererrat;
terminus omnis motus et urbes
muros terra posuere nova
nil qua fuerat sede reliquit
pervius orbis:
Indus gelidum potat Araxen,
Albin Persae Rhenumque bibunt.
venient annis saecula seris,
quibus Oceanus vincula rerum
laxet et ingens pateat tellus
Tethysque novos detegat orbes
nec sit terris ultima Thule.[1]

Columbus Knew the Prophecy in Seneca.

Columbus was greatly impressed by this celebrated passage. In 1501 he began the preparation of his manuscript work, *De Las Profecias*. In it these verses of Seneca are twice quoted by the discoverer, and he adds to them a Spanish translation. Without doubt Columbus, saw himself selected by the centuries as the instrument in the fulfillment of this prophecy. This is no

[1] *Medea*, Act II (chorus), lines 364-379.

fanciful opinion of the author of this essay. It is a fact familiar to the students of the great epoch of discovery that in the library of Ferdinand Columbus at Seville there was found a copy of Seneca, published in Venice during the year 1510. In it, on the margin opposite the lines quoted, may be read in the handwriting of the discoverer's son: "Haec prophetia expletă ē per patrē meum, Christoforū Columbū Almirātē Anno 1492."[1]

From his writings we know that Columbus was familiar with all that the ancients, both poets and philosophers, had written concerning the probable sphericity of the earth and of its having in the antipodes not only land but people. As a student, if not a maker of maps he must have seen charts showing the location of those legendary islands in the Atlantic, *viz.*, the island of the Seven Cities, Atlantis and the isle of St. Brandon. Indeed, these fabled islands held their ground not only in popular imagination but in "the cards of navigation" until the eve of the discovery of America, for we read in William de Worcestre that as late as June 15, 1480 a ship, equipped at the cost of John Jay, junior, left Bristol, England in search of the imaginary islands of Brazil, and of the Seven Cities. The

[1]Thacher, *Columbus*, I, 170.

reader need not be told that commander Thomas Llyde or Lloyd returned, after a considerable voyage, without having made any discovery.[1] To him Hy-Brasail, "on the ocean's blue rim," must have looked, as it did to the Connaught boatman, "like an Eden, away, far away." To Columbus, as to many of his contemporaries, the names of these enchanted islands must have been familiar.

Asiatic Islands Known to Europeans.

Europeans knew of other islands, somewhat shadowy, it is true, but of undoubted existence. Marco Polo without having visited Zipangu (Japan), mentions it as an island in the eastern ocean, 1500 miles from the coast of Manji.[2] He tells us that, in 1264 A. D., Kublai Khan undertook its conquest. Mention is also made of considerable commerce between that great kingdom and Cathay. The Sea of Chin, in which Zipangu is situated, was reported to contain no fewer than 7,440 islands, mostly inhabited. If this oriental estimate included the Moluccas, it does not appear so extravagant. *En route* to

[1]Harrisse, *John Cabot (the Discoverer of North America) and Sebastian His Son,* p. 42.

[2]From Ning-po the distance to the nearest part of the southern island is 1,500 *li,* or Chinese miles. This is equivalent to about 500 Italian miles.

Persia the Polos sailed through the Malay archipelago. Again between 1318 and 1326 Odoric of Pordenone touched at some of the more important islands of this group. In a word, Europeans knew of the existence of many islands off the coast of Asia and from long residence in China they learned much concerning those that they had not seen. If Columbus did not obtain his information from the narratives of the friars, and he appears to have known nothing of them, it was easy for him to get it from the "Travels of Sir John Mandeville," a work compiled from the accounts of the Franciscan missionaries and from the writings of others. In the mind of Columbus, then, there were two groups of islands wide apart, the imaginary ones off the coast of Europe, and those beyond Cathay. We have no evidence, however, that he applied for an expedition to seek out the fabulous ones. This is the more singular because he is usually represented as a dreamer.

"Sir John Mandeville."

It is not the purpose of this essay to discuss the mystery of "Mandeville." It is, perhaps, sufficient to state that it is now generally believed by experts that this alleged English knight

was an educated physician of Liége, one Jehan à la Barbe, otherwise John de Bourgogne, who wrote one or two essays on aspects of his own science, and who assisted in compiling those imaginary travels so long ascribed to an English name. In all probability his principal voyages and journeys were prudently made in the books of actual travellers and, to adapt the fine phrase of John Locke, within sight of the smoke of his own chimney. It is remarkable that Thacher, one of the ablest and the most industrious of American Columbian students, should not have suspected the real nature of Mandeville's work.[1] We shall leave to historians of English literature the task of finding some new candidate for the distinction of being "the father of English prose." "Sir John's" connection with either English literature or oriental travel appears to have been exceedingly slender. For the purpose of this study, however, it does not make the slightest difference whether he had ever left Liége.[2] His book, which had an extraordinary popularity, was based upon the narratives of some of the greatest travellers of all time.

[1] *Columbus*, I, 170 (note).

[2] It is possible that he travelled to Egypt or Palestine. He was never in Cathay.

Influence of Marco Polo.

We cannot say to what extent Columbus was influenced by the antique legends of an enchanted Brazil or a lost Atlantis. They find no place in his petitions or his projects. We do not know whether he was especially influenced by the Travels of Sir John Mandeville, but we do know that he was profoundly impressed by the narrative of Marco Polo. Somewhere in the illimitable waste of waters that separates Spain from Zipangu (Japan) were the imaginary islands of fable; there were also unnumbered real islands in the Sea of Chin. This he already knew; grander things he was destined to know. Portuguese pilots who had sailed amongst the western isles had seen signs that they understood not; but things dumb to them spoke to Columbus. Up to that happy hour it was in vain that wind and wave had telegraphed a message from the West. Other men than Columbus had doubtless perceived dimly the possibility of finding in the Sea of Darkness islands more remote than any which had yet been found by the Portuguese, for almost every expedition widened somewhat the field of knowledge. The merit of Columbus is not that he confidently expected to find islands and mainland as he sailed across the Atlantic, but that, ignoring the splendid work of the Portuguese, his mind

grasped the grand design of reaching the East by sailing westward.

The Toscanelli Correspondence.

According to the narratives of Las Casas and Ferdinand Columbus, the idea was first suggested by letters of the Florentine physician and astronomer, Paolo del Pozzo Toscanelli, which they reproduce. On this interesting subject, the late Professor E. G. Bourne says:

"From the first of these documents, written in June, 1474, we learn that Toscanelli's friend, Fernam Martins, living in Lisbon and interested in the Portuguese efforts to reach the Indies by way of Africa, had brought before King Alfonso the opinion he had heard Toscanelli express that it would be a much shorter way to the Indies to sail due west. The King then desired to hear from Toscanelli the reasons for such a view. The astronomer's reply contained in the first letter could have afforded little assurance to Alfonso, for there is no reasoned argument in it, but merely a series of assertions unsupported by evidence, followed by an alluring description of the wealth of the Orient derived from Marco Polo. The text was accompanied by a chart divided into equal spaces which depicted the Atlantic as bounded on the west by the coast of Asia. This map is no

longer extant, and almost all reproductions of it are merely reproductions of the Atlantic Ocean side of Behaim's globe, 1492, reduced to what is supposed to be the projection devised by Toscanelli."[1]

This letter, it is supposed, was brought to the notice of Columbus some time after 1474 and suggested to him the grand project, which afterward became a part of him. He then wrote to Toscanelli of his desire to go to the East, and, in reply, received a copy of the letter to Canon Martins and a chart similar to the one which accompanied his first letter. Later Toscanelli wrote again to Columbus, but without giving any further information as to the course. Within recent years the genuineness of this correspondence has been challenged. Some maintain that the letters are the forgery of a later time, and were "designed to give to Columbus's voyage the character of a reasoned scientific experiment and the dignity of the patronage of a renowned scholar." Admitting that the Toscanelli letter is genuine, it gave Columbus no information concerning the East or the route thither that is not more fully given "in the passages in Pierre d'Ailly and Marco Polo that he annotated in the margin or copied." To

[1] *Spain in America*, pp. 12-13.

Toscanelli may be given the credit of suggesting the westward voyage, and that is all, even if the letters ascribed to him were actually his compositions. In the marked passages in his own books Columbus had accumulated a larger and a far more convincing body of facts than is to be found in the Toscanelli letters. The great Florentine, it is true, had won fame in other fields, but he told neither Canon Martins nor Columbus anything that was not easily accessible. If a forgery were committed, and that there was a fabrication is far from being satisfactorily proved, it must have been devised by some admirer of Columbus. His work proclaims the alleged fabricator undisputed master among blunderers. When he was inventing the Toscanelli letters, why did he not claim for Columbus the sole merit of suggesting the idea of a westward voyage to the realms of the Grand Khan? If one's admiration for a kinsman or a favorite lead one to lie for the enlargement of his fame, why should one lie in moderation? There would have been nothing amazing in ascribing to Columbus himself the sole credit of orignating the idea. Indeed, after his great exploit it would not have been questioned, and it is at a time subsequent to the discovery that the alleged forgery is fixed. Who was the fabricator? Why was the so-called

forgery never put to any sort of use? If a fabrication, it was a strange and a purposeless one.

A Portuguese Estimate of Columbus.

The archives of Portugal furnish no information concerning either Columbus or Toscanelli. For our knowledge of the attempt of Columbus to obtain the support of King John we are indebted not to the public records but to the narrative of the Portuguese historian, Barros, who wrote about two generations later. According to this authority "Christovão Colom, a Genoese by birth, an experienced and eloquent man, a good Latin scholar, but very boastful, had convinced himself by his studies and by his reading of Marco Polo that it would be practicable to reach the island of Cipango and other unknown lands by sailing west." Though the King did not believe him, yet, on account of his persistence, he referred the stranger to the bishop of Ceuta, and two physicians, expert cosmographers. We are further told that they regarded the words of Columbus as empty talk, because it all rested on fancy and description of Marco Polo's Cipango. This is not the place to discuss the expedition fitted out by King John to test the correctness of the opinions of Columbus. The royal captain discovered nothing.

Leaves Portugal.

The biographers of Columbus assert that in the year 1484 he left Portugal in secrecy and haste. It is known that as early as 1478 he was living in Lisbon and was then engaged in commerce, and it has been surmised that debts contracted at that time explain his sudden departure from the country. Fancy can assign other reasons for his haste. From our present knowledge we can speak with little certainty concerning this event. Some day we may know more about it. After 1484 official chroniclers give us an occasional notice of his residence in Spain.

In Spain he persistently advocated his project. When at last he grew weary of waiting, he sent his brother Bartholomew to England in order to interest King Henry VII, its enterprising ruler. Thus far there has been found in the British archives no record of that visit. We have few particulars of this journey. When Bartholomew Columbus was returning to Spain, he was informed in Paris that his brother had discovered some great lands that were called the Indies. Precisely what Columbus did during these seven years (1485-1491) we do not know. In various

ways biographers and historians have filled up the interval. It is almost certain that Columbus reëxamined his conclusions as well as the reasons on which they were based, and that he extended somewhat the wide geographical reading which he had done in Portugal. Of course, he labored to enlist in support of his enterprise as many persons of influence as would grant him a hearing. In a letter recounting his third voyage for Ferdinand and Isabella he wrote: "I gave the subject six or seven years of great anxiety. At the same time I thought it desirable to bring to bear on the subject the sayings and opinions of those who have written on the geography of the world."[1]

A Guest of the Duke of Medina Celi.

Thacher, an eminent student of this era, believes that Columbus left Portugal not in 1484 but in 1485, and that on going into Spain he carried his little son Diego to the house of his sister-in-law, the wife of one Miguel Muliar, of Huelva. An interesting letter written by Luis de la Cerda, Duke of Medina Celi, to the Grand Cardinal of Spain accounts in a general way for the whereabouts of Columbus from about 1485

[1]Major, *Select Letters of Columbus*, p. 109.

to 1487. The Duke takes credit to himself for having detained Columbus in his house during a period of two years, when the Admiral was considering a journey to France in order to secure aid in his project. This nobleman also states that he directed Columbus to the service of her Highness, who gave him over to Alonso de Quintanilla. This statement of the Duke is corroborated by the historian Oviedo, who says that Columbus "was better received by this gentleman [Quintanilla] and found him more interested than any man in Spain."[1] The Duke's statement that Isabella turned over Columbus to the care of Alonso de Quintanilla and the opinion expressed by Oviedo are supported by the scanty records of the period. On May 5, 1487 Christopher Columbus, a foreigner, received 3,000 maravedis on account of some services and by the warrant of Alonso de Quintanilla, First Treasurer of the Catholic Sovereigns. "En dicho dia (5 de Mayo de 1487) dí á Cristóbal Colomo, extrangero, tres mil maravedis, que está acquí faciendo algunas cosas compliderας al servicio de sus Altezas, por cédula de Alonso de Quintanilla, con manda-

[1] *Historia General*, lib. ii, cap. v.

miento del Obispo (de Palencia)."[1] From this testimony it would seem that the two years preceding May, 1487 was the period during which Columbus was the guest of the Duke of Medina Celi.

Another friend of Columbus was Juan Cabrero. Las Casas tells of his goodness to Columbus. In a memoir Martin Cabrero says of his uncle Juan "That he was the principal cause of the undertaking of the affair of the Indies and of their acquisition, and if it were not for him, the Indies would not have been discovered, at least for the benefit of Castile."[2] It would be necessary to take this statement with considerable allowance were it not that we have independent testimony as to its correctness. Columbus had still another powerful friend. In a letter of December 21, 1504, the Admiral wrote his son Diego: "We must strive to learn whether the Queen, whom God has in His keeping, said anything about me in her will and we must hurry the Lord Bishop of Palencia, who caused the possession of the Indies by their Highnesses and my remaining in Castile, for I was already on my way to leave it. And the

[1]Navarrete, *Coleccion De Los Viajes Y Descubrimientos*, II, p. 8-9.

[2]Navarrete, III, 315.

Lord Chamberlain of his Highness must also be hurried."

Influential Friends of Columbus.

Las Casas had heard it boasted that Fra. Diego de Deza and Cabrero were the two persons that persuaded Ferdinand and Isabella to undertake the expedition of discovery. Diego de Deza had been Professor of Theology in the University of Salamanca, tutor to Prince Juan, confessor to the Queen, Bishop successively of Salamanca, Jaen, and Palencia. He was afterward made Archbishop of Seville. In the letter describing his third voyage the Admiral alludes to the ridicule that had been placed upon his project, excepting two "brothers" always firm. One of these constant friends was Antonio de Marchena, of whom we know little. He has been wrongly identified with the good priest, Juan Perez of La Rabida, another tried friend of Columbus. It is clear that the future discoverer was not so friendless as rhetoricians have described him nor so destitute of character as some modern historians would have us believe. Something there was about him that won him the support of many of the most eminent men of Spain. A mere adventurer would hardly have fared so well. Moreover, Columbus brought with him a

project that he had matured, and the grandest that the world had seen. When it was too late, the King of Portugal invited Columbus (March 20, 1488) to return to that kingdom.

With many readers the sacred legends and the hallowed pictures of school books are treasured through life. If they are not cherished during all their days, these early impressions yield but reluctantly to the assaults of science. When, for example, the expert in colonial history tells us that Pocahontas did not save the life of Captain John Smith, in fancy we still see the swarthy maiden of the forest and the poised club of the warrior. Generations of readers have seen another picture, which is founded on even fewer historical facts. It is one that represents Columbus standing before an official gathering of learned men, for the most part priests. He is expounding his project to hostile ears, himself the object of scorn and jest. The scene is always laid in Salamanca. "The imagination of some historians," says Thacher, "has peopled this chamber with University Professors and theological teachers who disputed every argument of Columbus with narrow and impossible references to the fathers of the Church and the writers on cosmography: and then when the decision was adverse to the project the great University of Salamanca is held up to ridicule

as the seat of bigotry and ignorance."[1] It is true that the Spanish Sovereigns referred the project of Columbus to certain learned men, and that many of these men were ecclesiastics. Las Casas says that Ferdinand and Isabella asked the opinion of the Grand Cardinal, Pero Gonzales de Mendoza, Diego de Deza, Alonso de Cardenas, the Prior of Prado, and Juan Cabrero. According to his own statement, Dr. Rodrigo Maldonado also was a member of this Council, which is said to have been held at Salamanca in the Dominican convent of St. Stephen. From the facts now in our possession it is not at all certain that any representative of the Faculty of the University of Salamanca, except the Dominican, Diego de Deza, was a member of this famous Junta. That priest, who was Professor of Theology in the University, is believed by all eminent students of that era to have been one of the most constant as well as the most influential among the friends of Columbus. From several sources we know that this consultation developed strong opposition to the enterprise proposed by Columbus, but it is not easy to perceive how that opposition reflects in any way upon the learning of the University.

The Council of Salamanca is believed to have

[1] *Columbus*, I, 419.

met in 1486 or 1487. In the years that followed, Columbus was oppressed by cares and doubts. Even hope no longer cheered his troubled way. The dreary years wore on. It was about December of 1491 that the second Junta assembled. One of its members, Alessandro Geraldini, gives the place of meeting as Iliberis (Granada). Perhaps it was in the fortified camp of Santa Fé, which was occupied by the army of King Ferdinand in April, 1491. For Columbus and his project this Council did little more than the first. Nevertheless the Most Rev. Cardinal of Spain, Gonzales de Mendoza, had by this time become much interested in the plans of Columbus, to whom he had given several audiences. This convert appears to have been made through the kindness of Alonso de Quintanilla. The interest of the Cardinal it was that persuaded the King and Queen to listen to the proposals of Columbus, but as the Council did not recommend the prosecution of his enterprise, the Sovereigns gave their petitioner no immediate hope.

At La Rabida.

Because of this second rejection of his proposals Columbus took his departure from the Court, and, with his little son Diego, made his

way on foot to the monastery of La Rabida. The December landscape must have been in harmony with his feelings as he travelled toward the ocean, which was to bear him, as he believed, to strange lands. His purpose was to leave Diego with his wife's sister at Huelva, and afterward to embark for France or some other country likely to be more interested in his project. Night found the tired travellers before a convent among the Andalusian hills. A knock at its hospitable doors brought the porter, of whom Columbus asked food, and a bed for himself and his little boy. One of the most familiar incidents in history tells how the Prior of the monastery, Friar Juan Perez, observing that the stranger was a foreigner, came forward and inquired who he was and whence he came. Notwithstanding his weariness and his hopelessness, Columbus again explained his cherished project. This time his eloquence aroused the interest of an intelligent and sympathetic mind. In the neighboring town of Palos dwelt a young man named Garcia Hernandez, who was reputed to have some knowledge of astronomy. Him the Prior summoned to the monastery. Together they discussed the project of Columbus. So convinced of the feasibility of it were these new friends of the stranger that Father Perez, who was the confessor of the Queen, offered to write

a letter to her Highness urging a reconsideration of the decision of the Court, and support of the proposals of Columbus. The letter was sent, and in two weeks came a friendly reply commanding the priest to appear at Court. At midnight this intrepid man mounted his mule and set forth upon the long and dangerous journey to Santa Fé. In the meantime Columbus remained at the monastery buoyed up by new hopes and, perhaps, daring to dream of ultimate success. At the conference of the Queen and the priest it was agreed that three vessels should be equipped for the expedition. To a citizen of Granada, Isabella gave 20,000 maravedis and a letter to be delivered to Columbus. This commanded him to purchase a mule; also suitable raiment and present himself before her Majesty. Leaving his son Diego with Garcia Hernandez and Father Sanchez, Columbus set out for Santa Fé. Though the landscape must have been unchanged, it is certain that the successful suppliant saw in it, as he rode back to Santa Fé, beauties that he had not observed before.

Assistance Promised Before the Surrender.

With more detail Dr. Garcia Hernandez on an interesting occasion told the story. In 1829 it was published in full by Navarrete. The

Spanish Sovereigns with their armies formally entered and took possession of the city of Granada on Friday, January 6, 1492. In the introduction to his *Journal,* Columbus informs us that he was an interested spectator of that great event. In the opinion of Christendom this triumph nearly offset the Mohammedan conquest of Constantinople in 1453. If Columbus in obedience to the commands of Queen Isabella had completed his preparations and made the journey to Santa Fé, it is certain that her Majesty had concluded to equip the expedition even before the conquest of Granada. The triumph of Columbus was really greater than is generally believed. His perseverance and his intelligence had won success notwithstanding the distractions and the uncertainties of existing war.

On the 17th and on the 30th of April, 1492 were executed the two documents known as the Capitulation. In another connection a synopsis of one of the papers will be given. For the present it is sufficient to state that by this instrument it was provided that "Columbus should be Admiral of such islands and mainlands as he or his heirs should discover or acquire with such prerogatives as belonged to the office of High Admiral of Castile." He was also to be "Viceroy and Governor-General in all those islands or mainlands he might discover or acquire, with

power to name three persons for each office under him, from which three persons the Sovereigns must select one." The homeless and friendless stranger who had knocked at the portals of La Rabida on that dreary night in December, 1491 had gone far in a season. He was now a high official in one of the most powerful monarchies of Europe. If Columbus was, indeed, the sort of man described by some modern historians, it is hard to understand his advancement.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE EQUIPMENT AND THE DISCOVERY.

Legends Concerning the Equipment.

After years of endeavor and anxiety Columbus and those whom he had won over to the support of his grand enterprise finally succeeded in gaining the assistance of Queen Isabella. The next step was to obtain the ships and the men. Around the subject of the equipment there have grown up legends more or less picturesque. One thing to be noted is that in them the ethnical, the personal and the religious estimates have played a considerable part. This is well illustrated in the case of B. L. de Argensola, who asserted that he found in the archives of the Treasury of Aragon documents which proved that it was that kingdom which furnished the money for the equipment. By the eyes of trained investigators outside of that kingdom these records have never been seen. They appear to have been visible to only Aragonese historians. There is no evidence that Aragon contributed so much as a

single maravedi toward the enterprise. Not only ethnical pride but family importance has contributed to fashion stories that have entertained generations of readers.

Columbus Advanced One Eighth.

Under the terms of the Capitulation, Columbus was entitled to contribute one eighth part of the expense of the expedition and to receive one eighth of the profit. That he did contribute that portion is established by the Majorat, executed February 22, 1498. In this document he says:

" . . . é yo hobiese el diezmo de todo lo que en el dicho Almirantazgo se fallase é hobiese o rentase, y asimismo la octava parte de las tierras, y todas las otras cosas.[1] . . . "

" . . . And that I should have the tenth of everything that might be discovered and possessed and produced in the said Almirantazgo, and also the eighth part of the lands and of all other things. . . . "

On this point, and for a reason that will presently appear, Las Casas is a very interesting witness. In examining this subject that historian says:

"And as Christopher Columbus wished to con-

[1]Navarrete, *Coleccion*, etc., II, p. 252. The entire instrument is well worth reading.

tribute the eighth part of the expense of this voyage in order to have his eighth of the profit (since he could not complete his preparations with the million maravedis loan, which Luis de Santangel secured for the Sovereigns), and inasmuch as Christopher Columbus came from the Court in very needy circumstances and considered the half million maravedis enough to contribute for the said eighth part (which was all that was necessary for the preparation of the fleet as appeared by the accounts of the expenses made before a notary public in the said town and port of Palos) it is a fact quite probable and apparently true according to what I have understood, that the said Martin Alonso of himself or for himself and brothers together, did lend Christopher Columbus the half million."

From this it is clear that Santangel secured a loan of 1,000,000 maravedis, but Las Casas does not state from what source the money was obtained. This loan will be noticed in a subsequent paragraph. In the meantime the reader should remember the important fact that the Sovereigns, through Santangel, borrowed a sum of money for the enterprise. This historian speaks with a little less confidence as to the source from which Columbus obtained the 500,000 maravedis. He regarded it as not only quite probable but, according to his information, as certain that it was the

Pinzon family that loaned Columbus the half a million maravedis which he subscribed. In discussing the Fiscal inquiry of 1511 Las Casas says that the claim of the Pinzons "is shown to be false." Historians in general do not regard the Admiral as the possessor at that time of so much money, and Las Casas himself states that Columbus came from the Court "in very needy circumstances."

Claim of Pinzons.

From whatever source Las Casas may have derived his information, it is certain that the Pinzón family afterward claimed that they supplied Columbus with the money which he contributed toward the equipment. There are, however, some facts that militate against their claim. Harrisse has pointed out that the strongest evidence against their contribution is to be found in the Act of Charles V, who granted that family the right to bear arms. In it are recorded the deeds of the family, and mention is made of the fact that Martin Alonzo Pinzón and Vincente Yañez Pinzón were captains of the second and third vessels respectively in the discovery fleet. No mention is made of so important a service as the loan of half a million maravedis to the enterprise. That was the occasion for an enumeration

of all the services and the exploits of the Pinzons. This omission is significant. The family, as we shall see, did render very great assistance both to Columbus and their Sovereigns, but it did not take the form of a loan. Moreover, on the voyage the Pinzons did not work in harmony with the Admiral, as they assuredly would have done had they been partners in the enterprise. There is nothing in their conduct that would suggest the idea that their interest in the success of the expedition was a pecuniary one.

Source of Columbus' Share.

As to the amount contributed by the Admiral, it seems almost certain that it was not so much as 500,000 maravedis. If that share was one eighth, the entire cost of the equipment would have been 4,000,000 maravedis. As a matter of fact, it was only a fraction of that amount. Many authorities on the history of that epoch incline to the opinion that the person who came to the assistance of the Admiral was his proved friend, the Duke of Medina Celi. They believe that it was this nobleman who furnished a part if not the whole of the eighth advanced by Columbus. Some day we may learn from whom he obtained the money, but with our present information it is idle to speculate on the subject. During his sojourn in

Spain, the Admiral had won the confidence of many men of wealth and distinction, any one of whom could have furnished him the money.

The fund necessary for the equipment may be divided into two parts, *viz.*, the *one eighth* contributed by Columbus himself and the *seven eighths* supplied by the Crown of Castile. As stated above, it is not known from what source Columbus received the one eighth that, it is universally admitted, was advanced in his behalf. With the royal seven eighths it is very different. This portion came from the treasury of the *Santa Hermandad* (Holy Brotherhood).[1]

Holy Brotherhood Advances Fund.

In the *second edition* (1859) of Navarrete, Vol. II, p. 9, is found a brief paragraph that has proved a stumbling-block to many a beginner in this field of historical research. Perhaps it has puzzled more mature students. It is as follows:

[1]The *Hermandad* was a society empowered to deal with crimes committed on the highways or, if committed in towns, and the suspected persons were found on the highways, to consider their cases. It had once been powerful enough to embarrass the Crown, but had fallen out of favor. Because of the disorder existing in Castile, Isabella revived the organization upon her accession in 1476. Among other powers it possessed the authority to raise money on the inhabitants, and at times had great sums of money in its treasury.

"En otro libro de cuentas de Luis de Santangel y Francisco Pinelo, Tesorero de la Hermandad desde el año 1491 hasta el de 1493, en el finiquito de ellas, se lee la partida siguiente:

'Vos fueron recibidos é pagados en cuenta un cuento é ciento é cuarenta mil maravedis que distes por nuestro mandado al Obispo de Avila, que agora es Arzobispo de Granada, para el despacho del Almirante D. Cristóbal Colon.'"

"In another book of accounts of Luis de Santangel and Francisco Pinelo, Treasurer of the Brotherhood from the year 1491 to 1493, in the discharge of them, is read the following entry:

'You had received and paid on account one million and one hundred and forty thousand maravedis, which you gave by our order to the Bishop of Avila, who is now Archbishop of Granada, for the equipment of the Admiral, Don Christopher Columbus.'"

The entry here reproduced is correctly quoted by Navarrete, but in the paragraph introducing it there is an evident error. The expression *"Tesorero de la Hermandad"* (Treasurer of Brotherhood) is a grammatical absurdity. Of course, it is incorrect to speak of Santangel and Pinelo as *Treasurer*.. The passage should read, as it does in the first edition of Navarrete, *"Tesoreros de la Hermandad"* (*Treasurers* of

the Brotherhood). Las Casas, as we have seen, says that Santangel borrowed 1,000,000 maravedis for the Sovereigns, but does not indicate the source. In the item quoted the source is given. But this is not the only record of the transaction. Following the item reproduced from the account books of Santangel and Pinelo, Treasurers of the Brotherhood, Navarrete thus introduces another entry:

"En otro libro de cuentas de Garcia Martinez y Pedro de Montemayor de las composiciones de Bulas del Obispado de Palencia del año de 1484 en adelante, hay la partida siguiente":

"In another book of accounts of Garcia Martinez and Peter of Montemayor constituting Bulls of the Bishopric of Palencia from the year 1484 and onward, there is the following entry." The item reads:

"Dió y pagó mas el dicho Alonso de las Cabezas (Tesorero de la Cruzada, en el Obispado de Badajoz) por otro libramiento del dicho Arzobispo de Granada, fecho 5 de Mayo de 92 años, á Luis de Santangel, Escribano de racion del Rey nuestro Señor, é por él á Alonso de Angulo, por virtud de un poder que del dicho Escribano de Racion mostró, en el cual estaba inserto dicho libramiento, doscientos mil maravedis, en cuenta de cuatrocientos mil que en él, en Vasco de

Quiroga, le libró el dicho Arzobispo por el dicho libramiento de dos cuentos seiscientos cuarenta mil maravedis que hobo de haber en esta manera: un cuento y quinientos mil maravedis para pagar á D. Isag Abrahan por otro tanto que prestó á sus Altezas para los gastos de la guerra, é el un cuento ciento cuarenta mil maravedis restantes para pagar al dicho Escribano de Racion en cuenta de otro tanto que prestó para la paga de las carabelas que sus Altezas mandaron ir de armada á las Indias, é para pagar á Cristóbal Colon que va en la dicha armada."

"Furthermore, the said Alonso de las Cabezas (treasurer of the Crusades in the Bishopric of Badajoz) gave and paid by another warrant of the said Archbishop of Granada, made on the 5th of May in the year 1492 to Luis de Santangel, Escribano de Racion of the King, our Lord, and through him to Alonso de Angulo, by virtue of an authorisation which he exhibited from the said Escribano de Racion, in which was inserted the said warrant, 200,000 maravedis on account of 400,000 paid to Vasco de Quiroga, which the said Archbishop paid by the said warrant of 2,640,000 maravedis which he was to receive in this manner: 1,500,000 maravedis to pay to D. Isag Abrahan for a like sum which he loaned to their Highnesses to carry on the

war, and the 1,140,000 maravedis remaining to pay the said Escribano de Racion on account of a like sum which he loaned to pay for the caravels which their Highnesses ordered to go as a fleet to the Indies, and to pay to Christopher Columbus, who goes [went] on the said fleet."

Thacher gives the following excerpt from the Royal Cedula of the Sovereigns to Fernando de Villadiego. It is dated from Segovia, August 19, 1494:

"El rey e la Reina. Fernando de Villadiego, tesorero é comisario en cierte parte de los obispados de Oviedo é Astorga: el muy reverendo in Cristo padre arzobispo de Granada por nuestro mandado hobo librado en Rui Garcia Suarez e Luis de Santángel, nuestro escribano de racion é de nuestro consejo, doscientos é noventa mil maravedis en cuenta de dos cuentos e seiscientos é cuarenta mil maravedis que hobo de haber, el un cuento é cuarenta mil maravedis que nos prestó para despachar a Cristóbal Colon, é el un cuento e quinientos mil maravedis que pagó por nuestro mandado a D. Isaque Abranel, segun mas largamente en el dicho libramiento se contiene.[1] . . . "

"The King and the Queen. Fernando de Villadiego, Treasurer and Commissary in a cer-

[1] *Columbus*, I, 458.

tain part of the Bishoprics of Oviedo and Astorga: Whereas the very reverend in Christ, father archbishop of Granada, by our command has paid to Rui Garcia Suarez and Luis de Santangel, our escribano de racion and a member of our Council, 290,000 maravedis on account of 2,640,000 maravedis which were due him, the 1,040,000 maravedis which he loaned us to equip Christopher Columbus, and the 1,500,000 maravedis which he paid by our order to D. Isaque Abranel, as is contained more at length in the said warrant. . . ."

The 1,040,000 maravedis mentioned in connection with the equipment of Columbus is clearly an error made in copying that item, because the books of the Treasurers, Santangel and Pinelo, show that the amount was "one million and one hundred and forty thousand maravedis." It is evident that this entry includes two transactions, namely certain expenses of the war and the cost of the fleet. If both amounted to 2,640,000 maravedis, and the item on account of the war was 1,500,000 the sum advanced for the expedition was 1,140,000 maravedis.

The account books of the *Hermandad,* whose Treasurers were Luis de Santangel, a converted Jew, and Francisco Pinelo, believed to have been

a Genoese and a Christian, are still preserved in the archives of Simancas. As we have seen, these records show that during the years 1492 and 1493 there had been returned to them 1,140,000 maravedis for moneys furnished Hernando de Talavera, Archbishop of Granada, formerly Bishop of Avila, for equipping the fleet of Columbus.

Oftentimes the assertion is made that "it was not jewels but Jews" that furnished the funds for the equipment of Columbus. Ordinarily one does not pause to analyze a witticism, and this the writer would pass without observation were it not that brief as the phrase is, it suggests two errors. In the first place, Isabella did not pledge her jewels to provide the expedition for Columbus, though in Spain there is a legend that as early as 1489 they were pledged to certain money-lenders for the prosecution of the war against the Moors. It is clear from the records just quoted that Luis de Santangel, in his capacity of treasurer of the *Santa Hermandad,* loaned for the equipment of Columbus a sum that was repaid, during the years 1492 and 1493, with interest. The amount of this repayment was 1,140,000 maravedis. This interpretation of the records leaves out of account Francisco

Pinelo, the fellow townsman of Columbus, and subsequently in royal warrants styled "our Magistrate and Faithful Executor of the City of Seville."

Apparently Unknown to Fiske.

Even if it be assumed that Pinelo had no part in obtaining the loan from the *Hermandad,* the act of Santangel was merely ministerial. He was acting for a society, which was his superior. On the subject of the equipment the historian Fiske says: "A considerable amount was assessed upon the town of Palos in punishment of certain misdeeds or delinquencies on the part of its people or some of them. Castile assumed the rest of the burden, though Santangel may have advanced a million maravedis out of the treasury of Aragon, or out of the funds of the *Hermandad,* or perhaps more likely on his own account. In any case it was a loan to the treasury of Castile simply."[1] It has been stated that the kingdom of Aragon contributed nothing to the cost of the expedition. Fiske has two guesses besides, but inclines to the opinion that the money was advanced by the Escribano de Racion on his own account. It is evident that this historian

[1] *The Discovery of America,* I, p. 418.

did not know of the existence of the first entry given above. From the records quoted it appears to be established beyond a doubt that Santangel simply loaned money of which he was one of the custodians.

Mr. Kahn's Opinion.

In the course of an instructive address in Congress, delivered December 13, 1911, Hon. Julius Kahn, a Representative from California, referred to an historical painting in a gallery of the National Capitol. In it the artist represents the recall of Columbus after the failure of the Sovereigns to agree to the terms upon which he insisted. Historians tell us that Lius de Santangel pleaded with Isabella for a favorable consideration of the proposals of Columbus. They also mention a circumstance omitted by Representative Kahn, namely, that Quintanilla and Beatriz de Bobadilla (Marchioness of Moya) seconded the efforts of Santangel. Their *joint* influence prevailed. A courier was promptly dispatched and overtook Columbus on the bridge that spanned the Pinos, about six miles from Granada. Continuing the discussion of his theme Mr. Kahn added:

"He [Santangel] and his kinsman, Gabriel Sanchez, were zealous patrons of the great

Genoese explorer, and they were largely instrumental in having him summoned back. There is now but little doubt that Santangel supplied the funds out of his own pocket for the expedition. In his original account books, extending from 1491 to 1493, preserved in the Archivo de Indias in Seville, Santangel is credited with an item of 1,140,000 maravedis, which were given by him to the Bishop of Avila, who subsequently became the Archbishop of Granada, for Columbus's expedition. In another account book is an entry to show that this sum was later on repaid to Santangel for 'money which he advanced to equip the caravels ordered by their Majesties for the expedition to the Indies, and to pay Christopher Columbus, the Admiral of that fleet.' Columbus, in grateful remembrance of the man who had furnished the funds for the voyage, wrote a letter to Santangel from near the Azores or Canaries on February 15, 1493, detailing the result of this first expedition. And this Luis de Santangel was a converted Jew."

The California statesman interprets historical documents in a strange manner. He says: "In his [Santangel's] original account books, extending from 1491 to 1493, preserved in the Archivo de Indias in Seville, Santangel is credited with an item of 1,140,000 maravedis, which were given

by him to the Bishop of Avila. . . ." The record here referred to is that given above. It is not, as Mr. Kahn states, in Santangel's "original account book" that this entry is found, but in "another book of accounts of Lius de Santangel and Francisco Pinelo, Treasurers of the *Hermandad.*" Why is Pinelo overlooked, and why is the official character of both Pinelo and Santangel passed without observation? One must conclude that Representative Kahn is a beginner in the field of historical research or that he did not have by him when he was preparing his address a reliable collection of the Spanish documents bearing on this interesting problem. Mr. Khan, however, is not alone in holding the opinion which he expressed in Congress. In a recent issue of *The Candlestick* a writer makes the following assertions: "The discovery of America by Columbus was made possible by a Jew, Lewis de Santangel, treasurer of Aragon, who informed Queen Isabella that the necessary money, 17,000 florins, was in the treasury, when the treasury was in fact empty, and then advanced the money from his own funds."

Some Jews Friendly to Columbus.

It has long been known that some members of the Jewish race were friendly to the projects of

Columbus, but it is only within recent years that there has been made any serious attempt to represent his grand achievement as a result of Jewish philanthropy or Jewish foresight. At this moment there are indications that such an endeavor is encouraged. The friendship for Columbus of Santangel and his kinsman Sanchez is, indeed, a fine circumstance, and one of which Jewish people generally may well be proud. The incident, however, is no more than a fleeting scene in a drama of many acts.

The testimony thus far adduced shows that there was—

Advanced the enterprise by
the Crown of Castile..1,140,000 maravedis.
Advanced the enterprise by
Columbus ..... 500,000 maravedis.

Palos Punished.

In some way the port of Palos had made itself liable to punishment, perhaps for a failure to comply with the will of the Government, and by the Royal Council was sentenced to keep at its own expense two vessels in readiness to serve the Sovereigns. The cost and maintenance of those who went with them were chargeable to the Crown. In a royal warrant, dated April

30, 1492, the town of Palos is commanded to get the two vessels ready for Columbus. In a second warrant of the same date there was made a provision for suspending the sentences of criminals who might go on the expedition. It is not certainly known that any person of this class took advantage of the indulgence offered by their Majesties.

Ships Selected.

Three vessels were finally selected: the *Santa Maria,* owned and commanded by Juan de la Cosa, the *Pinta,* whose commander was Martin Alonzo Pinzón, and the *Niña* (baby) of which Vincente Yañez Pinzón was captain. Concerning the number of those who went on the voyage, Las Casas says there "were in all ninety men," *"fueron por todos noventa hombres."* Oviedo says that there were 120 men. Ferdinand Columbus agrees with Las Casas, who had before him, when he wrote, the original *Journal* of Columbus. The Crown paid money for the use of the *Santa Maria,* but not for the use of either the *Pinta* or the *Niña.* That, as has been stated, was the offering of Palos to appease the royal wrath. By an expert it is estimated that the Crown of Castile furnished 1,000,000 maravedis for the equipment. The additional 140,000 maravedis

repaid to the *Hermandad* represented the interest on the loan. The same authority estimates the amount contributed by Columbus himself as 167,542 maravedis. The entire cost of the equipment, then, may be regarded as 1,167,542 maravedis, or about $7,203.73 in our money. This was the actual outlay. It has been calculated that about $80,000 would now be required similarly to equip and maintain a fleet for the same time. In other words, $7,203.73 had in the fifteenth century the purchasing power possessed by about $80,000 in the twentieth century. These are the conclusions of Thacher.[1]

Services of Pinzon Family.

It has been said that while the Pinzon family did not loan Columbus the money with which he paid his share of the expense, its members rendered very great assistance. When it was known in Palos that the Sovereigns had commanded the authorities of that place to provide and equip two vessels for the expedition of Columbus, there was the greatest excitement in the little port. In fact there was almost a riot. As it was the general belief that the fleet must inevitably be destroyed, it was impossible to bring together sailors to man the ship. It was

[1] *Columbus*, I, 490.

in this emergency that the Pinzon brothers, influential in the community and regarded as oracles on questions of navigation, volunteered to take part in the enterprise. Their example banished for the moment the fears and superstitions of ordinary seamen, and afterward there appears to have been no difficulty in engaging sailors. Palos, Huelva, Seville, Moguer and other Spanish towns furnished the crews, but there were two seamen from places more remote. In the list of those left as a garrison in Española, when the Admiral was returning from the voyage of discovery, we find the names of Tallarte Lajes, of England, and Guillermo Ires, of Galway, Ireland. The Englishman is generally regarded as Arthur Laws, and the Irishman as William Harris. With their forty-one companions both were among the early victims of Indian treachery. The story of the massacre of the little band left behind by the discoverer on his return from the first voyage is too familiar to require repetition. In the endeavor of European nations to colonize and civilize the New World these were the first in a long line of martyrs.

Praying for Success.

Historians tell us that when the last obstacle had been surmounted, and everything was in

readiness, the Admiral and his brave companions went, on the 2d of August, to the little church in Palos, where prayers were solemnly offered for the success of the great undertaking. Their devotions performed, in fancy we can see these fifteenth century Argonauts bidding tearful adieus to friends and kinsfolk. On Friday, August 3, 1492, at 8 o'clock, says Columbus in his *Journal,* "we started from the bar of Saltes."[1] Favored by a strong sea-breeze their native shores soon sank below the horizon, and by midday they were speeding southward through the Sea of Darkness. By sunset they had sailed sixty miles in that direction. Afterward they changed their course to the south-west and to the south, which was the way to the Canaries. In substance this is the Admiral's brief record of the events of that great day.

This chapter has described the principal facts connected with the equipment of the fleet. It only remains to discuss the object of the expedition, and to notice the chief incidents of that epoch-making voyage. School histories, and even more pretentious works have contributed to crystallize on this subject an idea that is not strictly correct. The Asiatic trade, especially the

[1] An island in front of Huelva.

commerce with India, was extremely profitable. In the beginning of the fifteenth century, and, indeed, long before that time, the victories of the Turks began greatly to injure this traffic. During the year 1453 those barbarous warriors took the city of Constantinople. Before its capture cultured citizens of that capital fled in great numbers to places in western Europe. We are told that they carried with them stores of valuable manuscripts and that these fugitive scholars and their books gave an impetus to the Renaissance. This is a commonplace of literary history. A consequence more nearly related to our theme was the destruction of the commerce of both Genoa and Venice. These city states were for Europe the principal carriers of Eastern commodities. By reason of it they became wealthy and cultured. The taking of Constantinople put a period to Italian prosperity by destroying the overland trade with the East. This was one of the influences which sent into western Europe a multitude of Italian navigators. In the commerce of their own country they had acquired a skill which made them superior to the sailors of other nations. When it no longer required their services, they offered themselves to the rising maritime kingdoms of the West, and, as is well known, brought to America the first

expedition for Spain, for England and for France. All Europe became interested in the discovery of a safer route to India, and Columbus, we are told, purposed to find one. The islands of the Orient abounded in gems and precious metals and in scarcely less precious spices. The Admiral was going to discover these favored places.

Whatever moderns may know about the project of Columbus, it must be assumed that he himself knew something of his purposes and his motives. In the introduction to his *Journal* he says:

Columbus States His Purpose.

"On the 2d day of the month of January (1492) I saw the Royal banners of your Highnesses placed by force of arms on the towers of the Alhambra, which is the fortress of the said City (Granada); and I saw the Moorish King come out to the gates of the City and kiss the Royal hands of your Highnesses,[1] and the hands of the prince, my Lord: and then in the present month, because of the information which I had given your Highnesses about the lands of India, and about *a Prince who is called Great*

[1]Spanish historians, believing that the age of chivalry had not then passed away, assert that this act of humiliation was not required by Ferdinand and Isabella.

Khan, which means in our Romance language King of Kings,[1]—how he and his predecessors had many times sent to Rome to beg for men learned in our Holy Faith that they might be instructed therein, and that the Holy Father had never furnished them, and so, many peoples believing in idolatries and receiving among themselves sects of perdition, were lost:—your Highnesses, as Catholic Christians and Princes, loving the Holy Christian faith and the spreading of it, and enemies of the sect of Mohamet and of all idolatries and heresies, decided to send me, Christopher Columbus, to the said regions of India, to see the said Princes and the peoples and lands, and learn of their disposition, and of everything, and the measures which could be taken for their conversion to our Holy Faith: and you ordered that I should not go to the east by land, by which it is customary to go, but by way of the west, whence until to-day we do not know certainly that any one has gone. . . ."

For the purpose of going to the regions of

[1]The italicized passage is the very language of the Toscanelli letter, and the circumstance proves that when the Admiral was writing the introduction to the *Journal* he had in mind the correspondence with that celebrated astronomer. If this be a true interpretation, the correspondence with the Florentine scientist could not have been a subsequent forgery.

India, continues the *Journal,* his sovereigns had granted him favors and ennobled him, so that henceforth he might entitle himself "*Don* and should be High Admiral of the Ocean-Sea and Viceroy and perpetual Governor of all *the islands and continental lands*" which he might *discover and acquire.*

To say nothing of other sources of information Columbus could have learned from Marco Polo that the uncle and the father of that traveller had been sent to the Pope as envoys from Kublai Khan. As we have seen, that great ruler had asked for one hundred missionaries. Columbus says that the "Holy Father had never furnished them." It seems clear, therefore, that the Admiral did not regard the presence in Cathay of Friar John of Monte Corvino and his devoted missionaries as in any sense a compliance with the request of Kublai Khan. The sending of seven bishops by Pope Clement V, however, is sufficient proof that the missions of Cathay were regarded as of very great importance. We have noticed the beginnings and the development of this wonderful missionary activity and have described the event by which it was abruptly terminated.

In his introduction the Admiral says further: I "took my way to the Canary Islands of your

Highnesses, which are in the said Ocean-Sea, in order to set out on my voyage from there and sail until I arrived at the Indies, and make known the messages of your Highnesses to those Princes, and fulfill the commands which had thus been given me: and for this purpose, I decided to write everything I might do and see and which might take place on this voyage, very punctually from day to day, as will be seen henceforth. Also, Lords and Princes, besides describing each night what takes place during the day, and during the day, the sailings of the night, I proposed to make a new chart for navigation on which I will locate all the sea and the lands of the Ocean-Sea, in their proper places, under their winds; and further, compose a book and show everything by means of drawing, by the latitude from the equator and by longitude from the west, and above all, it is fitting that I forget sleep, and study the navigation diligently, in order to thus fulfill these duties, which will be a great labor.——"

Columbus an Explorer and Missionary.

Columbus is going to deliver to the Princes of the East a message from his Sovereigns; *en route* he expects to discover lands, and "in

a new chart of navigation" to indicate their location. There is nothing in this introduction to the *Journal* that justifies the popular opinion that Columbus was merely interested in a little traffic with the Indies and in the discovery of a safer route thither. His project looked ultimately to nothing less than the conversion to Christianity of the millions of pagans dwelling in the countries of the East and to the discovery of *islands and mainlands* lying in the Ocean-Sea. In other words, he was a missionary and explorer. However, he was by no means indifferent to the profits of trade, but these profits, as we shall see, were to be applied to no sordid purpose. When clouds were gathering fast around him, he thought of wealth, but it was only for the purpose of equipping a new crusade. It must be remembered that the highwater mark of Mohammedan power had not yet been reached. Their disasters at Vienna and Lepanto were yet in the future. What may be appropriately termed the clove-and-nutmeg theory of the mission of Columbus finds no support in the records of his day. Though he did not disdain the legitimate gains of commerce, wealth thus acquired appeared valuable to him only so far as it could promote one of his more lofty projects. He

sought eagerly for gold and for spices, but in his imagination they were bound up with Jerusalem delivered.

Injury to "Pinta."

On Saturday, August 4th, says the *Journal*, "We went to the southwest, quarter south." For the day following, August 5th, the Admiral makes this entry: "We went on our way, more than forty leagues between day and night." A more important record is made on Monday, the 6th of August. The helm of the *Pinta* broke or became disjointed; this was suspected to have been the work of Rascon and Quintero, the owners of the caravel, who were displeased with the voyage. The same trouble occurred during the day succeeding, but after making repairs they sailed in search of Lanzarote, one of the Canaries. In a discussion of the course with his pilots the Admiral seems to have made the best guess.

Notwithstanding the condition of the *Pinta* the little fleet arrived at Gomera on the 9th of August. At Teneriffe they succeeded after much trouble in satisfactorily repairing the disabled vessel and in changing the design of her sails. This work seems to have taken considerable time, for the *Journal* notes that the Admiral re-

turned to Gomera, Sunday night, September 2d with the *Pinta*.

Western Lands.

Las Casas, abridging the log of Columbus, has this interesting paragraph: "The Admiral says that many honorable Spaniards, inhabitants of the island of Hierro, swore that they were on the island of Gomera . . . and that each year they saw land to the west of the Canaries. . . . The Admiral says here that he remembers being in Portugal in the year 1484, a man came from the island of Maderia to the King to beg him for a caravel in order to go to this land which he saw, which he swore he saw each year and always in the same manner. . . . Having then taken water and wood and meat, and the other things which the men had, whom the Admiral left on Gomera when he went to the island of Canaria to repair the Caravel *Pinta,* he finally set sail from the said island of Gomera with his three caravels on Thursday, September 6."

It was at this stage of his voyage that he heard of the arrival in the islands of three armed caravels of Portugal, which he believed were sent to capture him. For a considerable portion of two days his ships were becalmed. On the tenth of September the Admiral computed that

they had travelled forty-eight leagues whereas they had actually sailed sixty. He feared to frighten his companions if it should chance that the voyage proved to be lengthy. Columbus was dealing with men who were ignorant and unfriendly. It was therefore deemed necessary to underestimate the daily travel. Henceforth Columbus frequently registered the distance sailed as something less than it was.

Strange Phenomena.

On Thursday, September 13th, Columbus noticed an interesting phenomenon. "On this day," say the *Journal,* "at the beginning of the night, the needless declined to the north-west, and in the morning they declined a trifle." For a few days the variation of the needle escaped the notice of the pilots. Two days later Columbus saw "A marvellous branch of fire fall from the heavens into the sea, 4 or 5 leagues distant from them." Again they went thirty-nine leagues, but the Admiral computed only thirty six. This brought them to the Saragossa Sea. The weather grew pleasant, like April in Andalusia. They began to see many tufts of very green grass, which appeared to have been but recently detached from the land. It was the general belief that they were near some island,

but not continental land, for, says the Admiral, "I make the continental land further onward."

The next day "the pilots took the position of the North Star, marking it, and they found that the needles declined to the northwest a good quarter, and the sailors were afraid and were troubled, and did not say for what reason." More grass was seen, a land bird, as Columbus believed, and a craw-fish were regarded as signs of land. There was a general feeling of joyousness and the ships raced, to have the honor of first seeing it. Again their hopes were sustained by flocks of birds and masses of clouds, certain indications, it was thought, of their approach to land. By September 19th they had sailed, according to the *Niña's* pilot, 440 leagues from the Canaries and by the reckoning of the *Pinta's*, 420. For reasons already explained the Admiral was only 400 leagues from those islands.

Deceptive Signs.

Grass they saw constantly and also new signs, namely, singing birds and pelicans. A whale which they saw also, was unmistakable evidence that land was not distant. As the winds had blown constantly from Spain, the sailors feared that there were no breezes to waft them homeward. On the 22d of September their spirits

were momentarily cheered by winds from the opposite quarter. All the now familiar signs of land reäppeared, but they came to no land. Soon afterward they were all deceived by cloud formations before them, and Martin Alonso Pinzon begged a reward from the Admiral for having first seen the land.

Toward the end of September they had passed almost through the Saragossa Sea. Pelicans were still with them. The Admiral claimed that he had information about certain islands where he then was, but his object was to reach the Indies and it would not have been good judgment to delay. Pelicans, petrels, and flying-fish were seen daily. On October 6th, Martin Alonso Pinzon said that it would be well to sail to the south-west. The Admiral refused, because he thought it would be better to find the continental land first. Afterward they could go to the islands. On October 7th a flight of birds led him to change his course to the southwest. These became much more numerous. To the last day of the voyage the Admiral understated the distance sailed. During the day and night of October 10th they had made fifty-nine leagues, but he told them forty-four. At this time they began to murmur much, for even the most certain signs had failed. They desired the Admiral

to return to Spain, but he persuaded them to persevere. By historians of a theatrical turn the existence of this discontent among the sailors has been worked up into a mutiny.

Undoubted Evidences.

A green branch was seen on October 11th; also reeds, a stick, and a small board. Those on another of the vessels saw a little branch full of dog-roses. At 10 o'clock at night Columbus saw a light, which he believed was on land. He then called Pero Gutierrez, Groom of the Chamber of the King. He also saw it. The light, which rose and fell, was like that of a small wax candle. When all were assembled to say "the *Salve* which all the sailors are in the habit of saying and singing in their way", the Admiral admonished them to guard well the stern forecastle and search diligently for land. To him who would first see land the Sovereigns had promised an annuity of 10,000 maravedis. The Admiral offered in addition to this reward a silk doublet. Two hours after midnight the land appeared. It seemed distant about two leagues.

Outpost of the New World.

The vessels lowered sails, and lay to, until

day. Then they found themselves at a small island of the Lucayas, which in the language of the natives was called *Guanahani*. Afterward Columbus named it *San Salvador*. It seems certain that his landfall was at what is now Watling Island. On it they saw naked people. The Admiral, in the armed boat, landed with Martin Alonso Pinzón and Vincente Yañez, his brother. He took the royal banner and each of the captains had a banner of the true cross, which he carried on all the ships as a sign. These displayed the letters F and Y. In the presence of the two captains, a notary, and another representative of the Sovereigns, Columbus took formal possession for the King and for the Queen. An account of this ceremony was reduced to writing by the notary. This was what is sometimes called taking documentary possession. Meanwhile the natives were assembling. Presents were liberally distributed among them, and in a little while barter began. At this time the dominant thought of the Admiral was their conversion. "If it please our Lord," says he, "at the time of my departure, I will take six of them from here to your Highnesses that they may learn to speak." Then they were to be returned to their own country. On the day following the discovery there was more barter with

the natives, who are described by the Admiral as a handsome race. There was also made an attempt to ascertain the resources of the isle as well as of neighboring islands, of which the Spaniards soon learned the existence.

Admiral Deceived.

Many days were spent in a careful exploration of the adjacent islands. The sight of a gold ring in the nose of a native, and of other ornaments of that metal, started the quest for gold. This was kept up for a long time. Spices were then sent into the interior to see whether the Indians had any knowledge of them. Cuba, of which the Admiral had heard, was believed to be Cipango (Japan). Thence it would be an easy sail to Cathay, where he could deliver to the Grand Khan the messages of Ferdinand and Isabella. This delusion of Columbus is not easy to explain, for he was gazing on naked Indians whose homes he had visited and whose poverty he had beheld with his own eyes. Notwithstanding the evidence of his senses, he seemed still to dream of the great port of Zaitum, with its hundred yearly pepper ships, and of Kinsai, with its oriental splendor—the Kinsai described by Polo and by Marignolli. Indeed, the incidents related by Marco Polo, the Admiral

frequently read into the scenes through which he was passing.

Wreck of the *Santa Maria.*

On November 2d, as we read in the *Journal,* when the Admiral was exploring the northern coast of Cuba, he sent his Jewish interpreter, Luis de Torres, and one Rodrigo de Jerez to the court of the Grand Khan. Though the ambassadors reported only a village of naked Indians, Columbus was not undeceived. Exploration and the search for cinnamon continued. Without completing his examination of Cuba the Admiral went to Hayti. Because of its resemblance to Spain he called it *La Isla Española* (The Spanish Island.).[1] It was while continuing its exploration that the flagship of the Admiral, the *Santa Maria,* ran aground and was wrecked. It appears that after the fatigues of two days and a night, he decided to snatch a little sleep. So did the pilot, who intrusted the helm to a boy. In saving the articles on board, the Indian chief or king and his people rendered very great assistance.

This disaster interfered with subsequent discovery and suggested to Columbus the establish-

[1]From this is derived the English form Hispaniola.

ment of a colony in Española. Forty-three men, all volunteers, were left on the island. These were expected to acquire a knowledge of the Indian language and more carefully to ascertain the resources of the country. The Admiral took every precaution for their comfort. He left with them bread and wine for a year; also seeds, tools, and arms. Among those who remained were a physician, a gunner, a tailor and many skilled artisans. When taking his departure in the two remaining ships of the little fleet, Columbus enjoined upon those first colonists in America implicit obedience to their captain, the cultivation of friendly relations with the Indians, and, above all, that they keep together. Such was the beginning of the fort and settlement which was called *Villa de la Navidad* (Town of the Nativity).[1]

The Dominant Thought.

The piety or the optimism of Columbus perceived in the wreck of the *Santa Maria* the hand of Providence. If that disaster had not befallen them, he would not have made a settlement on the island. From this he expected much. When

[1]The place was so named because they came there on Christmas day.

he returns from Castile, as he hopes to do, "he will find a tun of gold for which those people he is to leave will have traded, and that they will have found the Mine of gold and the spices, and all *that* in such a quantity that before three years the Sovereigns will undertake and prepare to go and conquer the Holy Sepulchre (*casa santa*). *'Because* [he says] *I thus protested to your Highnesses that all the profit of this, my undertaking, should be spent in the conquest of Jerusalem, and your Highnesses smiled and said that it was pleasing to them, and that even without this, they had the inclination to do it."*[1]

In these words of the Admiral is revealed the grand purpose of his life. It was for this that he began and prosecuted his quest for gold. If the stories of the Indians were to be credited, there was in the island an abundance of the precious metal. In the interval from December 25th, when the disaster occurred, till January 2, 1493 every effort was made to ascertain the location of the gold and to win the confidence of the King and his subjects. As a matter of prudence a fort was built, though the relations with the Indians were extremely cordial. Everything was done to impress on them that the white men were

[1]Thacher, *Columbus*, I, 628.

their friends and that they would protect them against the Caribs.

On January 3, 1493 the Admiral had completed his preparations for the return voyage. He was very anxious, however, concerning Martin Alonso Pinzon, who had sometime before sailed away and had not yet come back. This accident or this defection on the part of his captain had constantly embarrassed Columbus in his exploration. With the remaining ship he feared to incur any risks.

At sunrise on Friday, January 4th, the Admiral weighed anchor and in a light wind set out on his return. Owing to the lack of a breeze but little progress was made. On the sixth of that month the *Journal* notices the return of the *Pinta*. Mention is likewise made of the existence of another island that the Indians called *Yamaye* (Jamaica). This and Española were distant from the mainland, perhaps, sixty or seventy leagues. On the return voyage two violent storms were encountered, one near the Azores and the other as they approached the shores of Portugal. Fortunately both were safely weathered, and on March 4, 1493 Columbus dropped anchor in the Tagus. Though the celebrated Bartholomew Diaz did not waste any courtesy upon Columbus, when the King and the nobility

of Portugal learned precisely what had been accomplished by their involuntary visitor, they showed him much honor. On March 13th the Admiral sailed for Seville. Two days later he had entered the bar of Saltes. Having heard that his Sovereigns were at Barcelona, he prepared to go thither. In concluding the *Journal* of his first voyage he says, in discussing the discovery, "I hope in our Lord that it will be the greatest honor for Christianity, although it has been accomplished with such ease."[1]

[1] In Vol. I of Thacher's *Columbus* there is a good translation of the *Journal*.

CHAPTER IX.

THE STORY OF THE "NAMELESS PILOT."

When Columbus had been in his grave for nine and twenty years there was published at Seville (1535) the General History of the Indies, *Historia General de las Indias,* by Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo. In this work is related for the first time the strange story of a Pilot who was driven by a storm to an island in the Atlantic, far to the westward. He succeeded in returning to the Madeiras and was received by Christopher Columbus in his own house, in the Portuguese island of Porto Santo. There he died after giving Columbus his charts and journals. The historian's opinion is concisely expressed. "But this story goes throughout the world among the common people in the manner which is told," and he adds, "As for myself I think it false." *"Para mi yo lo tengo por falso."*

If one consider the date of publication, the next writer to mention this story was Francisco

Lopez Gomara, whose *Historia General de las Indias* was printed in Saragossa in 1553. This work repeats the legend with some additions.

The Story as Told by Gomara.

"A caravel sailing on our Ocean-sea encountered such a powerful and continuous east wind that it was driven to take refuge in a land not known or placed on the map or navigators' chart. In returning from that land, it took a much longer time than was consumed in going. And when it arrived here it brought no more than the pilot and three or four other mariners, who as they had become sick from hunger and from toil, died within a short time in the Port. And this is how the Indies were discovered through the misfortune of those who first saw them, since their lives were ended without enjoying the benefits of the discovery and without leaving, at least without possessing, a memorial as to what they were called, or where they were, or in what year they were found. However, it was not through their fault but through the malice of others, or the envy of what is called Fortune. And I do not marvel at the ancient writers who recount very great deeds from little ones, or from obscure beginnings, since we do not know who, so short a time ago, found the Indies, which is such a new

and remarkable thing. The name of this pilot does not even remain to us since all who were with him died. Some consider this pilot to have been an Andalusian, who was trafficking in the Canaries and in the Madeiras when that long and fatal voyage befell him. Others think he was a Biscayan who traded in England and France; and others a Portuguese, who was going to or coming from the Mine or India; which agrees very well with the name which those new lands took and now bear. There are also some who say that the caravel took shelter in Portugal and others say that it was in the Madeiras or some other island of the Azores. Nevertheless no one affirms anything. All agree only in the fact that that pilot died in the house of Christopher Columbus, in whose possession remained the papers belonging to the caravel and the relation of all that long voyage, with the description and the altitude of the lands newly seen and discovered."

It is evident that Gomara pretended at least to regard the story as true. By an Italian contemporary, Girolamo Benzoni, the Spanish historian is charged with having mixed much falsehood with some truth. Apparently the ethnical element does not enter into this criticism or Benzoni would have altogether rejected

the attractive legend. Gomara will be referred to again.

Garcilasso Names the Pilot.

Between 1601 and 1615 Antonio Herrera y Tordesillas published at Madrid his celebrated *Historia General de los Hechos de los Castillaños.* "All subsequent historians," says Thacher, "have accorded him the highest praise for care, accuracy and judgment."[1] While the volumes of Herrera were in press there was published in Lisbon (1609) a work composed by Garcilasso de la Vega, a Peruvian Inca. This history gave not only a more ornate version of the Pilot story than any which had yet appeared, but it actually gave its hero a local habitation and a name. It was Alonso Sanchez of Huelva, who, while sailing from the Canaries to the Madeiras in 1484, became the sport of an aroused hurricane and found himself and seventeen companions transported in twenty-nine days to the island that was afterward named Española. Then he returned with five survivors to the island of Terceira in the Azores, where he was received by Christopher Columbus in his own house. With this singular story before him Herrera is strangely silent.

[1] *Columbus,* I, p. 328.

This Version Contains Errors.

According to his own statement Columbus was in Portugal in 1484 and 1485. We known also that he never lived in Terceira; but one is not seriously expected to examine the generous additions made by Garcilasso to the legend boldly sketched by Oviedo. Of the five survivors who arrived at Terceira, this historian says:

"They went to stay in the house of the famous Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, because they knew that he was a great pilot and cosmographer and that he made sailing charts. Columbus received them very kindly and entertained them all, in order to learn the things which had happened on such a long and strange shipwreck as the one they said they had suffered. And as they arrived in such a shattered condition, notwithstanding all that Columbus did for their entertainment, they could not be restored to health, and all died in his house, leaving him to inherit the fruit of the labors which caused their deaths. Columbus accepted this inheritance with great strength and courage, and having suffered other hardships as great and even greater (since they lasted longer), he set out with the undertaking of giving the New World and its riches to Spain, according as it was blazoned on his arms, saying:

'To Castile and to Leon, Columbus gave a New World.'"

The expression "the famous Christopher Columbus, a Genoese" is merely a shallow artifice designed to give to the story an appearance of reality. If this was not the purpose of the author, his statement is an absurdity, because he knew Columbus as the alleged discoverer of America not as "the famous Christopher Columbus, a Genoese." Of course, Columbus was not *then* famous. Nor was he known as a "great pilot and cosmographer." The kindness of Columbus, it appears, was of the interested sort, for he wanted "to learn the things which had happened on such a long and strange shipwreck as the one they said they had suffered." "And they all died in his house, leaving him to inherit the fruit of the labors which caused their deaths." At this point Garcilasso missed a splendid opportunity. Why did it not occur to him that, perhaps, Columbus hurried these nameless castaways on to immortality? "Columbus," he tells us, "accepted this inheritance with great strength and courage." So weighty and oppressive a secret might well have required *great strength*. "He set out with the undertaking of giving the New World and its riches to Spain." It should be remembered, however, that

he attempted to force the favor on Portugal before he thought of Spain, and that in a certain contingency even England had occurred to him. The Columbus arms could have borne no such legend. The Admiral was not aware that he had given a new world to Castile and Leon, at any rate not before his expiring hours.

Version of Las Casas.

The most ample treatment of this subject, however, will be found in the *Historia* of Las Casas. Among other things that celebrated man says: "It was very common to all of us who then lived on this island of Española, not only those who came on the first voyage with the Admiral himself, and with Don Christopher Columbus to settle on the island,—among the latter of whom there were some who helped him to make the discovery,—but also to those who a short time after came to the island, to talk over and say that the cause which moved the said Admiral to desire to come and discover these Indies originated in this wise:"

Las Casas then repeats the story already related. In his narrative he says: "Therefore, the people on this caravel having in this way discovered these countries, if it was so, in returning to Spain stopped in a shattered condition. Counting out those who, on account of

the great labours, hunger and infirmities died on the way, those who remained, who were very few and sick, it is said came to the island of Madeira, where they all died also." The first sentence of this passage shows clearly that Las Casas did not believe the story which he relates and discusses so fully. On this point the clause *"if it was so,"* seems conclusive. This version informs the reader that the Pilot did not die at once but for some time lingered on, and became an inmate in the house of Columbus, "where it is said that he finally died."

Legend Current After the Discovery.

The testimony of Las Casas, one of the grandest characters of that stirring epoch, leaves no doubt that *after* the discovery of America this curious legend was current. If Las Casas had believed it, he was a man of the courage to declare his opinion. Though he gives it respectable consideration, he does not endorse it. On one point the discrepant narratives are very exactly agreed, *viz.*, that the Pilot died in the house of Christopher Columbus. The version of Garcilasso de la Vega furnishes some details. These are easily shown to be false. The reader should remember that not only are these details false but that they were collected and arranged one hundred and twenty-five years after the

event which they purport to describe. This historian is easily shown to be absurd, because he has something definite to say. Those who speak vaguely are not so easily answered. However, when they venture to be precise, their assertions are no more worthy of consideration. When, for example, the nameless Pilot of the historian Gomara was swept from his course, it is said that possibly he "was going to or coming from the Mine or India." Portuguese voyages to the Guinea coast were indeed even then of frequent occurrence, but we have no record that the Portuguese ever sent to India such a caravel as that described. Though they had long been endeavoring to reach India, in 1483-1485 they had not even reached the Orange River. At this point Gomara seems merely to be groping for a plausible explanation. After relating some familiar facts in the career of Columbus and his descendants the consideration of this attractive legend will be resumed.

Restless Colonists.

When Columbus, in March, 1496, sailed from Hispaniola for Spain, he left his brother, Don Bartholomew, as Adelantado of the island. The utmost vigilance, ability and generosity, however, could not win for him the gratitude or

even the confidence of the Spanish colonists. In every conceivable manner they embarrassed him; his actions were constantly misrepresented. Finally under the leadership of one Roldan, an official indebted to the discoverer for his advancement, the discontented defied the authority of the Adelantado and roamed over the island, unsettling the relations established with the natives and committing all sorts of excesses. After an absence of two and one-half years, prolonged by official hostility, the Admiral at last arrived at Isabella. He then saw that indolence and war had converted regions of great natural fertility into mere wastes. The habitations of men were, indeed, still to be seen there, but the multitude of human beings who had long dwelt in them were fugitives in forests and caves. The merit, the rank, the magnanimity of the Admiral could not impose silence on the tongue of slander. In even the most lawless and licentious course the conspirator Roldan found himself supported by a great majority of the Spanish colonists. Indeed, the baseless accusations of this profligate official received in court circles as much consideration as the representations of the Admiral himself. Roldan pretended that he was the champion of oppressed Spaniards against an obscure family of arrogant foreigners. Columbus found himself powerless

in the face of flagrant treason, for neither he nor his brothers knew many Spaniards in whom they could confide. They could only temporize; meanwhile laziness grew into a habit and licentiousness continued unchecked.

Insurgents Stop Discovery.

Thus was a lovely and fertile island converted by wicked men into a scene of suffering and poverty. The ruffians responsible for this condition circulated the atrocious calumny that the Admiral and his brothers kept the colonists on the island in order to exploit them. This was one of the few instances in all history when accusations were not worthy to be considered even as a ground for inquiry, much less a cause of royal condemnation. Further discoveries contemplated by Columbus were prevented because the military ability of Don Bartholomew might he needed if the rebels pushed matters to extremities. Both the Admiral and the Adelantado had shown extraordinary forbearance in dealing with Roldan.

Columbus Makes an Enemy.

His self-respect had on one occasion led Columbus to chastise the insolence of Ximeno Breviesca a minion of Fonseca. He had likewise opposed the predatory sojourn in a remote

part of the island of Alonso de Ojeda, another friend of this powerful Bishop. These sins were venial. The great offense of Columbus remains to be told. He had presumed to criticise the tardiness of this prelate in equipping one of the fleets. This trivial circumstance doubtless explains the Bishop's subsequent hostility toward Columbus and his descendants. This is the explanation of Irving. There is no documentary evidence that Fonseca was hostile. Indeed, there exists a document showing that Columbus regarded the Bishop as his friend. This theme is matter for a volume rather than a paragraph, and cannot be examined in this essay.

No service that Columbus or his brothers had rendered Spain could disarm the resentment of the common people. In some quarters no witness against the Admiral was so degraded that he was not encouraged. It may well be doubted whether a greater number of complaints were ever made against a public official. Of course, the confident and truthful statements of Columbus himself, of the Adelantado and of a few loyal Spanish gentlemen were also forwarded to the Sovereigns, and while they may have tended temporarily to turn the current of opinion in the Admiral's favor, the voice of truth was hushed in the clamors of the rabble.

Brutality of Bobadilla.

When at length tranquillity seemed to be re-established in Hispaniola, the consequences of misrepresentation became apparent. It is not necessary in this place to rehearse the story of Bobadilla's arrival and his interpretation of his credentials. His infamous conduct will go down the ages with the glory of Columbus. Bobadilla acquired such fame as did the fool who fired the Ephesian dome. Presently his official acts will be briefly noticed. In this connection but one further observation appears to be required, namely, that that the hostility of the Admiral's enemies pursued his son and successor, Diego, who before the deposition of his father had been associated with him in the government.

Ferdinand Regretted His Agreement.

From the history of that crowded age it is not difficult to collect proof of the eagerness of Ferdinand to resume those rights and privileges which had been solemnly granted to Columbus and his heirs. That, however, was not so easily accomplished, if the King expected to find a decent pretence, for even in the most difficult circumstances both the Admiral and his brother, Don Bartholomew, had acted with the greatest prudence. Though there was no for-

feiture of any rights or privileges, never-resting calumny supplied at least a pretext for relieving Columbus of his office of viceroy and still later of suspending other rights guaranteed by *The Capitulation.*

It is true that Columbus had asked the Sovereigns to send out a person learned in the law to act as chief judge, and that he had also requested the appointment of an impartial umpire to inquire into the controversy between him and Roldan. Ferdinand commissioned Don Francisco de Bobadilla to decide in matters relating to the functions of the Admiral and his brothers. If he found them guilty, he was empowered to supersede them! It is not necessary to inquire into the qualifications of Bobadilla. It is sufficient to state that it was possible for him to derive wealth and power from the conviction of Columbus.

Condemned Before Investigation.

It is not a matter of surprise, then, that on the interested rumors which reached Bobadilla before he entered the harbor of San Domingo, he had already decided the case against Columbus. While his caravel was standing off the port waiting for a favoring breeze, those who went out in canoes were given information con-

cerning the nature of the commissioner's powers and a hint as to his purpose. Within a few days Bobadilla had become the idol of the mob. By seizing the government before he had investigated the conduct of Columbus the commissioner reversed the order of his written instructions. He took up his residence in the house of the Admiral, who was absent in another part of the island, seized upon his arms, jewels, plate, gold and horses; also upon his letters and manuscripts, public as well private. In a word, Bobadilla acted as if the case trumped up against the discoverer had been prejudged by some one high in authority in Spain. He not only spoke of Columbus with disrespect but he boasted that he was empowered to send him home in chains.

Downfall of Columbus Foretold.

The reader should remember that the downfall of the Admiral had been foretold by Ojeda, a friend of Fonseca. When at last the Admiral heard of the conduct of Bobadilla, he believed that it was merely a case of lawless usurpation. He could not believe that this was the royal appreciation of his services. When contrasted with his next act, all former proceedings of the commissioner were marked by the utmost decorum. He

sent letters of civility and promises of favor to Roldan and other enemies of Columbus, the very men whose alleged offences he had been sent out to investigate. At that time there must have been in Spain a very accurate knowledge of conditions in Hispaniola, for Bobadilla knew well what was expected by his masters. Since his arrival he had been almost solely employed in inflaming the minds of the colonists against Columbus, and in this ignoble work he met with almost perfect success.

In his absence Columbus had been stripped of all the emblems of authority. He had endeavored to open a correspondence with the usurper, but his letters were ignored. At length he concluded to meet Bobadilla and he came into the umpire's presence almost unattended. As had happened in the case of his brother, Diego, the Admiral was promptly put in irons. Later Don Bartholomew submitted quietly to the same indignity. The brothers were confined separately on board one of the caravels. Bobadilla neither visited them nor allowed them to be visited. They were kept in ignorance of the charges against them, though every miscreant in the island was permitted to prepare accusations. In fact, it soon became known that an accusation against Columbus was one of the readiest ways to the confidence

of Bobadilla. Any evidence of opposition to the Admiral or to his brothers was regarded at once as a proof of spirit and of merit. When, in his judgment, Bobadilla had brought together enough testimony to justify his proceedings, Columbus and his brothers, all ironed, were sent home to Spain. "The caravels," says Irving, "set sail early in October, bearing off Columbus shackled like the vilest of culprits, amidst the scoffs and shouts of a miscreant rabble, who took a brutal joy in heaping insults on his venerable head, and sent curses after him from the shores of the island he had so recently added to the civilized world."[1]

Humane Officials.

Alonzo de Villejo was appointed to take charge of the prisoners and instructed to deliver them into the hands of Fonseca or his uncle. This fact has given rise to much speculation. Villejo, it appears, was not the sort of person that Bobadilla believed, for he treated his illustrious prisoner with great humanity. Andreas Martin, the master of the caravel, also showed much sympathy with the Admiral in his misfortunes. If Columbus had permitted them to do so, these

[1] *Christopher Columbus*, Knickerbocker edition, III, 214-215.

officials would have promptly relieved him of his irons. However, he refused this kindness on the ground that he had been commanded by letter to submit to whatever Bobadilla should order.

Astonishment was not greater or more general when Columbus, returning from his first voyage, brought with him the strange inhabitants of a new world than when he was brought back a prisoner and in chains. In Cadiz and in the rich and powerful city of Seville there was an outburst of indignation that resounded through Spain. The persecution of Columbus had been carried to a reckless length. By their very violence his enemies had defeated their cherished object. Even those who a short time before had been denouncing him were as prompt to reprobate his treatment.

Admiral's Reputation in Española.

Before Bobadilla's account had reached the Sovereigns, the story was known through the *aya* (governess) of Prince Juan, a lady highly esteemed by Isabella. To her Columbus had written an account of his wrongs. Among other energetic statements he observed to this distinguished person, "Such is the evil name which I have acquired, that if I were to build hospitals and churches, they would be called dens of robbers."

When Isabella learned of the wrongs suffered by Columbus, her generous heart was filled with sympathy and indignation. The selfish Ferdinand did not attempt to resist the current of public opinion. The Sovereigns ordered that two thousand ducats should be advanced to meet the Admiral's expenses; they wrote him a letter in terms of gratitude and affection inviting him to court. They had previously directed that the three prisoners be set at liberty. In a word, they endeavored to convince the world that the imprisonment of Columbus was not only without their authority but contrary to their wishes.

The Admiral was cheered once more by the professions of his Sovereigns. He anticipated the speedy restoration of his rights and dignities, but in this he was doomed to be disappointed. The reader must turn to the biographies of Columbus for an account of his appearance at court in the month of December, 1500.

Injured by Baseless Charges.

No public notice was ever taken of the charges sent home by Bobadilla. The Sovereigns continued to show honor to the ruined Admiral, but calumny had done its work. He was destined never to return in triumph to San Domingo. In the mind of Ferdinand the grotesque accusations

against the discoverer were not without influence. He never had the honesty to give Columbus an opportunity of meeting his accusers face to face. He could have covered them with confusion, and the King knew it. Moreover, after a vindication Ferdinand would no longer have even the appearance of a pretence for withholding those offices and privileges enumerated in *The Capitulation.*

The Capitulation.

On the death of the discoverer, in the year 1506, his son Diego succeeded to his rights as viceroy and governor of the New World. These were enumerated in the first part of the written agreement between Columbus and his Sovereigns. This portion of what is familiarly known as The Capitulation, *La Capitulaçion,* executed April 17, 1492, provided as follows:

Article one, that he should be Admiral of such islands and mainland as he or his heirs should discover or acquire with such prerogatives as belonged to the office of High Admiral of Castile:

Article two, that he should be Viceroy and Governor-General in all those islands or mainlands he might discover or acquire, with power to name three persons for each office under him, from which three persons the Sovereign must select one:

Article three, that he should have a tenth of the profits arising from buying, bartering, discovering, acquiring, or obtaining merchandise of whatsoever kind:

Article four, that he should in his quality of Admiral have in himself or by deputy sole cognizance or judicial jurisdiction of any suit growing out of trade or traffic in the lands and islands to be discovered.

Article five, that whenever and as often as ships should be equipped for traffic, he should have the right to furnish one eighth of all that should be expended in the equipment and have and enjoy one eighth of the profits which should result from such equipment.[1]

Rights of Admiral's Son Withheld.

If the frank and generous nature of Don Diego marked him as an easy victim for crafty men, his integrity and ability carried him through many a situation that would have overwhelmed a person more artful but less upright. In the succession of difficulties which accompanied him ever after, he was sustained by the irresistible power of truth. After the death of his father, Don Diego, as lineal successor, urged upon the King the restitution of family offices and privi-

[1]Thacher, *Columbus,* I, 438.

leges, which had been suspended during the last years of the Admiral's life. If Ferdinand could forget the obligations of gratitude and justice to Columbus, he could not be seriously expected to listen to the solicitations of his son. For two years Don Diego pressed his suit with energy but not with success. At last he asked boldly "why his Majesty would not grant him as a favor that which was his right, and why he hesitated to confide in one who had been reared in his own house." Ferdinand replied that in him he could confide, but he could not repose so great a trust in his children and successors. To this Don Diego rejoined, that it was contrary to all reason and justice to make him suffer for the sins of his children, who might never be born.[1]

Strange Assertion of Ferdinand.

Though reason and justice were not sufficient to move Ferdinand, he finally consented at the solicitation of Don Diego to allow him to pursue his claims in the ordinary course of law. For several years this matter was pending before the Council of the Indies. We are now concerned with the details of its progress only so far as to notice one of the objections urged by Ferdinand

[1]Herrera, *Hist. Ind.*, decad. II, lib. VII, Cap. 4.

to justify his opposition to the claims; namely, that Columbus "was not the original discoverer of Terra Firma, but only subsequently of certain portions of it." This assertion was disproved by overwhelming testimony. Finally the Council of the Indies unanimously decided in favor of the claims of Diego. Ferdinand, however, was not yet defeated, for he discovered various pretexts for delaying the cession of those rights awarded by the Council. This position, which appeared impregnable, was unexpectedly turned by an interesting event in the career of Diego. He had won the hand of Dona Maria de Toledo, niece of the powerful Duke of Alva. The rights which had been withheld from the son of Columbus were cheerfully promised to the son-in-law of Don Fabrique de Toledo. Nevertheless, Ferdinand had not made a complete surrender; he merely posted himself on new ground.

Honored in His Punishment.

Don Diego was appointed to succeed Nicholas de Ovando, who was recalled from the Indies. By Isabella that official had been singled out for merited punishment. Ferdinand, on the other hand, regarded his efficiency with favor, for when Ovando returned to Spain, it was as commander of the fleet that had taken out his successor. In the nature of things Ovando as well

as his friends both in the old and the New World were certain to form a nucleus of opposition to Don Diego. Ferdinand, who shared their sentiments, could not be expected to discourage their activity. We shall see presently to what it led.

Don Diego a Colonial Ruler.

On June 9, 1509, the new Admiral with his aristocratic wife, his brother, Don Fernando, and his two uncles, Don Bartholomew and Don Diego, sailed for the New World. Notwithstanding the numerous retinue of cavaliers, which accompanied him, and the splendors in which his reign began, it was soon apparent that Ferdinand had no intention of making him a viceroy in reality. Without consulting Don Diego, Ferdinand divided the coast of Darien into two portions and appointed a governor for each. Alonzo de Ojeda was assigned to the eastern, Diego de Nicuesa to the western province. The titular viceroy justly regarded this as an infringement of the capitulations granted and confirmed to his father and his heirs. Justice would have chosen for this appointment Bartholomew Columbus who, with his more famous brother, had made the discovery of the Darien coast, and had suffered much in the enterprise. Even the ability of Don Bartholomew pointed to him as

the proper officer, but his bold and lofty spirit made him unsuitable for the projects which this monarch had on hand. When it was too late, Ferdinand showed a more enlightened appreciation of Bartholomew, who had long been holding the office of *Adelantado* of the Indies.

Enemies.

In a few paragraphs it is scarcely possible even to suggest the nature of the questions that confronted the new Admiral. The King's treasurer, one Miguel Pasamonte, headed a powerful faction in opposition. A few of the followers of Roldan, too, placed themselves in the ranks of his enemies. It was charged that Diego designed to make himself monarch of the island. The Bishop Fonseca, who was said to have been hostile to the discoverer, was now the most trusted officer of Ferdinand and naturally would regard seriously the calumnies circulated against his son. Because of his humanity Don Diego arrayed against him a more numerous and, perhaps, even a more influential class, namely, those who were interested in exploiting the natives. He was opposed to the *repartimiento* (distribution) of Indians among planters and others. Though he ameliorated the condition of the natives, he was unable to abolish this system, which continued long to be the source of every species of

inhumanity. By removing the more cruel of the superintendents he offended not only the displaced officials but all their friends. Slanders travelled to Spain even with the joyful tidings of the bloodless conquest of Cuba. Though Don Diego had succeeded in every enterprise that he undertook, he found it necessary to ask permission to visit the court of Ferdinand in order to refute the calumnies that had been sent home as well as to vindicate his official conduct. Leaving the Vice-Queen, Dona Maria, and his worthy uncle, the *Adelantado,* in charge of affairs, he took his departure on the ninth of April, 1515. Not long afterward his distinguished uncle, Don Bartholomew, died at an age that must have been somewhat advanced. On receiving tidings of this event Ferdinand is said to have expressed great concern.

Good Intentions of Charles V.

While Don Diego was assiduously seeking an audience to vindicate himself at court, King Ferdinand himself died on the 23d of January, 1516. Cardinal Ximenes, acting in the absence of the new King, declined to decide on the representations and claims of the Admiral. Finally, in 1520, he obtained from the Emperor Charles V a recognition of his innocence of all the charges against him. The new ruler endeavored

to establish harmony among the officers of his government, but Pasamonte and his band were implacable. Libels still flowed from their vindictive pens. In 1523, only three years after his return to Hispaniola, the Admiral returned once more to Spain in order to disperse a new cloud of calumnies raised by the indefatigable Pasamonte. Worn out in defending himself against the baseless charges of hereditary enemies and in fruitless efforts to get a full acknowledgment of his claims, Don Diego expired on February 23, 1526.

Don Luis becomes Admiral.

Left alone in the New World, and in the midst of enemies, the Vice-Queen returned to Spain, where her energy gained for her son, Don Luis, the title of Admiral of the Indies. Charles V could not be prevailed on, however, to confer on Don Luis the title of viceroy, although the dignity had been decreed to his father. Being aware of the fate of his father and being less determined in support of his rights, he abandoned his claim to the viceroyalty for the title of Duke of Veragua and Marquis of Jamaica. The one tenth of the produce of the Indies he commuted for a pension of 1,000 doubloons of gold. Leaving no legitimate son, he was succeeded by his nephew Diego. This event provoked some litiga-

tion, but that was ended by the marriage of two among the more influential of the rival claimants. In 1578, Diego died without issue. With him the legitimate line of Columbus became extinct.

A Great Lawsuit.

Compared with the controversy that ensued after the event mentioned, all previous litigation was like the skirmishing of outposts before armies engage. With the extinction of the legitimate line of Columbus there arose over the estates and dignities descended from him one of the most important lawsuits that the world has witnessed. One sister of Don Diego and the children of another advanced their claims. To these parties was added Bernard Colombo of Cogoleto, who claimed as a descendant of Bartholomew Columbus, a brother of the discoverer. This claim was rejected because the Adelantado left no acknowledged descendants. Another interesting claimant was Baldassare Colombo, of the house of Cuccaro. He maintained that Domenico Colombo, Lord of Cuccaro, was the father of Christopher Columbus, the Admiral. The ancestor of Baldassare Colombo, from his own statement, died in 1456, whereas it was shown that the father of the discoverer, also named Domenico Colombo, was still living more than thirty years later. This essay is not further

concerned with either the fate of the applicants or the disposition of their claims. On December 2, 1608, the Council of the Indies finally decided this celebrated case. The male line was declared to be extinct. Don Nuño Gelves de Portugallo was put in possession, and became Duke of Veragua.

Credulity of the Colonists.

Perhaps enough has been said to prove that the enemies of Christopher Columbus and of his descendants would have seized with eagerness upon the legend of the nameless pilot, if they did not fear to be laughed to scorn. We have already noticed their brutal treatment of the Admiral. Their activity discovered on the part of his son, Diego, every trifling omission and magnified it into a dangerous delinquency; their antipathy exaggerated every imprudent action into the appearance of a crime; indeed, it placed the most unfavorable construction upon a proposed policy of which time will never doubt the humanity. To many early officials in Hispaniola doors became drawbridges, windows grew to look like loopholes, and peaceful walls took on the frown of bastions.[1]

[1]Among the absurd misrepresentations of the conduct of Don Diego was one which suspected that a large, many-windowed house that he was building, was intended for a fortress.

The time, the place, the circumstances demanded a dead pilot. A ghost that could rehearse a friendly tale were worth whole archipelagos. Though often gravelled for matter against Columbus and his descendants, the royal magicians never dared to raise this spectre. Indeed, to Ferdinand as to his more famous grandson Charles the shade of Alonso Sanchez proved of small worth. When the chief export from Hispaniola was calumny, why was this fundamental objection overlooked? We fail to find it even named among the multitude of arguments that for generations perplexed and oppressed the Council of the Indies.

Pilot Story Favored by Vignaud.

The writer is aware that with some Columbian students the story of the nameless pilot has found higher favor. In discussing the development of the great idea of Columbus, M. Vignaud has assigned to it a place of prominence.[1] Doubtless he would consider himself guilty of a dislocation had he discussed it in any other connection; but even though he could plead in justification the example of the whole line of historians back to the days of Oviedo, it would

[1]Vignaud, *Histoire Critique de la Grande Enterprise de Christophe Colomb*, II, 211-233.

only prove that in the realm of history servility is more common than science. It is not, however, a slavish following of antique chronicles that has brought M. Vignaud to his present opinion. He does not worship at the shrine frequented by the multitude. Indeed, of all the biographers of Columbus he is the boldest, the greatest iconoclast and certainly one of the best scholars among contemporary Columbians.

Toscanelli Correspondence Challenged.

And precisely what is claimed by those who believe the alleged adventures of Alonso Sanchez? Merely that at Terceira, or somewhere else, the grateful pilot, whilst death was sealing up his eyes, bequeathed to Columbus the journals of his fatal voyage and a chart on which he had plotted his vagrant course. This secret it was that sustained Columbus even in the gaze of queens and kings. When M. Vignaud is reminded that even before the earliest date assigned to the pilot's alleged discovery (1483) Columbus had been discussing with Toscanelli the feasibility of a westward voyage to Cathay, the historian pronounces the correspondence between these men a fabrication. It matters little that M. Vignaud names no fabricator, for we may

have an undoubted demonstration of the existence of forgery and yet be unable to discover its author. The original correspondent of Toscanelli is said to have been one Fernam Martins, a Canon of Lisbon. Him M. Vignaud has banished from the field of discussion, on the ground that no such person ever existed. In other words, the Florentine astronomer never wrote to Columbus concerning a westward voyage to the East, and there was no Fernam Martins to whom he could have written. Nevertheless, some able investigators believe that there was a Lisbon canon whose acts and whose movements describe Fernam Martins. At any rate, the point is a controverted one. To put the matter concisely, it is necessary to prove the Toscanelli correspondence a fabrication in order to sustain the pilot story. This subject has already been discussed in chapter VII.

Legends to be Treated Separately.

In the opinion of the writer it would be more scientific to discuss in one place the facts in the development of the idea of a westward voyage to the orient and to consider separately, and separately to label all European legends of trans-Atlantic discovery. If it be contended that it is absurd to consider in one view an aspect in the

development of the idea of Columbus and his experience as a colonial ruler, the reply of the writer is that the time and place of its origin subjects the pilot story to suspicion. The legend sprang up in an era fruitful in calumny.

CHAPTER X.

ENGLAND'S CLAIM TO NORTH AMERICA.

Though Cabot was not a predecessor of Columbus and, therefore, a discussion of his exploits may seem out of place in this essay, it is believed that the following pages will be of assistance to the general reader. It is scarcely necessary to call attention to the relation between this section and the concluding paragraph of chapter III. Notwithstanding the fact that our school histories are sufficiently clear as to the importance of Cabot's voyages, the ideas of many persons, otherwise intelligent, on this matter appear a little obscure.

Cabot's Voyage Suggested by Success of Columbus.

With serious students and serious readers of history unsupported assertions have little weight. At every step they require proof. It seems necessary, therefore, to give reasons for one's belief in the important statement that John

Cabot's first expedition was suggested by the example of Columbus. These are best collected from English records, from the despatches of Spanish and of Italian ambassadors then in England, and from the correspondence of intelligent foreign merchants living in London. In that age Portugal, Spain and the Italian states surpassed England in the extent of their commerce. The Italian was the cosmopolitan of that era.

On January 21, 1496, Dr. Puebla, the Spanish ambassador in England, informed Ferdinand and Isabella that a person "like Columbus" had just submitted to Henry VII a project for trans-Atlantic discoveries. These were to be undertaken "without prejudice to Spain and Portugal." On the 5th of April, 1496, the King granted letters patent to John Cabot and his three sons, Lewis, Sebastian and Sanctus. By this instrument they were empowered "to seeke out, discover, and find whatsoever isles, countreys, regions or provinces of the heathen and infidels, whatsoever they be, and in what part of the world soever they be, *which before this time have been unknown to all Christians.*"[1]

Apart from the communication of Puebla, the very application of Cabot shows a familiarity

[1]Hakluyt VII, 143.

with the grants made to Columbus by the Spanish Sovereigns. He asked for authority to make discoveries in the eastern, western and northern seas and for "dominion over any islands so discovered."[1] The omission of "southern seas" from the patent shows the purpose of Henry VII not to enter those fields of exploration in which the rulers of Spain and Portugal were then engaged.

In May, 1497, the expedition sailed. It consisted of "one small ship and eighteen men, nearly all Englishmen from Bristol:—"uno piccolo naviglo e XVIII persone, quasi tutti inglesi, e da Bristol."[2]

Testimony of Sebastian Cabot.

This paper is in no way interested in the details of either the equipment of, or the discovery made by the great fellow-townsman of Columbus, but rather with the motives which inspired his bold undertaking. His son, Sebastian, in most matters not a very credible witness, is, under the circumstances, a very satisfactory one. During a part of a long lifetime he constantly endeavored to efface all traces of his father's ex-

[1]Bourne, *Spain in America,* 55; Hakluyt VII, 143.

[2]Second despatch of Soncino, the Milanese ambassador to London.

ploits and he took to himself entire credit for the success of the first expedition. He does not, however, as we might expect from his character, claim the sole merit of having conceived that project but, on the contrary, admits that he conceived the notion while in England, *upon hearing the discovery made by Columbus discussed at the court of Henry VII.* Hakluyt, VII, 147-148, prints this discourse of Sebastian Cabot: "When my father departed from Venice many yeeres since to dwell in England, to follow the trade of marchandises, he tooke me with him to the citie of London, while I was very young, yet having neverthelesse some knowledge of letters of humanitie, and of the Sphere. And when my father died in that time when newes were brought that Don Christopher Columbus Genuese had discovered the coasts of India, whereof was great talke in all the Court of king Henry the 7, who then raigned in so much that all men with great admiration affirmed it to be a thing more divine then humane, to saile by the West into the East where spices growe, by a way that was never knowen before, by this fame and report there increased in my heart a great flame of desire to attempt some notable thing. . . . "

When Sebastian Cabot made this admission, the relation between the first voyage of John Cabot and the first voyage of Columbus must

have been a matter of common knowledge. The reader may put what construction he chooses upon Sebastian's assertion that his father died about 1493. Raimondo di Soncino, the Duke of Milan's ambassador in London, states that John Cabot, having heard how Spain and Portugal were acquiring new lands, thought of conferring a similar favor upon the King of England.[1] Indeed, it is from the pen of this diplomat that we derive all our knowledge of the genesis of Cabot's project. He tells us further that the navigator had a map of the world and a globe, and that earlier in life he had been in Mecca, where he learned that spices came from the remoter East. He believed that all the spices in the world grew in Cipango (Japan), which he expected to reach. If his efforts were successful, "he hoped to make London a greater market for spices than Alexandria."[2] The world knows now what this Italian sailor did for England. An entry in the privy-purse accounts shows that on August 10th the frugal Henry VII gave "To hym that found the New Isle, £10."[3] Later in the same year, however, he was given in addition a pension of £20 a year, to be paid out of the customs' receipts of Bristol.

[1]Ramusio, Vol. I, fo. 374.
[2]Bourne, *Spain in America*, 57.
[3]Weare, *Cabot's Discovery*, 124.

Little Known of John Cabot.

Whether Sebastian Cabot was on either the voyage of 1497 or that of 1498 is a controverted point. Some authorities go so far as to state that he was never on the coast of North America, and that his only connection with the New World was his command, in 1526, of an unsuccessful expedition to the region of the river La Plata, in South America. Of Sebastian Cabot we know much. His father still remains, after vast research, little more than the shadow of a name. He was not, like his great compatriot, Columbus, a fluent writer, but left his fame as a rich legacy to his son Sebastian. His attitude toward his father has been told, and to the writer it seems to rest on much more than the gossip of Ramusio. England, to whom John Cabot gave a continent, has preserved few memorials concerning him. Columbus was much more fortunate. Spanish records of his achievements are abundant. Moreover, unlike Sebastian Cabot, Ferdinand Columbus bestowed the most pious care in illustrating the exploits of his father. For a time, it is true, the English failed to follow up the discoveries of Cabot, but when they were prepared to do so, men of affairs and writers, such as Hakluyt, promptly claimed North America by reason of priority of dis-

covery. Hakluyt, Vol. VIII, p. 35, says that the Cabots "were the first finders out of all that great tract of land stretching from the cape of Florida unto those islands which we now call Newfoundland; all which they brought and annexed unto the crowne of England." Afterward that claim was never forgotten. In his two voyages John Cabot may have traced the outline of much of North America. From the second, that of 1498, he is believed never to have returned—at any rate, no man knows his resting place.

CHAPTER XI.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE DISCOVERY.

As we have seen in a preceding chapter, the little caravel of Columbus encountered a second tempest as it approached the coast of Portugal. This it was that compelled the daring mariners to seek a haven in the mouth of the river Tagus. The tidings told by them were soon known in every part of the kingdom. Indeed, before the Admiral resumed his voyage the news had travelled far. His reception in Spain and the subsequent incidents of his career are among the most familiar topics in history. It is not the object of this section to tell over this eventful story, but briefly to enumerate some of the larger consequences of the discovery.

Returns to Palos.

Chapter VIII brought the progress of Columbus back to the bar of Saltes. During the afternoon of March 15, 1493, the Admiral cast anchor in the harbor of Palos. One can hardly imagine

the rejoicings in that little port. The entire population turned out to welcome Columbus with a procession, and, in the words of his son Ferdinand, to give "thanks to our Lord for so great favor and victory."[1] Some among the list of immortals who had volunteered to accompany the Admiral into strange seas were not with those who witnessed his triumph, but concerning the fate of those left in the Indies there were no misgivings.

When near the Azores, and shipwreck seemed imminent, the Admiral wrote to Luis de Santangel and Gabriel Sanchez, both high officers of the government, an account of the expedition. One letter is merely a duplicate of the other. The contents of these communications soon became known in Spain, as the news of the discovery was already known in Portugal. Peter Martyr had a share in spreading the intelligence through Italy.

Among foreign potentates Pope Alexander VI, himself a Spaniard, was the first to be informed of the discovery. While in making this announcement the Sovereigns mention the existence in the new islands of gold and spices, they declare that discovery and the extension of Christianity were the motives that influenced them to equip the

[1]Ferdinand Columbus, *Historie*, 124.

expedition. Of a shorter route to the Indies they say nothing.

Treaty of Tordesillas.

In his interview with Columbus the King of Portugal barely suggested that the recent discoveries might be within his jurisdiction as Lord of Guinea. The possibility of a conflict of interests led the Pope, when afterward invited to act as umpire, to delimit two spheres of influence. His Holiness did not, as is often said, divide the world between Spain and Portugal. The arrangement then made was not perfectly satisfactory to Spain. Nor was King John of Portugal entirely satisfied with the location of the line of demarcation. Therefore, on June 7, 1494, by the treaty of Tordesillas, it was agreed between Spain and Portugal that the line should be drawn 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. Subsequently this change gave Portugal a title to Brazil. The full consideration of this subject belongs to early American diplomatic history.

Sunny Hours.

"Blest and thrice blest the Roman
Who sees Rome's brightest day,
Who sees that long victorious pomp
Wind down the Sacred Way."

Spain had never beheld such a triumph as, in April, 1493, stretched from Seville toward Barcelona. As the cavalcade wound its way along the highways, people from every town and hamlet crowded in to catch a glimpse of the Discoverer, of the Indians, and of the productions of their country. Arrived near Barcelona he was met and escorted by dignitaries to the place where their Majesties awaited him. When he went to kiss their hands, they rose, as to a person of great distinction, and caused him to sit beside them. The scanty records of the time represent the Discoverer as enjoying the appreciation of his Sovereigns. If this was not Spain's brightest day, there is no doubt that it was the happiest that Columbus had yet known, perhaps that he was destined to know.

The admiration of the crowd did not turn the head of Columbus. In this sunny hour he employed himself in superintending the preparations for a new expedition, for it was promptly decided to establish a colony in "The Indies," as the new islands were henceforth called. This was intended as a centre for further exploration. The work went on apace. This time there was no difficulty in getting men or money. Soldiers, sailors and adventurers were now eager to enroll themselves. As early as September 25, 1493,

there were assembled seventeen ships and about fifteen hundred men, including both soldiers and colonists. The Indians, who had been converted, were returning to their homes; there were also artisans, soldiers, knights, courtiers, and missionaries. They brought with them both tools and implements of husbandry, plants and seeds; also horses and cattle. This was the first step in the transfer of European civilization to the New World. On Sunday, November 3d, the expedition arrived at one of the Antilles. By night of the 27th it came to the vicinity of Fort Navidad. A salute from the fleet was followed by an ominous silence. Toward midnight there came from the shore Indians shouting "Almirante! Almirante!" When they came on board, they told Columbus that many Christians had died and others had gone into the country with their wives, some with many wives.. Morning confirmed the fears of the Admiral. Not a Spaniard survived. To this day mystery surrounds the fate of the garrison. Perhaps they perished during an invasion of the Caribs. An imprudent act may have aroused the resentment of their neighbors. In any case it would seem that they did not attend carefully to the injunctions of Columbus.

The ill-fated Navidad was abandoned and a more suitable site for a town selected on Decem-

ber 17, 1493. On the northern coast of Hayti the Spaniards began to construct the first city in "The Indies." The place was appropriately named Isabella. Of its history this essay need only state that in the care taken for its welfare there is no evidence that Columbus was a visionary. As a colonial administrator he was preëminently successful. If mistakes were made, it is not easy to place the responsibility on him.

Chapter IX has described the situation in the island, at least so far as it affected the future of Columbus. Unfortunately for him and for the colonists he was taken sick. During that illness began the trouble which undermined authority and discipline. The real offense of Columbus appears to have been that of proclaiming that all must work. Sickness and death had diminished the number of laborers, and when gentlemen were threatened with punishment in case of their refusal to work, they never forgave the Admiral.

Exploration.

Leaving the colony to be ruled by a commission, the Admiral undertook a more careful exploration of Cuba. In May, 1494, when sailing along the southern shore, he discovered Jamaica, of which he had heard on his first voyage. Lack of provisions prevented him from

circumnavigating the island, thus giving him and his companions the impression that it was continental land. This illusion seems to have suggested to him the idea of sailing round the world. On his return toward Isabella there was a further exploration of Jamaica and Hayti. An illness of five months followed this activity of the Admiral.

Discontent.

In his absence certain officials had assisted in promoting discontent, and a considerable number seized the ships of Bartholomew Columbus, who had come out as Adelantado (military governor) of the island. On their return to Spain they gave an account of the Indies not in harmony with that of Columbus. To them the rule of the Adelantado seemed to have been marked by extreme rigor. Perhaps it was Don Bartholomew's energetic administration that gained for the Admiral the reputation of being cruel.

The situation of the colony was critical in the extreme. Leaving his brother Bartholomew in charge of affairs the Admiral returned to Spain in 1496. After much effort a little fleet was fitted out in 1498. A part of it went directly to Isabella, while the remaining ships sailed southward with the Admiral. On July 31, the island of Trinidad was sighted. During the following day

the mainland was seen. This land he declared to the Sovereigns to be an *"otro mundo"* (another world). It was designated for immediate exploration by the Adelantado, but when the Admiral met his brother Bartholomew in Española, he was confronted by another sort of problem. The natives had refused to pay tribute, the Spaniards were at war among themselves. In describing the colonists, Columbus is unsparing in his use of epithets. Unfortunately there is ground for believing that his characterization of the first settlers is scarcely exaggerated. On their part, the colonists do not spare him. It was in this situation that Bobadilla arrived in Española. His attitude toward the Admiral has already been described. To a lady who had been nurse of Prince Juan, the Admiral from his prison-ship, enumerated his grievances. It was in this letter that, among other statements, he said: " . . . by the Divine will I have subdued another world to the dominion of the king and queen." It has been mentioned that the charges against him were dismissed by the Sovereigns and that in a friendly letter he was requested to appear at Court.

Fourth Voyage.

To exploration and colonization Columbus had given an immense impetus. Between 1498, when

he discovered the mainland of South America, and 1502, when he set out on his fourth and last voyage, deeds of noble note had been performed by the Portuguese. That nation had not only found the real Indies, but one of its great captains, Pedralvarez Cabral, had made, in 1500, an independent discovery of South America. Notwithstanding the fact that Prince Henry had stated the problem for the navigators of his nation, and that their achievements were great, the success of Columbus gave a new stimulus to Portuguese discovery. In none of his extant writings does Columbus state the effect produced on his mind by the voyages of Vasco da Gama to India and back. One thing, however, seems clear. Columbus was eager to demonstrate that the real Indies could be reached by going west. It was in making this attempt that he concluded his career as navigator.

Setting out, May 9, 1502, from the Canaries his four ships arrived at Martinique in the short space of three weeks. His Sovereigns had practically forbidden him to touch at Española on his outward voyage, though he might call on his return. When the accidents of the sea compelled him to go there for another ship, he was not allowed to land in his recent dominions. This was the assistance received by Columbus from the colony that he had established in order to

promote discovery. Driven from the ungrateful island, he entered upon the the most arduous voyage of his life. "For eighty-eight days he was buffeted by continuous storms. During that time he saw neither sun nor stars." At last land was descried. This he called *Gracias á Dios* (Thanks be to God). On the Honduras coast he met a large canoe covered with an awning. It was filled with men, women, children and merchandise. These people were partly clothed, and their fabrics showed fine workmanship. It was clear that in those regions there was something more than naked natives. If he had had an interpreter, he could, no doubt, have learned something to his advantage. As it was, he followed the coast-line to Panama. It was on this voyage that he heard of the Pacific Ocean. Later he was compelled to beach his ships at Jamaica. Thence in a canoe he sent rowers to Española for assistance. This achievement is one of the romances of the sea. After a weary wait of almost a year he was rescued by caravels from that island.

In November, 1504, broken in health and spirit, Columbus arrived at Seville. A careful student of his career has the following concise summary: "Each successive voyage since his first had left him at a lower point. On his return

from his second he was on the defensive; after his third he was deprived of his viceroyalty; on the fourth he was shipwrecked, in addition to his previous misfortunes. The last blow, the death of Isabella, soon followed."[1]

Obscure Death.

After a considerable interval his health permitted him to attend court, but the arduous labors of the past twelve years, 1492-1506, had permanently impaired his strength and he gradually grew weaker. The chronicle of José de Vargas Ponce has this entry: "El Almirante Colon, que descubrió las Indias y otras muchas tierras, Morio en esta Villa [Valladolid] Miercoles vispera de la Ascension, 20 de Mayo de 506." "The Admiral Columbus, who discovered the Indies and many other lands, died in this city [Valladolid] Wednesday the eve of the Ascension, 20th of May, 1506."

Ten years elapsed before the fact of the obscure death of Columbus was noticed in print. During that interval the Spanish nation was too busy exploring and colonizing the New World of which they had become possessed to give much thought to him who had acquired it. It is true that there were in Spain many who had

[1]Bourne, *Spain in America*, 81.

become bankrupt in fortune and in health while participating in the project of Columbus. It is no less a fact that if these had acted upon his advice, their condition would have been very different. If, however, some private persons felt that they had been injured by his projects, the nation as a whole had not been.

Long before the era of Columbus, Spanish chivalry had performed memorable deeds. It broke the military spirit of the Caliphs and saved Gaul not only from a second invasion but from possible Mohammedan domination; it nearly balanced the fall of Constantinople by the conquest of Granada, and in an earlier age had left the other nations of western Europe free to invade the land of the Saracen and of the Turk. These facts and all that they suggest belong to the history of Europe. It is with Spanish achievement in America that this section is concerned.

Spain discovered a new world, she opened up to the commerce of Europe the trade of the Pacific, she circumnavigated the globe. Her dauntless mariners traced the winding shores of the Atlantic from Nova Scotia to Cape Horn, and the coast-line of the Pacific from Magellan's Strait almost to the Columbia. She founded an empire stretching from the prairies of the Missouri to the plains of Patagonia. These achievements are among the commonplaces of history.

In the field of early exploration, from 1492 to 1576, the triumphs of England or of France seem insignificant if compared with those of Spain. In conquest and in colonization they were as far behind her. Nor was it in her New World seminaries of learning, though they were numerous, and, for the time, admirable, that Spain stood, as undoubtedly she did, without a peer. Her superiority was chiefly in her grand endeavor to lift millions of Indians to the plane of European religion and civilization, one of the grand achievements of recorded time. Oftentimes it is flippantly asserted that in America the Spaniards destroyed two civilizations each of which was superior to their own. The difference between the civilization of the Spaniards and that of the most cultured native races was as great as that between the Christian churches, founded by the Spaniards, and those hideous Aztec temples that forever smoked with human sacrifice and dripped with human blood.

Spain broke down in the endeavor to achieve what no nation, ancient or modern, has ever attempted. When she was leading the powers of Europe, her population, diminished by centuries of warfare, could not have been above 6,500,000. It was this handful of people that won for Spain a splendid immortality, and for Christianity vast realms where Chaos still held

sway, regions that from the first had been consecrated to the powers of Night and Darkness. For the loss of her colonial dependencies she consoled herself with the reflection that before their surrender she had implanted in them the elements of civilization. It needs no prophetic eye to behold the future of Latin America and to see in that part of the globe the development of colossal states.

Amidst the wildernesses of mighty continents, on unnumbered islands in the watery waste, in remote and unknown archipelagos the Spaniards endeavored to civilize a multitude of races of which even the most advanced had scarcely attained to the upper stages of barbarism. In that grand undertaking they fell short of perfect success. If, to-day, there are to be found in what was formerly the colonial empire of Spain millions of dusky people with a tincture of civilization, let them, and let their rulers thank the patient, toilsome friar. In apostolic fields this spiritual hero has achieved triumphs as unique as they were grand. It was of such victories that Columbus had dreamed. His genius it was that made them possible. If he had been assisted by kindred spirits to do another deed above a mortal pitch, it is by no means certain that there would not have been a sixteenth century crusade. Now the friar is almost every-

where superseded in his sublime office. To him the methods of the new missionaries speak feebly. He worked his way, they work theirs. The problem has changed. It is not now, as once it was, a question of converting cannibals, naked savages, and barbarians.

New Light.

In this brief study the reader has met renowned travellers and intrepid seamen. He has been told that Columbus was not the only navigator of his era that voyaged through strange seas; but he has also seen that, except in the case of Bartholomew Diaz, all these nautical heroes performed their exploits after the memorable expedition of Columbus, when his courage and seamanship had raised the interdict from the mysterious Sea of Darkness. New light had dawned from his discovery. Columbus was distinctly a product of his own time, the greatest among a giant race of navigators. As it was Italy that had trained both the Portuguese and the Spaniards in the art of navigation, it was peculiarly fitting that an Italian should guide the nations of the world in working out the last stages of the ancient problem. When the trident passed into the strong hand of Castile, epoch-making events traced their clear signatures upon the scroll of history, but it was the genius of Co-

lumbus that gave to Spanish heroism for its employment both a field and a tendency.

Columbus Reveals Himself.

It has been said that John Cabot, the fellow-townsman of Columbus, is little more than the shadow of a name. He tells us nothing of himself. Vasco da Gama and Magellan, the other great contemporaries of Columbus, were silent men. Of the workings of their minds we know little more than we do about the identity of the man in the iron mask. With the great discoverer it is far otherwise. From his writings we know him as a husband and a lover. On these relations his own pen has pronounced the sharpest censure. We know his solicitude for his kinsmen and kinswomen; we know his family pride. Again we see him dreaming on mighty things to come, and living to see many of them realized. Never, perhaps, has a man of action revealed himself so fully. The tenacity with which he clung to his old illusions is not more remarkable than his devotion to the ideals of the past. His firmness of purpose and his boldness of execution are qualities so striking that they are universally acknowledged. We have every proof of his fine powers of observation. He tells us of his love of money, but also of its destined use. Few are those who deny his practical ability as a navi-

gator. Columbus was a human being with human limitations, and it adds naught to his fame to attempt, in our encomiums, to canonize him. He was a great man, great not according to the standard of the tented field, but because of an original greatness. He was great by reason of his conception of a grand design and because of its accomplishment. His fame is secure and will flame forever in the firmament of time. In concluding judicious and sympathetic observations in the introduction to his great work, Thacher says of Columbus: "The world did not observe his final exit from the stage. Yet was he a great character, one of the greatest ever passing before the eyes of men."[1]

[1] *Columbus*, I, 186.

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